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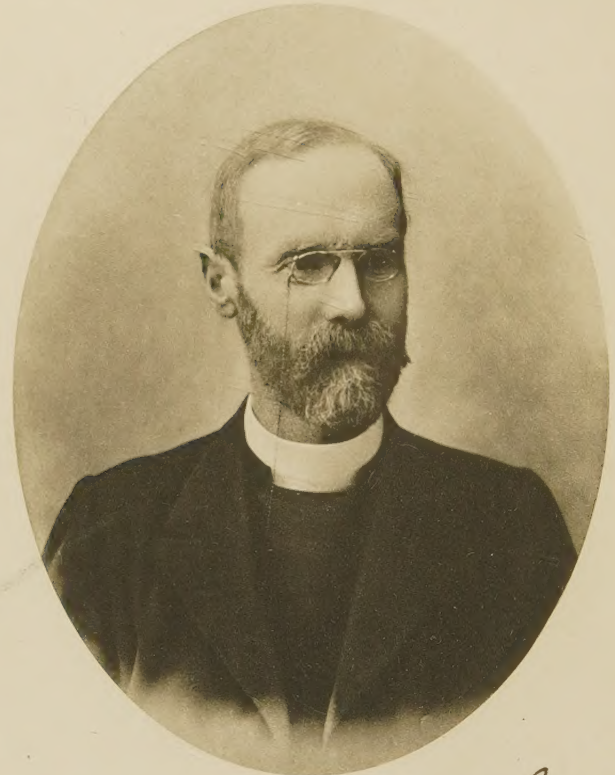

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James Hastings

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE first volume of THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS has now been published. It contains 903 pages, together with 22 pages of preliminary matter. The last 15 pages are occupied with illustrations, which are printed on specially prepared paper.

It is a book for all who have an interest in Religion and Morality. These two things are neither separated in it nor combined. They are set down together as they occur. The Editor gives no reason for including them in one work. He believes that there is no longer any call for an explanation. It is enough that the one cannot now be treated apart from the other with any good result either for knowledge or for life.

It is especially a book for the teacher. And the preacher is a teacher. But whether he occupies the pulpit or the platform, the chair of the professor, or the desk of the author and editor, it is a book for the teacher, that he may be able to teach with ease, with interest, and with authority.

It is not a book of Apologetics. Having to do with Religion it has of course to do with Christianity. Christianity will no doubt occupy more space in it than any other religion, more perhaps than all other forms of religion combined. But THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS is not prepared for the purpose of proselytizing. Every religion, and each doctrine and practice of every religion, will be described by one who may or may not be an adherent of that religion, but who in any case will be thoroughly acquainted with it, and able to write authoritatively upon it. If, however, after all the religions have, as it were, had their chance, it should appear that Christianity possesses the highest moral and spiritual value, then the Encyclopædia will no doubt prove itself to be an apologetic for Christianity. And if it takes its place thus among the labourers in the great harvest field, the Editor will rejoice. But it is time we understood that only by adhering with all our might to the unbiassed unassailable truth of things can we pray the prayer, 'Thy kingdom come.'

Very great care has been taken to find the best writer for each article. Often it happens that the man and the subject go unquestionably together, that there is no other man for the subject, and no other subject for the man. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first volume should contain articles by no fewer than one hundred and ninety-five authors, of whom one hundred and thirty-five have written but a single article. Thus Professor Achelis of Halle writes on the Agapetæ, Mr. Mardiros Ananikian on Zoroastrian Armenia,

Mr. Antonio Apache on the Apaches, the Rev. John Batchelor on the Ainus, Professor van Berchem on Muhammadan Architecture in Syria and Egypt, the President of Trinity College, Oxford, on Æschylus, Professor Bousset on Antichrist, Sir Edward Brabrook on Arbitration, Professor Baldwin Brown on Christian Art, Dr. A. E. Burn on Adoptianism, Professor Burnet on the Academy, Professor Coe on Adolescence, Professor Cowan on the Action Sermon, Count Goblet d'Alviella on Animism, Professor Dill on Alexander of Abonoteichos, Dr. Duckworth on Abnormalities, Principal Garvie on Agnosticism, Professor Geffcken on Allegorical Interpretation, Major Gurdon on the Ahoms, Professor Yrjö Hirn of Helsingfors on the Origins of Religious Art, Dr. Hoernle of Oxford on the Ajivikas, Professor Inge on the Theology of Alexandria, Professor Chiuta Ito on Chinese Architecture, Principal Iverach on Altruism, Professor Henry Jackson on Aristotle, Professor Jevons on Anthropomorphism, Professor Kennett on Arks, Professor Kilpatrick of Toronto on the Anger of God, Principal Lindsay on Amyraldism, Professor Littmann (Nöldeke's successor at Strassburg) on Abyssinia, Professor Macdonald on Allah, Professor McGiffert on the Apostolic Age, Professor McGlothlin on the Anabaptists, Sir Clements Markham on the Andeans, Principal Marshall on Adoration, Shams-ul-Ulma Modi on Parsi Adultery, Professor Moss on Alexander the Great, Mr. Bass Mullinger on the Albigenses, Dr. Robert Munro on Anthropology, Professor Nöldeke on the Ancient Arabs, Miss Owen on the Prairie Tribes of the Algonquins, Professor Paton on the Ammonites, Dr. Mary Mills Patrick on Anaxagoras, Professor Prince on the Eastern Algonquins, Professor Sayce on Early Armenia, Sir Alexander Simpson on Anæsthetics, Principal Simpson of Leeds on Apostolic Succession, Dr. Srawley on the Theology of Antioch, Professor Strack on Anti-Semitism, Dean Strong on Absolution, Professor Strzygowski on Muhammadan Art, Sir Richard Temple on the Andamans, Professor Wenley on Acosmism, Dr. Mackie Whyte on Alcohol, Mr. Woods on the Antediluvians, and Professor de Wulf on Æsthetics.

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There are other names which are attached indissolubly to certain subjects, though they have written in this volume on more than one aspect of their subject. To Professor Cumont belongs Mithraism, and here he has written on Anahita and on Mithraic Architecture and Mithraic Art. Baron Carra de Vaux has written on Alchemy among the Muslims as well as on Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani. Mr. Crooke is the authority on the Animistic Tribes of India, and he has several articles in this volume. And Colonel Waddell is unsurpassed in knowledge of the 'great Unknown' land. He writes in this volume on the Tibetan Abbot and on Amitayus. Professor Flinders Petrie appears with articles on Egyptian Architecture and Egyptian Art; and Professor de la Vallée Poussin with articles on Adi-buddha as well as on Buddhist Ages of the World and Buddhist Agnosticism. Professor Arthur Thomson writes on Abiogenesis, on Adaptation, and on Age; and the late Master of St. John's has two characteristic articles, one on Accidie, the other on Acrostics.

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It is a book for the preacher. But we do not expect, and we do not ask, the preacher to purchase it because it is a book of interesting information. The Encyclopædia must prove itself necessary for his work. He must discover that without it he cannot preach so well as he could preach with it. He must first see that the pulpit now demands a greater range of topic than formerly, and at the same time greater accuracy in the handling of every topic that is touched. He must know that the topics which arrest the attention are no longer niceties of intellectual distinction in theology, but such fundamental matters as the nature of God, and His entrance into the life of man in every part of the world.

---

In *The Expositor* for September there is an article by Professor B. D. Eerdmans of Leiden

on 'The Hebrews in Egypt.' The 'Hebrews in Egypt' keep the key of the chronology of the Old Testament, and they are very reluctant to deliver it up. Professor Eerdmans makes another attempt to recover it.

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He begins with the stele of Merenptah. In the year 1896 a stele was discovered on which Merenptah had inscribed the record of the capture by him of certain cities in Palestine, and the devastation of Israel. But it has generally been held that Ramses II. was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and that his successor, this very Merenptah, was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. If the Exodus took place in the reign of Merenptah, how could he harry the fields of Israel in Palestine? Where would the forty years' wanderings come in? Where, apart from any wanderings, would there be found time to let the Israelites march to Canaan and settle down in the land? That is the first question. To that question three different answers have been made.

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Mr. Fotheringham, in his *Chronology of the Old Testament*, published in Cambridge in 1906, answers that it is not Palestine that Merenptah refers to. It is Egypt. The Exodus has just taken place. Does Merenptah speak of the destruction of the crops of the Israelites?—'the crops of the Israelites, of course, are those planted in the land of Goshen and left behind unharvested in their hurried flight.'

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Is this the solution of the difficulty? This solution, says Professor Eerdmans, is made impossible by the text of the inscription. The text of the inscription is: 'Askalon is led away; Gezer is taken; Yenuam is brought to nought; Israel is devastated, they do not have crops; Kharu has become as a widow by Egypt.' What have Askalon and Gezer to do with Goshen? And then Kharu is Palestine—of that there is no doubt.

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Professor Ed. Meyer believes that the Exodus took place long before the time of Merenptah. It took place, he believes, even before the reign of Sety I. (1326–1300 B.C.). Miketta also holds that the Exodus occurred before Merenptah's day, though not quite so long before. He thinks that the Pharaoh of the Oppression was Thutmes III., and the Pharaoh of the Exodus Amenophis II. (1442–1423 B.C.). Then the harrowing of the Israelites by Merenptah might easily take place after they had settled in Canaan. Will that do?

---

It does not seem so. There is the difficulty of the store-cities. While they were in Egypt the Israelites were compelled to build store-cities for Pharaoh. These store-cities were called Pithom and Raamses. Now one of these cities was evidently called after a Pharaoh whose name was Ramses. That could not be Ramses I., the predecessor of Sety I., for his reign of two years was insufficient. But neither could it be Ramses II., although that has hitherto been the commonly accepted opinion. For Professor Eerdmans thinks it impossible that the Israelites could have left Egypt in the reign of the powerful Ramses II. And we have seen that there was no time for them to leave in the reign of his successor, Merenptah, and be settled in Palestine in time for him to harry their fields by the fifth year of his reign.

---

The third attempt to solve the difficulty is the most popular one. It is the attempt which has been made by Professor Flinders Petrie. Professor Petrie supposes that only part of the Israelites went down into Egypt. Part remained in Palestine. The 'Israel' that was devastated by Merenptah consisted of those tribes which did not go down into Egypt. Will that opinion stand?

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Professor Eerdmans does not believe that it will stand. We know nothing, he says, of tribes of Israel that did not go down into Egypt. If there were such tribes they would not have forgotten this part of their history; they would not have forgotten to record it. For the sojourn in

Egypt was inglorious. It was from the degradation of slavery that the Israelites were delivered under the hand of Moses. If there were tribes that had never been in bondage to any man, they would have stoutly refused to be identified with those who had been slaves in Egypt; they would have resented any attempt of the historian to class them all together.

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Thus all the ways of explaining the inscription of Merenptah yet offered have been named and rejected. The inscription has not been explained. The key to the Chronology of the Old Testament has not been found.

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The trouble, it is to be observed, is with the store-cities. If the Israelites built Pithom and Raamses in the days of Ramses II., how could they have left Egypt in time to settle down in Palestine and have their cornfields destroyed in the fifth year of the reign of his successor? Professor Eerdmans has an answer of his own, and he now brings it forward. It is meant especially to meet the difficulty of the store-cities.

---

His answer is that when the Israelites entered Egypt there was already a Hebrew population there. If the store-cities were built in the reign of Ramses II., that Hebrew population built them. The Israelites had not yet entered Egypt in the reign of Ramses II. Nor had they entered Egypt in the days of his successor. Therefore the Israelites whose cornfields were destroyed by Merenptah were the Israelites whom we know, but *before they went down into Egypt.*

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What proof does Professor Eerdmans offer of this astonishing theory?

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First of all, he recalls the statement in the Book of Genesis that when Joseph's brethren came down into Egypt, he urged them to tell Pharaoh that they were shepherds. Why? Why did he wish them to tell what was sure to be unwelcome news to Pharaoh? For every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians. It was, says Professor Eerdmans, in order that they might not be compelled to labour as the Hebrews who were already in the land. And the scheme was successful at first. By and by, however, the Israelites were sent to the fields with their kinsmen. They may not have had to build Pithom and Raamses, but they had to 'serve with rigour,' and the Egyptians 'made their lives bitter with hard bondage.'

---

Next, there is in the papyrus Harris a reference to which Professor Eerdmans attaches the utmost importance. It occupies only a few lines. This is the translation: 'The land of Egypt was overthrown. Every man was his own guide; they had no superiors. From the abundant years of the past we had come to other times. The land of Egypt was in chiefships and in princedoms; each killed the other among noble and mean. Other times came to pass after that; in years of scarcity Yersew, a man from Palestine, was to them as chieftain. He made the whole land tributary to himself alone. He joined his companions with him, and seized their property. And they treated the gods in the same manner as they treated the people; offerings were not presented in the shrines of the temples. When the gods turned again to peace, rule was restored to earth in its proper manner.'

---

Notice here the name Yersew. Professor Eerdmans does not say positively that Yersew is Joseph. The names are scarcely like enough to compel identification. But the Egyptians in transcription may have corrupted Joseph into Yersew. And all the rest is in striking agreement. 'It is certain that Genesis tells the same things about Joseph that, in the papyrus Harris, Ramses III. tells about Yersew.'

---

Then the Israelites must have entered Egypt about 1205 B.C., under the reign of Septah. For after Merenptah came Sety II., an elderly man, who reigned five uneventful years. Sety II. was

succeeded by his son, Amun-moses, who died in the first year of his reign. Next came Septah. Septah was the consort of the princess Tausert, a daughter of Sety II. He was a weak ruler. The real ruler was a man of Semitic origin, who came from Palestine, and whose name, as we have seen, was Yersew. To Septah succeeded Setnekht, who reigned only one year. Then the nineteenth dynasty closed. With the first king of the new dynasty the foreign influence came to an end. 'He purified the great throne of Egypt.'

Professor Eerdmans' argument is that all the circumstances point to the arrival in Egypt of Joseph and his brethren in the days of the weak Septah. Soon after that the dynasty came to an end. The first king of the new dynasty 'knew not Joseph.' He was an energetic ruler, and would be likely to imitate the great Ramses II. If the store-city of Raamses was already built, he would in any case send the Israelites to join those Hebrews who had been long in Egypt before them, and were already doing the work of slaves in the fields. Thus he, and perhaps his successor, 'made their lives bitter with hard bondage.' Then they cried to God, and in the fourth generation Moses came down to deliver them.

'In the fourth generation Moses came.' But is it not stated in Gen. $15^{13}$ that the sojourn in Egypt was four hundred years? Professor Eerdmans believes that that reference is, not to the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, but to the sojourn of the Hebrews there. In Gen. $15^{16}$ it is said that they left Egypt in the fourth generation. This reference, Professor Eerdmans believes, is to the Israelites themselves. Reckoning twenty years to a generation (for they marry early in the East), he gets the eighty years which lie between the descent in 1205, and the exodus in 1125.

The theory is not altogether in the air. For in Exod. $12^{38}$ we are told that when the Israelites went up out of Egypt 'a mixed multitude went up with them.' Who were they? Not Egyptians. That is impossible. 'Evidently,' says Professor Eerdmans, 'they were Hebrews of non-Israelite origin.' They had intermarried with the dark-coloured half-Semitic (or wholly Semitic) tribes who lived on the southern frontier of the Egyptian empire, and who were used by the Egyptians as slaves or soldiers. Even Moses had married a Kushite woman. And the name of Aaron's grandson Phinehas is pure Egyptian and means 'the negro' (pnḥsi). The tradition of the 'mixed multitude' knew of a sojourn in Egypt of four centuries; the Israelites knew of only four generations. The Israelites must have entered Egypt in the reign of Septah, about 1205 B.C.; they must have left it about 1125 B.C., when Ramses XII. was reigning.

There is an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* this quarter on 'The Theology of the Keswick Convention.' The article is anonymous. Whoever the writer is, and we have no skill in this kind of divination, he is frankly out of sympathy with Keswick.

He is not out of sympathy with the theology of the Keswick Convention. He is out of sympathy with the Convention. He has attended it. He has attended it once at least. For he speaks of having observed only two episodes of a particular kind 'during the whole course of one Convention.' But he has no sympathy with it. And his knowledge of the theology of the Convention he has derived from the writings of its leaders, especially the five volumes which he places at the head of his article—(1) *The Keswick Convention: Its Message, its Method, and its Men*, edited by C. F. Harford, M.A., M.D.; (2) and (3) *The Keswick Week*, for 1905 and 1907; (4) *Unclaimed Privileges*, by Evan H. Hopkins; and (5) *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, newly edited by Mrs. Evan Hopkins.

The Keswick Convention has a history. And its history begins before its existence. There were conferences at Mildmay and in other

parts of London, at Barnet, at Perth, Dublin, Manchester, Nottingham, Leicester, Stroud, and other places, and in the United States. In 1874, from August 29 to September 7, there took place at Oxford a 'Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness,' at which about a thousand people were present. It was due to the initiative of Sir Arthur Blackwood. The Oxford Conference was followed by one in Brighton Pavilion, at which about eight thousand people were present. Canon Harford-Battersby was at Oxford and at Brighton, and received great spiritual help at the former meeting. Desiring to give his parishioners the same, he arranged at Brighton to hold in Keswick the Convention of 1875. This was the first of the series held there ever since.

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The Keswick Convention has its own history. Its own history is a spiritual history. It is divided into three periods. In the first period the main aspect of the gatherings, and the chief topic of the speakers, was *peace and joy*, the peace and joy which follow consecration. Of this the Rev. C. A. Fox and Mr. Hudson Taylor were the great exponents. In the second period the life of faith was more particularly directed into practical activities, and *work and personal testimony* were discussed, and were then carried out 'in a great many works of a charitable and evangelistic character, both in this country and abroad.' In applying this to foreign missionary work Mr. Eugene Stock had much influence. In the third stage, which is the present stage, a wider range of subjects is discussed. *Teaching* is the word by which Mr. Figgis describes this phase. 'The two simultaneous Bible-readings given on four mornings (Tuesday to Friday) are a marked feature of the Convention. The Revs. Evan Hopkins, A. T. Pierson, G. Macgregor, H. W. Webb-Peploe, Hubert Brooke, and Andrew Murray, and the Bishop of Durham, are especially mentioned in this connexion.'

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And when he has referred to these three periods the writer of the article most happily recalls a passage of Scripture which is illustrated by the three. It is St. John $10^{9}$, 'I am the door of the sheep; by me if any man enter in, he shall be kept safe, and shall go in and out and find pasture'—*go in*, that is peace and joy; *go out*, that is work and personal testimony; *find pasture*, that is teaching.

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With the theology of the Convention, we say, he is not out of sympathy. He is out of sympathy with the Convention. And he gives the reason. 'The two great tents in which the meetings are held, bear, inside and out, a large motto, "All one in Christ Jesus."' That means that 'sects and denominations are present as well as the Church which is undenominational because Catholic.' And while 'this union of various forms of Christianity is on the one hand a source of strength, on the other it is perhaps a greater source of weakness, as we shall try to show.'

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The writer's criticism is short. It consists of two parts. First, the Keswick Convention makes too much of the emotions. He says, 'We have heard a speaker with extravagant gestures and passionate tones call for more emotion, and, after stirring up the audience to his utmost, call on them excitedly to "sob." This produced hysterical symptoms from more than one.' And he adds, 'The danger of appeals to the emotions is illustrated by the insanity which frequently appears after the Convention.'

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The other part of the criticism seems to be directed to the theology taught at the Convention, but it is still directed to the Convention. 'Keswick takes the principle of Hebrews $6^{1-3}$, without the whole basis on which it rests.' The author of the Epistle speaks of going on unto perfection. So does Keswick. But the author of the Epistle shows that the higher truths rest on a six-fold foundation, Repentance, Faith, the teaching of Baptism and Confirmation, Resurrection and Judgement. And some of these are neglected at Keswick. Why are they neglected? Because of the large motto, 'All one in Christ Jesus.'

With the theology of the Keswick Convention the writer of this article is, as we have said, in sympathy. What is the theology? It can all be summed up under one short phrase: 'Holiness by Faith.'

The writer proceeds to quote from the Bishop of Durham a definition of Holiness and a definition of Faith. But it is not necessary. Both words are taken in the way we all understand them. There are two things, however, which have to be attended to.

The first is that the faith which is exercised at the Keswick Convention is not the faith which justifies. That faith is understood to have been exercised already; and justification, or the passing from death unto life, is understood to have already taken place. The Convention is 'for the *deepening* of the spiritual life.' Now when faith is exercised with a view, not to justification but to sanctification, not to life but to greater holiness of life, it is still an act and instantaneous. That is the secret and the surprise of the Keswick movement. It is an act, but such an act—

> Oh, the little more, and how much it is!
> And the little less, and what worlds away!

It is an act which gives entrance into a new life. Not the life of the Spirit; that is entered already; but the life of holiness, the life of daily fellowship with the Spirit, conscious and serene. It is spoken of sometimes as a crisis, just as the first reception of Christ by faith is a crisis; but it is a crisis that has always a further experience before it. In the words of Bishop Moule, it is 'a crisis with a view to a process.'

That process is sanctification. Its goal is holiness, perfect and entire. And so the second thing which has to be attended to is the Keswick teaching on holiness of life.

Does Keswick teach perfection? That is the question which is usually asked, and it is usually asked in that blunt and aggressive form. The Keswick teachers answer No. They constantly answer No. At every Convention they repeat the negative. Keswick, says the Bishop of Durham, has been preserved 'from ever formulating, as its authentic message, a dream of sinlessness.'

But what Keswick rejects in terms, this writer says Keswick teaches in fact. The Keswick teachers speak of victory, of 'perfect victory' over sin. The writer knows what they mean. They mean that the fellowship in the Spirit which the first act of surrender makes conscious, has in it the potentiality of sinlessness. And, more than that, having in it the potentiality of sinlessness, it has also the realization of sinlessness, if the fellowship is maintained unbroken through daily whole consecration. But the multitudes that throng to Keswick do not understand the meaning. There is a danger, says this writer, that some of them may expect that after the crisis of self-surrender they will sin no more; or, still worse, believe themselves to be living a life without sin.

From Keswick to the science of Psychology. From the Bishop of Durham to Professor Coe. But these extremes have met now. These men have looked one another in the face. It will not be possible any longer for the believer in 'Holiness by Faith' to be ignorant of the laws which regulate the reception of 'the Blessing.' It will not now be possible for the student of Psychology to ignore the Keswick Convention.

In the *American Journal of Theology* for July, Professor Coe has an article on Psychology in relation to Regeneration. Its title is in the form of a question. 'What does Modern Psychology permit us to believe in respect to Regeneration?'

Its form is not of Professor Coe's own choosing. To him as a scientific observer the question has been put by a Christian believer. He is a little flattered by the form of it. 'It is somewhat

startling to be asked what beliefs psychology *permits* Christians to entertain.' He mildly protests. 'Why should our beliefs trail at the heels of science?' But there it is; and he has no doubt that he can give an answer to it. For he says that 'experiences concerning which the Church has insisted that "thou knowest not whence it cometh" are now described as coming in definite ways, like other mental phenomena.'

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The discussion has a double reference. It bears upon religious experience and upon religious education. Both are matters of the utmost consequence, and both have reached an acute stage of controversial interest.

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It has to do with religious education. For the time has come when parents and teachers have been compelled to ask the question what religious education is. And the answer reveals a distressful difference. On the one hand there are those who say that it is not education that is needed, but regeneration: they may even add that the less education the better chance for regeneration. On the other hand there are those who say that education in religion is as education in mathematics: it is a form of culture,—perhaps the highest form, perhaps not—but a form of culture. And without a throb of regret, they ask, what remains of the doctrine of regeneration.

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But the chief bearing of the discussion is on our own religious experience. And here the first thing that has to be considered is whether psychology leaves room for regeneration.

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Professor Coe replies at once that it does. 'The popular belief that profound and permanent changes of character may take place suddenly; that likes and dislikes may thus be revolutionized, and that the whole may occur with little or no sense of effort, so that even persons of weak and perverted will may be set right and kept right—this belief, so dear to the evangelical heart, is strengthened, on the whole, by psychological study.' He admits that there is nothing new in this. 'The facts were known, of course, before the psychologist took a hand; but impressiveness has been added to the facts, by freeing them from their setting of tradition and popular impressionism, and by recording them in the more accurate language of science.'

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So far, so good. Against regeneration psychological science has nothing to say. Psychology not only leaves the door open for regeneration, it gives the sanction of science to the popular belief. It calls the phenomena of the New Birth facts, and records them 'in the more accurate language of science.' But what is this that follows? 'Careful study fails to support the notion that such a change is within the reach of all.'

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Here is a surprise. We have long been familiar with the doctrine that God has elected some to everlasting life and left others in their original state of sin and misery. But who would have expected that psychology should come to the aid of Calvinism just when its enemies were rejoicing over its final discomfiture? Does Professor Coe say that regeneration is not within the reach of all?

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No, that is not what he says. What he says is that sudden conversion is not within the reach of all. He says that when the phenomena of a revival meeting are carefully reduced to fact, it is found that some have passed through a sudden and profound upheaval, while others, anxiously desiring it, pleading for it, and waiting for it, go away disappointed. Again the facts are familiar enough. It is the explanation of them that is new. Professor Coe's explanation is that such persons as go away disappointed do so, not because they are of the reprobate, nor because they have failed to fulfil some condition of belief or morality, but simply because they are psychologically different, and their regeneration is to come 'through the action of a normal intelligence and a deliberate will.'

# The Jesus-Paul Controversy.[1]

By the Rev. W. Morgan, M.A., Tarbolton.

Three years ago there appeared a little book on Paul, by the late Professor Wrede, giving, in the compass of some hundred pages, a masterly characterization of the personality, activity, religion, and historical significance of the great Apostle. The book, which has just been translated into English, is brilliantly written and full of suggestion even for those who are far from agreeing with the author's standpoint; but what gave it its immediate fame was less, perhaps, its intrinsic merits than the extreme position it took up. According to Wrede, Paul has no claim to be considered a disciple of Jesus. His gospel is not the gospel of Jesus, but another and different gospel. When he speaks of Christ, the figure before his mind is not that of the historical Jesus; the heavenly Christ, whom alone he knows, has little or nothing in common with the man of Galilee. Wrede goes so far as to assert that Paul stands further from Jesus than Jesus Himself from the noblest representatives of Jewish piety.

Such a position is not in all respects new. Even in Paul's own day there was talk of 'another gospel.' For modern scholarship the contrast between the preaching of the Master and that of His great Apostle has long been a commonplace. Bauer, Holsten, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, Weinel, Wernle, all make Paul to a very large extent independent of Jesus, and regard him as the second founder of Christianity. At the same time they do not deny that he was dominated by Jesus' influence, and that of all the apostles he was the one who understood Him best. Where Wrede goes beyond these writers is in completely separating Master and Apostle, and in sharpening the difference between them into sheer opposition.

Wrede's book raises issues of the gravest character. The question of the relation of Paul to Jesus, even from a merely historical point of view, is second to none in interest and importance. But the scientific interest is overshadowed by the practical. Down the whole history of the Church, the ideas of Paul have been regarded as embodying the very essence of the Christian religion. It has been round points in his theology that all the great doctrinal controversies have raged. Wrede brings us face to face with the question, whether our formulated Christianity has any title to claim Christ for its founder. The cry 'Back to Christ,' which has been heard for a generation, is heard afresh in his book, and in more peremptory tones. And this involves the further question as to the nature of the Christian religion. Is our Christian religion based on a speculative construction or interpretation of Christ's Person and work? or is it the religion which Christ taught in His words and embodied in His life? Speculative theology is summoned to prove its right to a central place in our Christian faith.

It was inevitable that conclusions so revolutionary and subversive as those of Wrede should call out wide and emphatic protest. Kaftan was first in the field. He was followed by Kölbing, Weinel, Meyer, and Jülicher. Here it must be said that all these, with the exception of Kaftan, belong to a school of theology that is emphatically liberal; and even Kaftan would hardly be considered a conservative amongst us. In their criticism of Wrede they make concessions that to many will seem to amount to a surrender of the fort. The champions of traditional views will have their own answer; only, so far as this controversy has gone, they have not been much in evidence.

None of Wrede's critics, not even Kaftan, deny that between the teaching of Jesus and that of His Apostle there are real and important differences. It lies on the surface that the second is not a mere republication of the first. From these differences I select the most important.

[1] 1. 'Paulus.' Professor D. W. Wrede, Breslau. *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher.*

2. *Die Entstehung der Paulinischen Christologie.* Dr. Martin Brückner.

3. *Jesus und Paulus.* D. J. Kaftan.

4. *Die geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesu auf Paulus.* D. Paul Kölbing.

5. *Die Grundgedanken der paulinischen Theologie.* Dr. Carl Clemen.

6. *Paulus und Jesus.* D. Adolf Jülicher.

7. *Wer hat das Christentum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus?* Arnold Meyer.

1. Paul was a theologian, and what he gives us is a speculative construction of high complexity. He moves among a multitude of elaborated and defined conceptions; and these conceptions are not left in isolation, but connected with each other and built into a system. He has a philosophy of creation, of human nature, of sin, death, and salvation, of Christ and human history, of the whole counsel of God. Everywhere reflexion is at work. His theology, as Meyer says, has affinities with the later gnostic systems, though lifted to an immeasurable height above them by its moral earnestness and the intrinsic value of its thoughts. Turning to the teaching of Jesus, we find nothing that can be called, in the strict sense of the word, theology. The conceptions with which Jesus works are few, simple and weighty; and He never attempts to give them logical precision or to connect them into a system. He has no doctrine of God, the Messiah, or sin. He is content to take sin as a fact, without asking how it arose or why man is under its power. His gospel involves no theory on such subjects. In the production of His thoughts, system with its inferences and presuppositions plays no part. From direct spiritual vision He derives the truths He utters, and these truths appeal to the receptive heart as self-evident. This is to state the contrast in its most general form. It is necessary to follow it into details.

2. There is a radical difference between Jesus and Paul with respect to their conception of the process by which man's salvation is accomplished. Paul's gospel is the gospel of a redemption achieved once for all on the cross. In and by His death Christ destroyed the hostile powers—the law, sin seated in the flesh, death—that held man in hopeless bondage. He delivered us from the curse of the law by bearing, as our representative, its penalty, and from the dominion of sin by carrying out on our sinful flesh, as represented in His own body, a sentence of execution. How He vanquished death is not made so clear. Sometimes it might appear as if it fell with the law, at other times as if Christ's resurrection involved that of all believers, and still again there is an appeal to the bare fact that Christ must reign, and therefore the last foe be trampled under foot. This destruction of the evil powers that hold man in bondage is an objective fact, belongs to a particular moment in history, and is entirely independent of what happens subsequently in the souls of believers. How this objective redemption becomes effective in the case of the individual is a question that belongs to Paul's doctrine of faith. If Jesus' gospel is to be described as a gospel of redemption, the word must be understood in a different sense. There is nothing in it that corresponds with the objective redemption of Paul. Of a deliverance from the curse of the law through a vicarious satisfaction of its claims, or from the sinful flesh through a death sentence carried out upon it in a particular historical event, Jesus knows nothing. His gospel is one of redemption only in the sense that it proclaims the holy love of God that seeks the sinful, forgives their sin, and restores them to fellowship. God is always near to forgive and to help; and there is no other redemption (if we leave out of account the apocalyptic catastrophe) than that which comes through the response of the heart in obedience and trust. This difference involves others; for the Pauline doctrine of redemption has several presuppositions.

3. Among its presuppositions is a doctrine of sin. According to Paul, all men are involved in sin through Adam's transgression; and their subjection to it is so absolute that, though they may know the good and even sigh after it, they are powerless to achieve it. So much his redemption doctrine requires; when he allows to men more than this, it is when he forgets his theory. Still further, he connects sin in the closest way with man's fleshly nature, and he regards human mortality as sin's penal consequence. No trace of all this is to be discovered in the teaching of Jesus. Jesus has no doctrine of sin's origin, or of its seat, or of its connexion with death. He has no doctrine of human depravity. Nowhere does He bring human life under a doctrinal scheme. He takes men as He finds them, seeing the evil in them and condemning it, seeing also the good and welcoming it. If He will call none good, in the absolute sense, save One, He knows of such as are merciful and pure in heart. The many follow the broad road, but all can repent and enter the strait gate.

4. A second presupposition of Paul's doctrine of redemption is his doctrine of the Law. In this doctrine the Law is narrowed down to the two elements of commandment and recompense; being separated from the Spirit, and made to

exclude every idea of mercy. God's purpose in giving the law was not to lead men to righteousness, but to conclude them under sin, and so prepare the way for the new era of grace. The law was thus of no more than temporary validity; but since it had certain rights, not altogether easy to define, it could be annulled only after these rights had been satisfied by a vicarious, or, more strictly, a representative death. For such ideas one will search the teaching of Jesus in vain. The Law for Jesus was the permanent expression of God's righteous will. He indeed criticised it as elaborated in Judaism, and even as formulated in Scripture; but He had no thought of abolishing, only of purifying and deepening it. Nowhere does He betray any sense of a conflict of claims between law and grace, or of the necessity for an atonement before grace can begin its reign. To all who come to Him in penitence He declares forgiveness, and that without a hint of a coming event apart from which the forgiveness would not be valid. If He attaches a condition to it, it is that a man must show towards others the same mercy which he looks for from God.

5. There is nothing in the teaching of Jesus of the sacramental element, which has a distinct, if not a very prominent, place in the theology of the Apostle.

6. In Jesus' teaching there is nothing that can be called Christology. That He believed Himself to be the Messiah, and allowed His disciples to think of Him as such, is held by the majority of scholars, if denied by some, and by Wrede in particular. We are met, however, by the difficulty of determining the meaning which He read into the term. The Messiah of Jewish expectation He certainly could not think Himself to be, and Schweitzer's book has shown us the dangers of attributing to Him too unreservedly the apocalyptic conception. The very fact that He left the idea undefined is sufficient proof that He taught no doctrine on the subject. In any case, He never made the recognition of His Messianic dignity a condition of discipleship. This dignity was not the basis of His proclamation; His doctrine of God, of righteousness, of sin and salvation is presented in complete independence of any idea as to His personal place in the scheme of Divine Providence. The faith He asked for was not faith in Himself as Messiah, but faith in God, or in Himself as identified with God's cause. In the Pauline theology, on the other hand, Christology occupies the central place. Paul's gospel is the story of a pre-existent, heavenly Being who, for man's salvation, assumed our nature, atoned by His death for our sins, rose from the dead and ascended to God's right hand, to intercede for His people, and, as the Spirit, to work in their hearts the fruits of faith and love. His doctrine of redemption is bound up with his conception of Christ's superhuman origin and dignity.

7. Jesus knows no other condition of salvation than the keeping of God's commandments. 'This do and thou shalt live,' that is His answer to the rich young ruler; and it is a typical answer. His appeal is always to the will, its form always that of the categorical imperative. When He speaks of faith it is in the sense of trust in God. Turning to Paul we find that the primary requirement is not moral doing, but faith in the sense of belief. To be saved a man must affirm and accept the redemption message. In appearance at least, Paul has shifted the centre of gravity from the will in the direction of the intellect.

Other points of difference might be added. Paul's rabbinical method of dealing with Scripture, his doctrine of predestination and of the Church, his mysticism, his conception of a spiritual body, his philosophy of history, are all elements which have little or nothing to correspond with them in the teaching of his Master.

That these differences exist would be admitted by many who would be far from drawing from them Wrede's conclusions. They are implied, for example, in the common assertion that Christ came, not so much to preach the gospel, as that there might be a gospel to preach. The more conservative scholars, it is true, would not make the admission without some reservations. In the teaching of Jesus they would find at least the germinal thoughts which appear in a more developed form in the Pauline system. In support of this view, they would appeal to certain sayings in the Synoptic Gospels, such as the ransom passage, and that beginning 'No man knoweth the Son but the Father,' and, above all, to the self-witness of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel. But this bridge between Jesus and Paul has, in the opinion of the vast majority of scholars, been broken down. Even the one or two theological sayings in the Synoptists are suspected of having been coloured by the faith of the primitive Church.

The contrast between Jesus and His great Apostle is left in all its sharpness. Paul's gospel of the incarnate Son of God who was delivered for our offences and raised again for our justification is, as compared with the gospel of Jesus, something new. None of Wrede's critics, not even Kaftan, questions this, though they may differ with respect to details.

The first question to be considered is as to the origin of those elements which are peculiar to Paul's theology. Whence did the Apostle derive them? In his own account of the matter (Gal $1^{12ff.}$) he expressly denies indebtedness to tradition for his gospel. He received his gospel not from men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. The risen and glorified Christ revealed it to him inwardly. But how are we to understand this assertion? Not, Wrede says, in the sense that his ideas were the product of his mind or phantasy working under the impulse of the Spirit. The splendid assurance and enthusiasm of his faith would be unintelligible, did we suppose it had no firmer basis than an inward illumination. It can be shown, Wrede thinks, that nearly all his conceptions were taken over bodily from Jewish theology. The predicates he applies to Christ had already been applied to the Jewish Messiah. In the moment of his conversion, when Jesus met him in the glory of His risen life, he identified Jesus with the Christ of his Jewish faith, and transferred to Him all the predicates of that Christ. His dependence on contemporary thought is no less apparent in his doctrine of redemption. The idea of salvation as a redemption from hostile superhuman powers was in the air alike in Judaism and in paganism. At the centre of the deeper pagan faiths there is always a heaven-born hero, who descends to earth to do battle with man's demonic foes, and returns to heaven laden with the spoils of victory. So also the atoning efficacy of a bloody victim was no unfamiliar idea to the religious world of Paul's day. It is the same with his doctrine of the two ages and of predestination, with his conception of the consequences of Adam's fall and of salvation as life, immortality, glory, with his eschatology with the Messiah at the centre, and with his ethical pessimism. They were nothing new to the educated Jew. Wrede will hardly allow any place to Paul's religious experience as a factor in the formation of his theology. All attempts to reconstruct the experience of his conversion, and from that to deduce the main lines of his theology, he rejects as having no solid foundation. Everything is explained on the hypothesis of borrowing.

(*To be concluded.*)

# The Call of Faith.

By the Rev. H. D. A. Major, M.A., Vice-Principal of the Clergy College, Ripon.

**'By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed . . . and he went out, not knowing whither he went . . . for he looked for the city which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God.'—Heb. xi. 8, 10.**

Study of abstract questions, such as the investigation of the great problems of theology and philosophy demand, is apt to prove very depressing; for we soon find ourselves involved in intellectual difficulties of various kinds, and the probability of attaining satisfactory knowledge of anything except material things, or any full and final solution of the great problems of life, seems quite out of the question.

Wearied and benumbed, we wonder if God and immortality, good and evil, freewill and eternal life, have any existence at all; we wonder if they are aught else but fantastic illusions which by turns dazzle and torment us.

Now when we get to this stage there is a tendency for us to do one of two things.

1. The first is this. It is to reason with ourselves in this wise. Life is a hopeless mystery. Nothing is real except the sensations of present pleasure or pain, and the knowledge by which the former can be obtained and the latter avoided. Act, therefore, so as to obtain the maximum of the one and the minimum of the other, and count yourself a fool if at the end of life you cannot feel

that you have warmed both hands before its kindly but dangerous fires.

If we adopt this attitude we are found addressing ourselves in the words of the Book of Wisdom. 'Come now, therefore, and let us enjoy the good things of the present, and let us use creation with the ardour of youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and let no flower of the spring pass us by. Let us crown ourselves with rose-buds ere they be withered, let none go without his share in our proud revelry . . . for this is our portion, and our lot is this' (ii. 6-9).

Our pleasure will not, of course, always take this form. It will vary with the age and tastes and circumstances of each. *Trahit sua quemque voluptas.* Never forego it, that is all. To miss it, is to miss life. Unless you have enjoyed, you have not lived. The pleasures may be high or low, gross or refined. But the message of this ideal of life runs thus. Live in the present. Enjoy the present. The future is not yours, therefore it is folly to live for it. There may be a world outside the world of your immediate sensations, but you can have no certain knowledge of it. Enjoy, therefore, the things of sense and time, and do it now; this is a plan which is at once wise, practical, and pleasant.

2. The other attitude which you may adopt—especially if you are not naturally strong and sensuous—is this.

Everything is mysterious, but it is the will of God that it should be so, therefore accept it. Life, it is true, is full of problems, but why trouble to try and solve them? God has set a limit to human faculties, wherefore, then, trouble with eternal designs a mind too weak to compass them? God, it would seem, has given men certain plain commands, let us obey them, for there is only greater danger and pain if we do not.

Faith and obedience of no very exacting character may help us to escape these perils. Why give tedious thought to God's eternal purposes for mankind or how He is going to accomplish them? He is Almighty, and the responsibility is His. Cultivate instead trust in Him, belief in His scheme of salvation as revealed in His Word, and rest in the finished work of the Saviour. These are the means by which we can pass through things temporal so as not to lose the things eternal. To these, therefore, let us yield ourselves. Theological and philosophical speculation, historical and scientific investigation, critical methods and modern conclusions, have nothing to do with us. There are but two realities for us in the Universe—God and the individual soul. Let nothing come between them to disturb the trustful calm of the latter. Now to my mind neither of these attitudes is the best, though certainly the second is far better than the first. And I admit that the second may be the only practicable attitude for men in a certain stage of mental and spiritual development, but it is not, I would maintain, a right attitude for the religious teacher of to-day.

The first attitude is hedonistic and materialistic, and denies the reality of the moral and spiritual sides of our nature.

The second is fatalistic and individualistic, and denies to the intellect that scope and freedom necessary for its probation.

Each attitude is essentially selfish and unsocial; each is essentially unintelligent; each is essentially unheroic; each is essentially unworthy of such a creature as is man.

3. But it is not because these two attitudes are in themselves open to objection that I have dealt with them, but because there is, so it seems to me, an ideal of life which differs greatly from each of them. An ideal which, though it be trustful and humble, is essentially fearless, active, aspiring, social, generous. It values all that this life can give, though in varying degrees, but it values the getting of these good gifts more than the gifts themselves. It frankly recognizes that this world is a place in which effort, pain, danger, and death must be undergone by every one in it, but it does not count it a worse world on that account. Its attitude towards life is robust. For instance, it counts not absolute knowledge either of God or Nature or Man as of the highest value. It asks not to be given knowledge of this kind made up in neat parcels for immediate consumption, it rejoices rather in the privilege of wringing it out of things. It believes that God wills this. It asks not for everything around it to be harmonious and in perfect order, it rejoices rather in the privilege—by which it believes it becomes a fellow-worker with God—of putting things right. It asks not for immunity from danger, pain, or death—and though not courting them, it hopes to be willing to face them bravely—for it believes that life would lose its educative value if opportunities for courage self-sacrifice, love, and faith were removed from it.

That life, moreover, would lose its hallowing mystery, its solemn impressiveness, its thoughts too deep for tears, if there were nothing dark and painful and inexplicable in it.

In short, that if it were not for these things men and women would be mere rosy-cheeked cherubs, so complacent, so unthinking, so lacking in sympathy, energy, originality, sensibility, and, indeed, in everything that makes a human being really human —in short, so utterly useless and uninteresting as to be a grave reflexion upon the Being or process that brought humanity into existence.

Now it is this ideal of life translated into modern terms which is, I believe, thoroughly Christian. We know that recent writers, Nietzsche, Mr. Garrod, and others, have complained of the lack of heroism and nobility in Christianity. One reason at least for their doing this, is that they have looked at only one side of Christianity — its submissiveness, and have even there identified ὑπομονή with μακροθυμία.

But submission to the will of God is only one side of the Christian life. One does not suppose that God only brought us into existence merely that we might submit to His will. There was certainly another purpose in Creation, namely, the learning the Divine will—this comprises the enthralling search for truth; and co-operation with the Divine will — this comprises the strenuous exercise of virtue.

It is this latter aspect of our relation to the Divine will which is active and heroic. It demands that a man should be willing to throw away his life that he may carry it out, and it places at the head of its list of the damned—all cowards (Rev $21^8$; cf. 2 Ti $1^7$, Jn $14^{27}$, Mk $4^{40}$ $8^{35}$). Now faith is that quality which enables a man to achieve this ideal. The view which regards faith as another term for credulity—the faculty which enables one to believe what is untrue; or the even more misguiding view of faith as 'belief founded upon evidence'—are both hopelessly astray. Faith is an active, responsive, courageous, aspiring spirit. It is not concerned with minutely balanced probabilities or with carefully calculated profit and loss accounts. It is rather a spirit which teaches a man to live as part of a great invisible Universe in which love, order, duty, courage, truth are the great realities. A Universe in which God is the ideal, and the world of sense and time a mirror which reflects Him for the pure and brave, but distorts or hides Him from the cowardly, slothful, and materialistic. It is this spirit of faith which the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews eulogizes. It sees evidence of its working in a long line of ancestors of the Hebrew race. It led these men, in obedience to the Divine call which it voices, to traverse unknown lands, to stand in splendid isolation against a world with different aims, to endure torture not accepting deliverance, to turn to flight armies of aliens, in short to do innumerable deeds which are inexplicable and unjustifiable if we adopt a materialistic, or even, as it seems to me, a purely individualistic interpretation of life.

The four points especially to be noticed are these.

1. Faith voices a call. This call comes to us as the Voice of God, the Demand of Duty, the Vision of the Ideal. It is not capable of logical demonstration. If men are merely material creatures; if there is no God and Father, no eternal life,—then the Call of Faith is a delusion.

But here is the difficulty—there is no way of proving to demonstration that such eternal realities do exist except by striving to live in relation with them. And so of Abraham—the father of the faithful,—we read, that 'he went out, not knowing whither he went.' He had, you see, no 'dead certainty' in view. He, like a brave and great man, took all the risks. To him, as Kipling describes in his 'Song of the Explorers,'

> Came the Whisper, came the Vision, came the Power with the Need,
> Till the Soul that is not man's soul was lent him to lead.

2. Again, the Call of Faith is not absolutely authoritative. It does not speak in accents which no one can refuse to hear, and so it may be ignored and neglected—and indeed it often is. We may pretend that it was never uttered, and the dulling influence of materialism will assist our self-deceit, for

> . . . Whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it.

3. Again, the Call of Faith is social. Though they who obey the call are acting in obedience to the highest law of their being, yet they do not so act from a selfish motive. They do not flee from the City of Destruction simply to save their own lives,

but because it is no fit city of which to be a citizen. Moreover, in their quest for the city that hath the foundations, they are supported by the thought, that it is not for themselves alone, but for their brethren as well, that they have undertaken the task. Abraham obeyed the call that he might become the father of the faithful, through whom all the families of the earth should be blessed. And inasmuch as their quest is not selfish, so their reward is not selfish either. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of the heroes of faith, that though they gained the Divine approval, 'yet they received not the promise, that apart from us . . . they should not be made perfect.' They then recognize, desire, and receive no reward which cannot be shared by their brethren. And so, as they pass on their way, their message is one of fellowship and encouragement:

> Follow after, follow after, we have watered the root,
> And the bud has come to blossom that ripens for fruit.

4. And lastly, the Call of Faith is for a man that is really human, the only call worth following. It is the call of his higher nature. It comes to him in the revelation of all that is good.

> Whene'er a noble deed is wrought,
> Whene'er is spoken a noble thought,
> Our hearts in glad surprise
> To higher levels rise,
> The tidal wave of deeper souls
> Into our inmost being rolls,
> And lifts us unawares
> Out of all meaner cares.

Of Abraham we read that he and his fellow-patriarchs were seeking a better country—a fatherland. A home in which their being had its origin and in which alone it could rest. They have seen a vision of God and of man as God's son, and they will follow it. In time nothing counts to them beside it. To follow it is the law of their being. Will they ever reach it? After a while they never ask that question. The ideal may be real, and it may be realizable; but whether it be so or not, they scorn any ideal which is lower and baser. 'The city that hath the foundations'—foundations in the spiritual and the eternal order of things. 'The city whose builder and maker is God'—God from whom man draws his essential being—it may all be such stuff as dreams are made of, they care not if it be so, for they can never persuade themselves that it is.

This they know; it is their only fatherland. It is the only city on whose roll of citizens they will have their names inscribed. Its laws, its customs, its ideals are the only ones for them.

There is a celebrated passage at the end of the ninth book of the *Republic* which shows us that Plato was a citizen of this city as well as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

'I understand,' he replied, 'that he will live as a citizen of such a city. You mean such a city as we have described in every particular, but which is confined to the region of speculation, for I do not believe that it is to be found anywhere on earth.' 'Well,' said I, 'perhaps in heaven there is laid up a pattern of it for him who wishes to behold it, and beholding, to regulate his life accordingly. And the question of its present or future existence on earth is quite unimportant. For in any case he will adopt the practices of such a city, and of none other.' 'Probably he will,' he replied.

# Recent Foreign Theology.

GEORGES BRIDEL & C^IE^, LAUSANNE.

*La Loi dans l'Ancienne Alliance.* Par Lucien Gautier (Fr.1.50).

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FISCHBACHER, Paris.

*La Valeur Religieuse des Principes de la Théologie Évangélique Moderne.* Par E. Ménégoz (Fr.0.50).

*Une Réforme Urgente dans l'Enseignement. Évangélique.* Par E. Petavel-Olliff (Fr.0.50).

*La Notion de l'Esprit.* I. 'La Doctrine Paulinienne,' par Jean Arnal. With this volume M. Arnal enters upon an exhaustive study of the doctrine of the Spirit. He is convinced that the most unintelligible, and therefore the most unprofitable, of all the great doctrines of the Bible has suffered from a wrong method of study. The wrong method is the collecting of indiscriminate texts throughout the Bible. The right method is

to discover the genesis of the doctrine in the earliest texts and trace its evolution through those that come after.

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HINRICHS, Leipzig.

*Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân*, von Robt. Roberts, B.A., Ph.D. Although written in German and issued from a German house, this is the work of a Welshman. And very good work it is. We shall take a note of Dr. Roberts as a Muhammadan scholar to have dealings with. In what a variety of ways the Qu'rān is spelt. In Dr. Roberts' literature we find Coran, Qoran, Koran, Ḳur-án, Corân, Qorân, Qu'rân.

*Amos Nahum Habakuk.* Herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. W. Staerk (M.1). This is volume ii. of the 'Selected Poetic Texts of the Old Testament.'

*La Tradition Manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur.* Par Joseph Bidez (M.4).

*Paulus an Philemon*, von Dr. Phil. Alexis Schumann (M.1.50). A popular evangelical exposition by a Leipzig Pfarrer.

*Musik und Religion, Gottesdienst und Volksfeier*, von Paul Kleinert (M.1.60). Herr Kleinert's purpose is to attach the best music to the service of God and get the people to take pleasure therein. He works his subject historically, from the Early Church Music to what is technically known as the New Music.

*Augustin, Studien zu seiner geistigen Entwicklung.* Von Lic. Dr. Hans Becher (M.3).

*Ezechielstudien*, von Johannes Herrmann (M.4). Dr. Herrmann divides his studies into two parts. The first part contains an analysis of the Book of Ezekiel, while the second part is an essay on the Prophet and his message. A fresh and suggestive section is entitled 'Zur Art der Inspiration Ezechiels.'

*Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte*, von Rudolf Kittel (M.6.50). This important volume contains four essays, which are illustrated by forty-four engravings. The essays are (1) The Sacred Rock on Moriah and its Altars; (2) The Primitive Rock Altar and its Deity; (3) The Serpent Stone in the Kidron Valley near Jerusalem; (4) The 'Bases' in the Temple of Solomon.

## Christian Archaeology.[1]

A MANUAL of Christian Archæology to be of service could not be a very small book. Dom Leclercq's book is not small. It occupies two large octavo volumes of nearly 700 pages each. A smaller book would not have been sufficient.

For Christian Archæology has become in our day a very large subject. Let us see how many things it covers. In the first volume there are three chapters, a preliminary chapter and three appendixes. The first chapter traces the influences at work in the formation of Christian Archæology as we know it, these influences being Jewish, Mithraic, Classical, and Christian. The second chapter describes the catacombs and the cemeteries. The third chapter gives an account of the places of Christian meeting in the years that preceded the public recognition of Christianity.

With the second volume we enter upon a systematic study of Architecture and Art. It is divided into sixteen chapters. First of all there is a chapter on Methods of Construction. Thereafter the titles of the chapters in order are, Architecture, Painting, Mosaics, Statuary, Bas-reliefs, Ivories, Glyptics, Gold and Silver Work, and Enamelling, Glass Work, Terra-cotta Work, Metal Work, Numismatics, Tapestry, Miniatures, all the Minor Arts being gathered into one concluding chapter on work in Wood, Bone, Amber, Stucco, Slate, Crystal, and—Caricature.

Thus, as befits a manual, everything is here, and everything is in order. The combination of clearness and fulness is a feature of the work which is very acceptable. We could have taken a larger number of illustrations, but no doubt their number had to be reduced. And we can well believe that the author is quite as disappointed as the reader that they are not more numerous. Still there are a good many illustrations, and they have been well selected.

One feature remains to be noticed, and it must on no account be omitted. It is the series of bibliographies. Each chapter has its own bibliography, and each bibliography is just full enough. The author has evidently taken much pains with this matter, and has given the date and place of

[1] *Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, depuis les Origines jusqu'au viii^e^ Siècle. Par Dom H. Leclercq. Paris: Letouzey & Ané. 2 vols.

publication of every book mentioned, as of course it was his duty to do.

## The Liturgical Vestments.[1]

By the issue of this handsome volume Pfarrer Braun and his publishers have supplied a want which has been long and sorely felt. And they have supplied it in a way that is the most satisfactory possible. We have called it a handsome volume. It runs to xxiv + 797 pages in royal octavo, beautifully printed, and illustrated by no fewer than 316 engravings.

As the title states, the book covers the whole field — the Western Church and the Eastern Church. It traces the existence of the vestments to its origin, and shows the relation which one vestment bears to another. It gives directions for the wearing of the various garments, and information upon their symbolical meaning. Now, it is just such a complete manual as this that was needed, and it was needed by the student of antiquities as well as by the student of symbolics. Fr. Braun has mastered the literature, and again and again he has taken the trouble to verify what the literature contains by an examination of the articles themselves. Many of the illustrations also are photographs or drawings of the actual objects described and illustrated.

It is a book which deserves to be translated into English, deserves it much more than many books that have recently been translated. But that will take time. Meanwhile those who in this country are exercised either as regards the wearing of ecclesiastical vestments, or as regards their symbolical meaning, may confidently be recommended to this great scholarly and yet popular work.

## The Epistle of Jude.[2]

This valuable work from the pen of a Roman Catholic scholar will amply repay the attention of the student of Introduction, Exegesis, and the History of Primitive Christianity. The writer has mastered his text, rightly judging that the most thorough and exact interpretation of the language of the letter can alone serve as the foundation for inferences as to its origin, date, and character. But he has also devoted much time to the literature of his subject, and his knowledge of it is comprehensive and accurate. He is familiar with the best works on the topic, whether by Roman Catholic or Protestant scholars, and has perused them with intelligence and ability. He has formed a clear and full conception of the task before him, and pursued it steadily and with signal success. The erudition shown in the treatise is solid and exact: the range, penetration, and independence of judgment are notable, and there is no appearance of prejudice or bias. The one aim of the writer is to ascertain and illustrate the truth. From the very nature of the case the greater part of the book consists of the exposition and criticism of views which the author is forced to set aside; but, as every scholar knows, the examination of such opinions is indispensable at the present moment, and will continue to be till there is general acquiescence in the results of criticism.

The conclusion at which the writer arrives is that the evidence, internal and external, for the genuineness of the Epistle is decisive. Nor is this verdict questionable by any competent judge. If ever a letter spoke in favour of itself it is this simple, modest, and incidental Epistle, which makes no claims to be the product of any great name and which serves no purpose which a forger could conceivably entertain. In so full a work, nearly every page of which bristles with controverted points, it is impossible not to find inferences and statements which provoke dissent; but no one will differ from Mr. Maier without admitting that, as a rule, he appreciates the significance of every question, and that he has carefully weighed the evidence relating to it. The main subject on which we cannot agree with him is as to the identity of Jude with the Judas who was one of the Twelve. This view of our Lord's brothers has no foundation in Scripture or in early Christian literature, and rests solely on arbitrary assumptions made by Jerome. It should, however, be stated that this question is not dealt with at length.

The treatise is divided into three parts. The first discusses the genuineness of the letter; the second its date; the third its destination. On all these

[1] *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient*, nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik. Von Joseph Braun, S.J. Mit 316 Abbildungen. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung. M.30.)

[2] *Der Judas Brief*. Von F. Maier. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung. M.4.40.

subjects the various views which have been held, in so far as they are of account, are stated clearly and fairly, and examined with temper and sagacity.

The first part contains four sections dealing with the primitive Christian character of the letter, its literary relationships, its nature as a literary product, and its attestation. Every page here is instructive, but among the most noteworthy are those which discuss the alleged Gnosticism of the letter. This is the one question of supreme importance; if the Gnosticism of the second century, the Gnosticism with which we are made familiar by Irenæus or Hippolytus, is found in the letter, it is not the product of the writer whose name it bears. It would be easy to form a long list of writers in different languages, and even of true scholars both English and German, to mention no others, who with almost wearisome monotony repeat the same assertions as to the Gnosticism of the readers in the same words and quote the same passages. But as soon as a disciplined mind is applied to the scrutiny of the passages and their meaning, the emptiness of the argument is perceived. It is futile to base a conclusion on interpretations not one of which is accepted by scholars who have no interest to serve but that of truth. There are, in fact, few more instructive and admonitory pages than those which set forth the attempts made by large numbers of scholars to construe the Epistle in the light of some system or another of Gnosticism. There is no system of Gnosticism known to us which corresponds to the language of Jude. A system has to be conjectured to meet the exigencies of the case, but conjecture has not yet taken the place of reality. A casual expression of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* III. ii. 11), wrongly understood, has led a number of scholars to assert that Jude refers to Carpocrates. But when we turn to the teaching of Carpocrates, and after reading it ask ourselves if this is the teaching of Jude, we marvel at the blindness which overlooks the most obtrusive points of dissimilarity. Even on the most favourable hypothesis, it would be as reasonable to describe one of the vessels in which Columbus crossed the Atlantic in terms of the most recent addition to the Cunard fleet, as to identify the false teaching of Jude with that of Carpocrates. The whole discussion of this theme is luminous, and skilful use is made in this connexion of the 'advanced' view of 2 Peter. According to this view 2 Peter is dependent on Jude, and represents a further stage of doctrinal development, being composed in the very throes of the conflict with Gnosticism. How is it then, asks Maier with much force, that nearly all the so-called Gnostic features of Jude have disappeared from 2 Peter? As regards the other signs of a late date: the objective sense of the term 'faith,' the reference to the prophecies of the Apostles, the quotations from apocryphal writings, Maier has no difficulty in showing that all these are perfectly compatible with a date within the lifetime of Jude. No one who has gone over the ground independently will feel any surprise that the result of the inquiry into the literary affinities of the letter is the verdict that the alleged dependence on letters whose date is posterior to that of Jude is a mere dream of the imagination. Perhaps the grossest instances of critical recklessness are to be found among the quotations adduced to prove the indebtedness of one work to another. Equally important with the discussion on the supposed Gnosticism of the Epistle is the section devoted to its nature as a literary production. Here the opinions of Harnack and Deissmann are tested with acuteness, breadth of mind, and true historical judgment. The hypothesis of pseudonymity admits of no tolerance; yet the whole critical view of the letter reposes on this basis. A pseudonymous work has always an aim which can be assigned. What aim can be mentioned in the case of Jude which is for a moment credible? What motive could any person writing in the second century have for choosing the name of Jude, the name of a most obscure man, and using it to introduce teaching which is of the most obvious Christian description, which is difficult to follow just because it is so largely hortatory and because it takes so much for granted, which answers to no conditions distinctive of the second century, and which could further no interest that any writer of the second century with a cause to serve can be supposed to have had at heart?

The subject of the date of the letter is treated under the two great heads the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ante quem*. Under this latter head there is a discussion of the genuineness of 2 Peter which it would be well for English scholars to read, more especially because of the negative judgments of writers like Chase and Mayor. The case for 2 Peter is put temperately and moderately, and certainly much more can be said in favour of its

genuineness than Chase and Mayor seem to recognize. Neither of these writers appears to appreciate the difficulty of giving any intelligible account of 2 Peter on the hypothesis of its spuriousness. The reason why Maier examines the question of the genuineness of 2 Peter is because he believes that Jude preceded 2 Peter, and that the date of 2 Peter furnishes a clue to the date of Jude. The treatment of the topic of the date is full, accurate, and well balanced. The indications which lead to the letter being placed late rather than early in the Apostolic age are set forth simply and plainly. The heretical views combated; the appeal to contend for the faith once for all delivered to the saints; the reference to prophecies of the Apostles as an incident in the past; the possible use of phrases which may be Paul's; the employment of what may have been liturgical formulas, speak for a late as against an early date. But no definite date can be elicited, directly or indirectly, from the contents of the letter after which it must be placed. Zahn's contention, supported with his usual ingenuity and wealth of learning, that v.[5] refers to the destruction of Jerusalem, is rightly rejected; while with equal propriety the same measure is dealt out to the assertion that the character of the language used regarding the Apostles in v.[17] proves that they were all dead. It is further shown that the view that the Epistle could not have been written during the lifetime of James is lacking in cogency, because there might have been as good reasons for the preparation of the letter while he lived as after his death. So, too, the absence of any allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem must not be taken to prove that that great calamity was still future. Due emphasis is laid on the strength of the expectation of the Parousia as corroborating the ordinary opinion as to the date. The one limit beyond which it is impossible to descend if the Epistle is genuine, is the death of Jude; but there is no specific evidence bearing on that date. There is, however, great likelihood that he did not long survive the year 70. What is related by Hegesippus concerning his grandsons, suggests that at the time of their arrest and trial their grandfather had been dead for many years. The line of argument pursued by the author would have been still clearer and more convincing had he adopted the view suggested by the N.T. and by the oldest Christian testimony, that Jude was one of the younger children of Joseph and Mary; but he is precluded by the dogmas of his Church from accepting this result. Assuming it as correct, Jude could hardly have been born later than 10 A.D. In 35 he could easily have been a father, and in 60 a grandfather. This chronology is that which does the fullest justice to the notice of Hegesippus relating to the grandsons of Jude, for it permits them to be of mature age at the time of their summons before Domitian, shortly after which they seem to have acquired a leading place among the Churches. It may then be taken as highly probable that Jude did not long outlive the year 70. A more definite date still may be assigned to the letter. Maier rightly asserts, in opposition to many writers on the conservative side, that Jude is prior to 2 Peter. Holding this opinion and accepting 2 Peter as genuine he asks when Peter died, and concludes that the most probable date of that event is the year 67. He would assign 2 Peter to the same year, and Jude he is disposed to place a year earlier, though he allows that any time during the years 64 to 66 may be assigned to its composition. This conclusion is evidently reasonable. It makes Jude prepare this brief letter at the age of fifty-five, and thus makes ample allowance for the larger work which he contemplated.

The third part of Maier's treatise discusses the readers of the letter. Here he wisely admits that the final result can only be described as highly probable, for there is nothing in the letter itself which reveals the nationality of the readers or the quarter in which they lived. Three views are examined and set aside: that the letter is addressed to Christians in general; that it is addressed to the same readers as 2 Peter; that it is addressed to Gentile Christians, say, in Asia Minor. Considerations are then adduced to show that it was intended for Jewish Christians.

The argument in favour of the universal destination of the letter breaks down before the most cursory examination of the contents. It is true that the readers are spoken of in general terms applicable to all Christians. It is true that there are no local references; no names, no greetings; but even if the character of the letter were very different from what it is, who is there intimate to any extent with the Christianity of the first century who will entertain the idea of a letter being addressed

to all the congregations then in existence? The conception is a pure anachronism. But the letter on examination proves to be intended for a definite community. The writer has given persons, given conditions, given facts before him. He is acquainted with the past history and the present state of those to whom he speaks. The more carefully the letter is studied, the stronger becomes the conviction that the author is writing to a body of persons of whom he had personal knowledge.

Maier has an easy task in disposing of the view that the readers of Jude and 2 Peter are the same. But he errs in supposing that those Protestant scholars who hold the genuineness of 2 Peter can only do this by asserting that the readers of the two Epistles were the same. A fuller acquaintance with the opinions of Protestant writers would have led him to qualify this statement. The objections to the dependence of Jude on 2 Peter are expounded with lucidity and force, but this question may almost be considered as settled. The great majority of scholars of all schools have pronounced in favour of the priority of Jude. The criticism of the counter positions of Spitta and Zahn is marked by skill, scholarship, and exegetical tact. Few scholars of the day exhibit greater ingenuity and fertility of resource than Spitta and Zahn, but the unprejudiced reader must grant that they fail utterly in proving their case, and that the considerations on the other side are decisive.

The argument that the readers were a mixed body is properly dismissed by Maier as antiquated. The readers are a homogeneous group, animated by one spirit. There is no trace of friction or of divisions among them. The very intruders have not dared to appear openly among them. But it is needless to pursue this topic further.

Against the view that the readers were Gentile Christians, which is probably that held by most English scholars, Maier adduces the historical argument that at the date of Jude the condition of these Churches was satisfactory, as is shown by the Epistles to the Ephesians and by 1 Peter, which were addressed about the same time to Asia Minor. But this argument is precarious. What of the testimony of the Epistle to the Colossians? Again, he contends that the errors against which 2 Peter is directed are not in Asia Minor, but are to show themselves there. But this assumes that the problem of the destination of 2 Peter is settled. He points out further that the parallels with Asia Minor might also have been drawn with Corinth, where the same phenomena are found. But this, of course, does not disprove their existence in Asia Minor. Finally, he points out that parallels can also be drawn from the Epistle of James and from the Epistle to the Hebrews. These are Jewish documents, and hence it cannot be assumed that the false tenets and practices condemned in the letter are exclusively Gentile.

Accordingly, the evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the readers are Jewish Christians can now be examined on its merits. Maier proceeds to build up a cumulative argument showing in a large series of particulars that the dip of the balance is towards the Jewish Christian view. It cannot be said that all the points dwelt on are of equal force, nor that the reasoning in connexion with them is equally convincing.

The first argument turns on what is known of the history of Jude, and the opinion is expressed that this favours the supposition that the readers were Jewish Christians. It is improbable that the mission of Jude extended beyond the limits of the Holy Land, and confirmation of this conclusion is found in the presence of his grandsons in Galilee. This point is suggestive, and is certainly not invalidated by the reference of Paul to the missionary journeys of the Lord's brothers, for there is no reason to infer that these journeys lay outside of Palestine. It is, of course, quite possible that they did, but it is equally possible and as likely that they did not. It is, however, over subtlety when Maier seeks to conclude, from the way in which Jude is mentioned in the Gospel of John, that he was not known in Asia Minor. It is otherwise, however, with the weight attached to the designation 'brother of James.' This description would be most influential in the circles with which James was specially identified, namely, Jewish Christian circles. The known facts touching Jude suggest that he was much more likely to be in communication with the Churches of Palestine than with those of Asia Minor. There follows a highly ingenious attempt to show that the explanation of the difference between the modes of reference to the O.T. types in Jude as compared with St. Peter is to be found in the circumstance that Jude was written to Jewish, while Peter was written to Gentile, Christians. But these differences can be explained just as readily from the different endowments, modes of thought, and views of the writers.

The argument that the apocryphal quotations of Jude point in the direction of Jewish Christian readers is sound, though it must not be pressed unduly. There is force, too, in the assertion, though it is perhaps too strongly urged by the writer, that the language, structure, and contents of the Epistle not only reveal a Jewish Christian writer, but equally suggest Jewish Christian readers. No fair-minded critic will decline to admit that Maier has made out a weighty plea for the conclusion that the readers were Jewish Christians.

From this exposition and criticism the student will be in a position to estimate for himself the great value of this monograph.

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## Dr. Loofs on the Reformation Gospel.

A WELL-PLANNED series of volumes edited by Lic. Gustav Leonhardi bears the general title *Die Predigt der Kirche.* The series has seven divisions, entitled respectively, 'Preachers of the Eastern Church,' namely, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil the Great, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa; 'Preachers of the Western Church,' namely, Augustine, Cæsarius, and Ambrose; 'Preachers of the Mediæval Church,' namely, Bernard of Clairvaux, Eckhart, Savonarola, Tauler, Berthold of Regensburg, and Hus; 'Preachers of the Reformation and Post-Reformation Age,' namely, Luther (2 vols.), Heinrich Müller, Herberger, Arndt, and Brenz; 'German Preachers of Modern Times,' namely, Harms, Schleiermacher, Dräseke, Reinhard, Hofacker, and Tholuck; 'Non-German Preachers of Modern Times,' namely, Alexander Vinet, Chalmers, Bossuet, Massillon, Saurin, and Wesley; 'Present-day Preachers,' in which the volume of greatest value is *Academic Sermons*, by Dr. Friedrich Loofs, Professor of Church History in Halle University (Dresden: C. Ludwig Ungelenk). The entire series may be heartily commended to students of the history of preaching in the Christian Church.

In an interesting Preface, Dr. Loofs gives his views on 'Present-day Preaching,' making good use of his twenty years' experience of preaching from a University pulpit. As a theologian familiar with the trend of modern thought, he confesses that his task has been easier when he has not attempted to expound the deeper truths of the evangelical faith. But he has striven faithfully to discharge the more difficult duty, as the sermons contained in this volume are intended to show. The general verdict of its readers will be that he has been remarkably successful in distinguishing between the kernel of truth and the husks of dogmatic formulæ. No less than seven of the twelve sermons are devoted to the central themes of the Reformation gospel; in this article, some account will be given of the presentation of the doctrines of justification by faith and of the atonement.

The subjects for two sermons are found in Ro $3^{23-31}$. The first was delivered on the festival of the Reformation (November 4th, 1906).

Speaking to the members of a University (Halle-Wittenberg) which boasts of having Luther on the roll of its professors, Dr. Loofs appropriately reminded his hearers that the new thoughts which led to the Reformation arose in the mind of Luther during his academic work, and found expression in his lectures a year or two before that epoch-making year, 1517. On the banner of the Reformation, Luther inscribed the motto: 'A man is justified by faith alone, apart from the works of the law.' To those who objected to his insertion of the word 'alone,' he replied in 1530: 'It is not only right, but it is also highly necessary to declare as plainly and as fully as possible that it is faith alone, without works, that justifies. Indeed, I am sorry that I did not insert two 'alls' and say, "by faith alone without *all* works of *all* laws."' But in Germany, even amongst those who, on the festival of the Reformation, joyfully sing, 'A safe stronghold our God is still,' and honour Luther on account of his brave resistance of Papal oppression, there are many who lack enthusiasm for his doctrine of justification by faith, and adopt a critical attitude towards the gospel of the Reformation.

Four objections are met in as many sermons: (1) This continual talking about sin and grace is harmful to true morality; (2) the gospel of redemption through Christ suggests false ideas of the God of love; (3) constant gazing on our future standing before God's judgment diverts our attention from the present world in which true Christianity makes us strong for the endurance of trial, the resisting of temptation, and the suffering of death; (4) the gospel of Christ as Redeemer is

one-sided,—it so exclusively fixes our thoughts upon His death as to lead to the undervaluing of His life and teaching.

In reply to the first objection, reasons are given for maintaining that 'The Reformation preaching of sin and grace is beneficial to morals.' Stress is laid upon two main considerations: (1) moral purpose is presupposed in true knowledge of sin; (2) moral ability is involved in a real understanding of grace.

Under the former heading, Dr. Loofs shows that without knowledge of sin, understanding of grace is impossible. Sinfulness is more than imperfection and moral deficiency. Sin is wrong done to God; it is *sin* because it excludes us from fellowship with Him. 'That all men are imperfect no sensible man denies; but only he who has some real knowledge of a holy God can speak of sin in himself, or of the sinfulness of men.' The Reformation gospel does not, however, begin by insisting upon the universal sinfulness of mankind, lest moral laxity should be induced in those who lack conviction of their personal guilt. Luther's religious experience is instructive. In its earliest stages he had a serious, moral purpose; he wished to be good (*fromm zu werden*). Accordingly, when he began to preach, he assumed that his hearers also desired to be good. Therefore, he would not proclaim to them God's law, lest it should drive them to despair. Later, he discovered how many there are who fail to realize that they are far from being what they ought to be; hence, he became a zealous preacher of the law of God, urging its claims upon the consciences of men. Modern preachers of the Reformation gospel speak to men who have doubts as to the existence of God; attention is often called in vain to the claims of the Divine law, but appeal may still be made to man's sense of moral obligation. Such preaching is morally beneficial, inasmuch as it aims at transforming the conviction that something better *ought* to be into the desire that it *may* be, and the purpose that it *shall* be. Our modern teachers advise us not to notice the discrepancy between what is, and what ought to be. To call to mind our failures is, it is said, to clip the wings of the soul; but the truth is that to shut our eyes to our faults, and to our sins, is equivalent to drugging the moral sense. But the gospel assumes energetic moral purpose in those to whom its consolations are offered. They may have proved that earnest desire is as remote from realization as strenuous endeavour is from attainment; disappointments may have resulted in disheartenment. But he who has seriously set himself to his moral task, though he may be conscious of failure, is in advance of him whose heroic, holiday idealism leads him to adopt a policy of silence, vainly imagining that by avoiding all reference to sin the moral powers will be saved from injury.

Under the second heading Dr. Loofs points out that the Reformation doctrine of grace is caricatured when it is represented as prejudicial to morals. Luther's teaching in regard to justification by faith alone must be understood in the light of his favourite comparison of the justified believer to a good tree which can and should and *must* bear good fruit. Melanchthon gives clear expression to the Reformation gospel when he says: 'Christianity in its entirety is faith and its fruits.' Moreover, in Luther's doctrine of grace, moral ability is included. He had learnt from the New Testament that, as Kant afterwards insisted, there is nothing good in the world, save a good will. To have a good will implies moral ability, and this is the gift of the faith that justifies. To believe is to receive God's grace, to rest upon His mercy alone, and to have confidence towards God, not because we have partially accomplished our moral task, but because—and solely because—He has graciously revealed to us His Love as our Father.

In the second sermon on the great passage in Ro 3, Dr. Loofs dwells especially on vv.[23-26], and proceeds to answer the objection that the gospel of Redemption through Christ suggests false ideas of the God of love. The exposition of the word 'propitiation' shall be summarized. In the island of Cos (cf. Ac 21[1]), on the coast of Asia Minor, there was in St. Paul's day a statue with an inscription stating that the people of Cos had erected it in the interests of the Emperor Augustus as a 'propitiation' to the gods. 'But can Paul allude to this heathen custom? The true God whom he preached certainly does not need to be propitiated by gifts and statues. Granted. But it is precisely in the allusion to this heathen custom that the special significance of the Apostle's words becomes clear. Men erected these heathen propitiations for the gods; but Paul says of Christ that God set Him forth in His blood as a propitiation for all sinners. The Cross of Christ—this is the meaning of the Apostle's words—stands there before all the

world as a sign that God wills to be gracious to sinners. And God Himself has set up this propitiation. He does not wait until men come bringing offerings to Him; He Himself has erected this propitiation for all the world, as a memorial, visible far and wide, of His prevenient (*zuvorkommende*) Love. For the inscription on this propitiation is "God so loved the world," etc. And Paul says, "God commendeth his own love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us" (Ro $5^{8}$).'

But to-day a further question is asked: Were not the Reformers wrong in adopting this Pauline idea? 'Do we not hear that the way to the Holy Land[1] would be made all the more accessible if all thoughts of reconciliation through Christ were laid aside, and nothing but the great message were taken to the world, that God desires to be to all men a loving Father? What are we to say to this? Let us meditate on the truth, that only faith in God's sin-forgiving grace in Christ can realize without fear the holiness of God.' The relation between Love and Holiness in the Divine nature is expounded with freshness of thought and lucidity of expression. When a king is said to be kindness itself to his people, his majesty is not forgotten. The majesty of God is His holiness; He is exalted above everything that is impure and sinful. The purpose of His love is to make us holy, even as He is holy. 'But this purpose would be frustrated, and God's holiness would be obscured, if we should imagine that in His sight wrong can ever be anything but wrong. God is not unrighteous, that He should call evil good. He is the Righteous One who, in the fulfilment of His eternal saving purpose can proceed only in such a way as that the boundaries between right and wrong shall in no wise be displaced.' Without the Christ of Good Friday, and of Easter, how can we in our imperfection draw near to the Holy God? Either we must persuade ourselves that He is not the Supreme Majesty, the Holy One, or we must say, with Peter, 'Depart from me: for I am a sinful man, O Lord' (Lk $5^{8}$). 'The former alternative could only lead to a light estimate of sin; and the novel[2] to which I have referred is a proof of what I say; the latter alternative would drive the most thoughtful men to despair.'

[1] The reference is to Frenssen's *Hilligenlei*.

Finally, Dr. Loofs dwells on the fact that, in this passage as invariably in the New Testament, God's love is regarded as the source of redeeming grace. Neither the angry Father and the merciful Saviour, nor the love and the justice of God, are to be conceived as originally in opposition and needing to be brought into harmony. The Cross of Christ is the demonstration of the Father's love. He redeems us in Christ in order that we may be made holy and not careless by His forgiving grace.

In addition to these two discourses on Ro $3^{23\text{-}31}$, this volume contains sermons full of thought on Lk $11^{14\text{-}28}$ 'How do we become true disciples of Jesus?'; Mt $7^{13\text{-}27}$ 'The ultimate aim of Jesus—to make us good'; Lk $10^{21\text{-}24}$ 'What do we learn from the words of Jesus concerning Christian doctrines?'; Ja $4^{13\text{-}15}$ 'The *condicio Jacobæa*—"If the Lord will"—a Sermon for the New Year'; Mt $6^{16\text{-}18}$ 'The right attitude towards the external forms of piety'; Ro $5^{1\text{-}5}$ *Vexilla regis prodeunt*; Mt $20^{25\text{-}28}$ 'Jesus is the redeemer only of those who understand his claims, and his life as well as his death'; 2 Co $5^{14\text{-}17}$ 'Why is true Christianity a new life?'; 2 Co $5^{18\text{-}20}$ 'Reconciliation through Christ is the beginning of new life for mankind'; 2 Co $5^{21}$, of this sermon the title is the text; but the three divisions are suggestive: the verse is said (1) to contain the kernel of the old gospel; and this kernel of the old gospel can (2) be understood, and (3) be experienced to-day.

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[2] The reference is to Frenssen's *Hilligenlei*.

# Some Problems of Herod's Temple.[1]

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Notwithstanding the voluminous literature of this subject, there is still a surprising number of points on which no agreement has as yet been reached by scholars. The appearance of Professor George Adam Smith's great work on Jerusalem presents a suitable occasion for noting some of these still open questions, and perhaps an excuse for a fresh attempt to answer them.

It may be well, however, before proceeding further, to set down the main positions regarding which there is no longer serious controversy. These, I think, are three in number: (1) The temples of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod successively stood upon the same spot, somewhere within the area now covered by the great artificial platform known as the Haram esh-Sherif, or Noble Sanctuary. This is perhaps the one point as to which there has been entire unanimity both among Jews and among Christians. (2) These three temples all stood in close proximity to the sacred rock now enclosed within the mosque to which it gives its name, the Dome of the Rock. The site advocated by Fergusson, Robertson Smith, Sir Charles Wilson, and others (see Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 696) has no longer any prominent advocate. (3) The rock itself is the spot upon which stood the successive altars of burnt-offering. No student of comparative religion will now hesitate on this point, in view not only of the remarkable persistence of sacred sites in the East, but of the light which the recent excavations in Palestine have thrown upon the place of rock-altars in the early religion of Canaan (cf. also the unbroken Jewish tradition from 1 Ch 22[1] to Maimonides, *Beth ha-Bekhîra*, ii. 1, translated *P.E.F.St.* 1885, 37). The temple, it follows, stood immediately to the west of the rock. The way is now open for a renewed examination of some of the difficulties that remain.

If I venture to claim that I have succeeded in determining, to within a few feet, the precise location of Herod's temple and its courts, the result is due to three circumstances,—to a more critical examination of the data of Josephus and the Mishna than these have hitherto received; to a careful study of the rock-levels of the Haram area, as determined by Sir Charles Warren and others, and of the remains of Herod's work still surviving in and around the Haram; and, finally, to a more exact determination of the length of

## I. The Cubit used by Herod's Masons.

Since this determination is all-important for the conclusions reached in the following pages, it falls to be considered as the first of the unsolved problems connected with the temple. Now whatever dubiety may exist as to the length of the ordinary cubit in early times, the evidence of Josephus and other considerations (see 'Weights and Measures,' in *D.B.* iv. 908 f.) leave no doubt that in Herod's day the Hebrew cubit cannot have differed very materially from the contemporary Greek cubit, which is known to have been practically 17½ inches. Nor is there any question as to the then usual division of the cubit into 6 handbreadths of approximately 3 inches each (cf. Maimonides, *op. cit.* ii. 6).

With these facts as a general guide, let us examine the evidence furnished by the remains of Herodian and pre-Herodian masonry, such as (*a*) the heights of the courses in the retaining wall of the Haram, (*b*) the position of the gates therein, and (*c*) the dimensions of other acknowledged pre-Christian remains.

(*a*) A table of the heights of some 150 courses of drafted work of the 'first' and 'second' epochs (retaining without prejudice this distinction of the English engineers) is given on p. 120 of the Jerusalem volume of the Ordnance Survey. From the figures of this table it is evident that the

[1] The following contractions are here used for the most frequently cited authorities:—

*J.A.*—Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*.

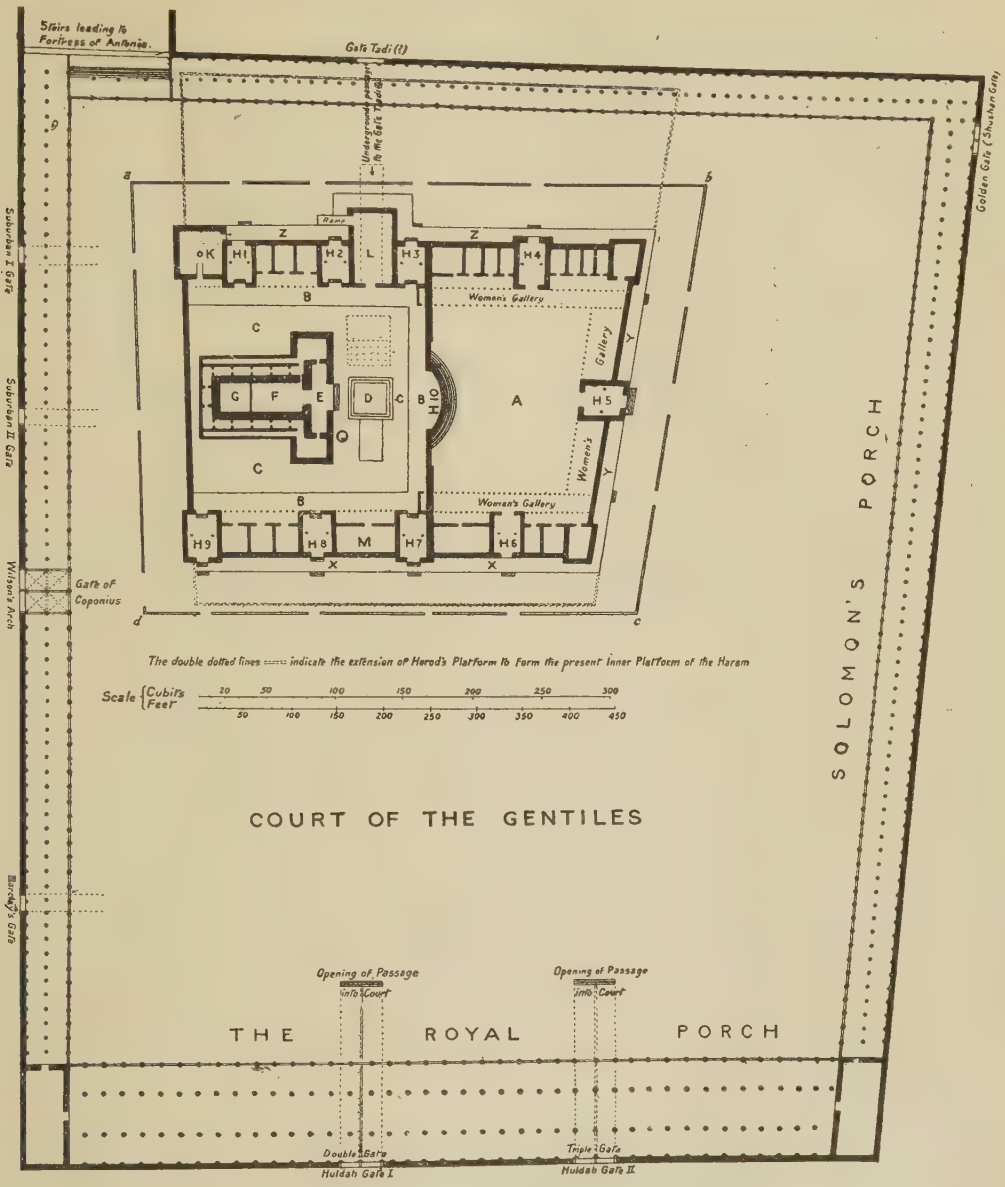
*J.W.*—Josephus' *Jewish War*. Occasionally Niese's sections are added for both works.

*M.M.*—The Mishna treatise *Middoth*, or Measurements of the Temple, translated in *P.E.F.St.* 1886–87, in Barclay's *Talmud*, and elsewhere.

*Maim. B.B.*—Maimonides' treatise *Beth ha-Bekhîra* (The Chosen House), trans. by Dr. Chaplin in *P.E.F.St.* 1885.

*S.W.P.Jer.*—The volume of the Survey of Western Palestine dealing with Jerusalem.

*P.E.F.St.*—The Quarterly Statements of the Pal. Explor. Fund.


Stairs leading to Fortress of Antonia.
Gate Tadi (?)
Underground passage to Mt Gate Tadi
Golden Gate (Shushan Gate)
Suburban I Gate
Suburban II Gate
Wilson's Arch
Barclay's Gate
Gate of Coponius
Ramp
Women's Gallery
Gallery
Women's
Woman's Gallery
SOLOMON'S PORCH
COURT OF THE GENTILES
THE ROYAL PORCH
Opening of Passage into Court
Opening of Passage into Court
Double Gate
Huldah Gate I
Triple Gate
Huldah Gate II
The double dotted lines ===== indicate the extension of Herod's Platform to form the present Inner Platform of the Haram
Scale Cubits 20 50 100 150 200 250 300
Feet 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450

## KEY TO PLAN OF TEMPLE AND COURTS.

*a b c d*, the surrounding balustrade (*soreg*). **X Y Z**, the terrace (*khēl*).

**A**, Court of the Women. **B B B**, Court of Israel. **C C C**, Court of the Priests.

**D**, altar of burnt-offering. **E F G**, porch, holy place, and holy of holies.

**H**, 1–9, Gates of the Sanctuary (*M.M.* i. 4, 5), viz.: 1, gate of the House Moked; 2, Korban gate; 3, gate Nitsus; 5, the gate of Nicanor, or the Beautiful Gate; 7, the water gate; 8, gate of the firstborn; 9, the fuel gate; 10, the 'upper gate,' wrongly called the gate of Nicanor.

**K**, the guardhouse Moked (=hearth). **L**, the 'northern edifice that was between the two gates' (see *J. W.* VI. ii. 7, § 150). Here, it is suggested, the sacrificial victims were examined by the priests, having been brought in either by the underground passage shown on the plan, or by the ramp also shown. The upper storey may have contained the important 'chamber of the councillors' (*parhedrin*) (*Yoma*, i. 1).

**M**, the chamber Gazith, in which the priests on duty assembled for prayer (*Tamid*, iv. end). There are not sufficient data for fixing the location of the other chambers mentioned in the Mishna. Their distribution on the plan is purely conjectural.

Jewish stonecutters either did not aim at, or did not succeed in reaching, a rigid uniformity in the height of their stones. Excluding a few abnormal varieties at either end of the scale, we find 138 courses ranging in height from 3 feet 2 inches to 4 feet. I think we may assume that stones of this size would not be cut to a smaller unit than the handbreadth, and that a margin of error of an inch in twelve handbreadths and over may be allowed the Jewish craftsmen. Now 53 of the courses show a height of 44–45 inches, the higher figure, however, occurring chiefly at one point in the wall. The next most frequent size is 41–42 inches, found in 23 courses. The standard measurements may therefore be confidently set down as follows:

38–39 in. (10 courses) = 13 hands, or $2\frac{1}{6}$ cbs. of 17·6 to 18 in.
41–42 ,, (23 ,, ) = 14 ,, $2\frac{2}{6}$ ,, ,, ,,
44–45 ,, (53 ,, ) = 15 ,, $2\frac{3}{6}$ ,, ,, ,,

The next step must be to endeavour to get rid of the margin of uncertainty still left as between a 17·6 and an 18 inch cubit. For this purpose it is natural to take the measurement of the stones at points in the wall where special attention to uniformity might reasonably be expected. Such is the foundation at the south-east angle, where the stones were found to be as perfectly preserved 'as if they had been recently cut.' Here the foundation course is 3 feet 8 inches in height, or *exactly* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *cubits of* 17·6 *inches.* Another point where a fresh beginning was made is found at the Triple Gate, from which the great 'master course' runs east and west. Now the height of three stones of this course, at and on either side of the gate, averages 70·2 inches, which is clearly 4 of the cubits of which the foundation course is $2\frac{1}{2}$. Comparing these results with 'the most beautifully-set work . . . superior to any ever found in Jerusalem' in the oldest part of the south wall of the city excavated by Bliss and Dickie (*Excavations at Jerusalem*, 30), we find 'remains of three courses each $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches high,' which is exactly 8 handbreadths of a 17·6 inch cubit. The sill of the ancient Valley Gate, it may be added, measured 8 feet 10 inches, otherwise 6 cubits (*op. cit.* 19). These two monuments of the Jewish monarchy, possibly even of Solomon's time, therefore, equally with the Herodian wall of the Haram, *were built according to a cubit which measured* 17·6 *inches* (447–448 millimetres).

(*b*) Anticipating for a moment the subsequent discussion as to the identification of the gates of the temple area, let us test the results now obtained by the positions of the present representatives of the older gateways as these are laid down on the Ordnance Survey map.[1] Now the distance of the Double Gate in the south wall from the south-west angle of the Haram, as measured by the English surveyors, is 330 feet, which yields 225 of the 17·6 cubit, *again without a fraction.* The original jambs of the Triple Gate were 400 of the same cubit from the south-west angle, and 200 (293 feet) from the south-east angle. On the west side of the Haram, we have first Barclay's Gate, 271 feet or 185 cubits from the south-west angle, while at 586 feet or 400 cubits we reach Wilson's Arch and the historical gateway to the pre-Herodian and Herodian temples. It was these remarkable data that unexpectedly placed in the writer's hand the key to the precise location of the temple and its courts, as will appear in the sequel.

(*c*) If further confirmation be needed of this discovery of the cubit of the Jewish builders, it may be found in the dimensions of such structures as can reasonably be assigned to a date before or shortly after the beginning of the Christian era. Every visitor to the Holy City is familiar with the remains of Robinson's Arch; although, as will be shown below, it cannot have formed one of the approaches to Herod's temple, it can scarcely be younger than the second century. Now its pier—probably much older than the arch (see below)—is 51 feet 6 inches in length, which is 35 cubits, and its span 'may have been 43 or 44 feet' (*S. W. P. Jer.* 176); 44 feet are exactly 30 cubits. The better preserved Wilson's Arch, 'with a span of 42 feet and a width of 43 feet,' was evidently intended to have the same dimensions (30 cubits). The oldest buildings now to be found in 'underground Jerusalem' are in the immediate vicinity. One of these, 'the ancient hall' of the surveyors, was originally 20 feet 4 inches or 14 cubits in length, and most of the measurements of the various vaults, viaducts, and passages will be found to fit easily into our scale (see Sir Charles Wilson's measured drawings, *P.E.F.St.* 1880, 22 ff.; *S. W. P. Jer.* 200 ff.)

The same remark holds good, as might be expected from what we have learned of their position, of the width of the ancient gateways to

[1] See the accompanying ground-plan of the temple courts.

the temple. That of the Double Gate, for example, is 41 feet or 28 cubits, while the original width of the interior passages was twice 12 cubits. The same exact equation is seen in the single passage at Barclay's Gate, which is 19 feet or 13 cubits in width. The gate which led to the Valley of Hinnom we have seen to be exactly 6 cubits in width. It is surely unnecessary to multiply instances in proof of the contention that *the builder's cubit of six handbreadths, from the later monarchy to the second century A.D., measured 17·6 inches, neither less nor more.* That this was the cubit of the third temple, and, by inference, of its predecessors, will be evident as our inquiry advances. The first of the problems with which we set out to deal has thus been solved.

(*To be continued.*)

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF DEUTERONOMY.

DEUTERONOMY XXIX. 29.

**'The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.'**

### EXPOSITION.

**'The secret things belong unto the Lord our God.'**—The immediate connexion of these words with the context is not clear. Rashi connects the 'secret things' with the 'imagination of the evil heart of the secret idolater' of v.[19]. His note runs thus: 'It is not that I shall punish you for those secrets; they belong to the Lord our God, and He will exact them from the individual sinner; but the things that are *disclosed* belong to us and to our children, to 'put away the evil from the midst of us.' And if judgment is not executed among them, the many will be punished. But it is impossible not to feel that there is more behind the words of this passage than this. May not this be one of the occasions concerning which the apostle says of the prophets, that they 'searched *what or what manner of time* the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify'? All those curses were to come upon Israel; and yet, after that, there was still a covenant with them, embracing every generation to the world's end. Must not Moses have longed to know what would befall his people in the latter days? and if we ourselves, 'upon whom the ends of the world are come,' do not yet see the future of Israel distinctly, are not the words appropriate still? To the very end, what better way is there than this? 'Lord, I have hoped for Thy salvation, and done Thy commandments.'—WALLER.

**'But the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever.'**—Probably this verse is a general reflexion added by Moses by way of admonition to his previous discourse. The scribes may have had this in their mind when they distinguished the words, *unto us and to our children*, by placing over them extraordinary points, in order to emphasize them, though by many this is regarded as a mere critical notation, indicating a various reading.—ALEXANDER.

**'That we may do all the words of this law.'**—The hidden future is Yahweh's; the known past, with its lesson of obedience to the law, is ours. Revelation is here regarded as historical rather than canonical.—ROBINSON.

### THE SERMON.

**'On Duty' in the Dark.**

*By the Rev. T. A. Jefferies, Huddersfield.*

The soldier's position when on duty at night is not an enviable one. He cannot see the movements of the enemy, and sometimes his comrades are equally out of sight. Perhaps he is sentry, and through the darkness must pace a certain track and guard that way. Even in broad daylight his position is often little better; he knows nothing of the general's plans, and must frequently be tempted to think he is rushing to death for no purpose. Yet he has no alternative. Orders must be obeyed. The secret things belong unto the general, but to the soldiers belong the words of command that they may accomplish the leader's design. And so it is in life. We are often burdened with the sense of the darkness and mystery around us, but to every man is given the commandment of God. The explanation is with Him, and with us the call to obey. We are in the dark, but something is required of us. Let us not forget that we are on duty.

I. There is the mystery of existence, the riddle of the universe. Why were we made so ignorant of nature and ourselves? Look, for instance, at this age-long quarrel over miracles. It would never have been but for our ignorance of nature. Did we know nature, did we know but Tennyson's 'flower in the crannied wall,' that controversy

would be at an end. But while Nature has given up many of her secrets, what she tells us does not go to the roots of things. She keeps the great secret to herself. And so the battles of theologian, philosopher, and scientist roll on; and the stars and seasons, sense and soul hang round us, provoking our curiosity and challenging our powers, like clouds of mist through which we vainly seek to peer. Perhaps this effect is also the final cause. Perhaps God has put us into this atmosphere of mystery that our minds may be stirred to effort. Certainly in actual life the mystery of existence is a huge storehouse from which the earnest and patient are continually bringing forth wonders that astonish and delight. The secret things remain with God, but enough is revealed to sustain hope and effort.

II. Then there is the mystery of the Kingdom. This wondrous gospel, so simple in its saving power,—what questions confront us when we try to fathom it! What is man? What is sin? How came sin into God's world? What is the meaning of this great fact of atonement? Is God's Kingdom growing, and will it win? What is the destiny of humanity and of the universal life? These are some of the mysteries we keep trying to solve, but 'our eyes see dimly.' Here also some things have been revealed, but only so as to put the question further back. Christ told us plainly, for example, that the Kingdom will win its way and triumph. But *how* is still a mystery. We believe it, but because we believe Him, not because we see.

And yet in the midst of these mysteries of the Kingdom the voice of the King is neither faint nor uncertain. 'It is not for you to know times or seasons,' He cries; 'but ye shall receive power when the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem . . . and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.' We are in the dark, but we are on duty. It is hard to understand why we should have selfish desires and base tendencies, but, having them, the duty of conquering them is obvious. We cannot see why wrongs should exist, but the call to right them admits no question. God has revealed enough to make the path of His servants plain and to inspire them with enthusiasm. For the rest we must wait. We walk by faith. Great victories await the men who will go forward, as they awaited Joshua and the Israelites. If we halt till the cloud lifts we shall stand still for ever. Had Columbus' sailors prevailed when their fears prompted them to go back, Columbus would have been unknown to history, and Spain could scarcely have reached the fulness of her power. But Columbus kept them at their posts, and presently, out of the mystery of the Western ocean, arose the New World. Let us keep at our posts, brethren. The ocean of the future may seem nothing but a weary waste of seething waters, and yet the Commander of this gospel ship is more sure of finding a new world than was Columbus.

We shall have to face seasons, perhaps, when the darkness will deepen yet more, but still duty lies before us. Things were dark in England while Cromwell waited for his first Parliament to do something. All over the country royalists were plotting, and a thousand blades were ready to take his life. How much easier for him to have left it to them, and slipped away into privacy! But 'I brought not myself into this position,' he says, and 'the wilful throwing away of this Government, such as it is, is what I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can consent unto!' True soldier of the Kingdom this, doing his duty in times of great darkness, faithful to the few things revealed to him.

III. Then, deepest of all while it touches us, there is the mystery of personal experience: the broken hopes, the dark sorrows, the blinding bereavements,—all that makes up the tragedy of life. How dark the night becomes for some, and how great the temptation to abandon all effort and let things take their course! In such an hour Self-Pity is a Judas within our hearts, and our salvation is Duty. Well is it for us if we have learned obedience to the things God has revealed. To set our teeth firmly and fight bravely on, doing the duty that lies nearest, is the one clear course that remains. It is a hard course doubtless, but this much can be said for it: it leads with the kindly help of time to a recovery free from regrets. Mazzini wrote, in that noble letter to Jane Carlyle, 'It is only you who can teach yourself that, whatever the *present* may be, you must front it with dignity, with a clear perception of all your duties, with a due reverence to your immortal soul, with a religious faith in times yet to come, that are to dawn under the approach of other cloudless suns. . . . It is the feeling of those duties that saves me from the atheism of despair, and leads me through a life every day more barren and

burdensome, in a sort of calm, composed manner.' That is the path that leads from conflict to calm. Recovery comes in a measure to all who suffer, but not to all does it bring peace. That depends on whether or not they did their duty in the dark.

## Illustrations.

In optics, if you make a hole in the shutter at noon, or stick a square bit of blackness on the pane, and make the rays from the hole or around the square to pass through a prism, then we have, if we let them fall on whiteness and catch them right, those colours we all know and rejoice in.

The white light of heaven—*lumen siccum*—opens itself out as it were, tells its secret, and lies like a glorious border on the 'edge o' dark' (as imaginative Lancashire calls the twilight, as we Scotsmen call it 'the gloamin''), making the boundaries between light and darkness a border of flowers, made out by each. Is there not something to think of in 'the Father of Lights' thus beautifying the limits of His light and of His darkness, which to Him alone is light, so that here burns a sort of 'dim, religious light'—a sacred glory—where we may take off our shoes and rest and worship? Is not our light rounded with darkness, as our life is with a dream? and the greater the area of our light, of our truth, 'won from the vast and formless Infinite,' the ampler, too, is the outer ring—the iridescent edge lying upon the unknown—making a rainbow round the central throne of the Eternal. And is not the light of knowledge, after all, the more lovely, the more full of colour, and the more pleasant to the eye, when lying on and indicating what is beyond, and past all finding out, making glorious the skirts of 'the majesty of darkness'? It is at his rising out of, and his returning into, 'old night' that the sun is in the full flush of his plighted clouds, and swims in the depths of his 'daffodil sky,' making the outgoings of the evening and of the morning to rejoice before Him and us.—*Horæ Subsecivæ*, vol. iii. pp. 272, 273. Sent by Rev. J. Waddell, Bangor.

**Limited hearing.**—Religious silences are simply the limitations of our present spiritual development. Science tells of a world of sound perpetually rolling round us, but which is at once above and beneath our hearing capacity. Our auditory nerve answers only to a certain range of vibration. So it is in our spiritual culture. When we speak of the awful silences of the unseen world it is only another way of saying that most of us are deaf. That elect souls here and there have heard a 'thus saith the Lord,' which when uttered has been called 'revelation,' means simply that our race produces from time to time a certain number of open ears. Religious silence is, after all, a relative term. When our spirits are attuned, the 'silence' changes into a still, small, but always recognizable, Divine voice.—*Problems of Living*, by J. Brierley, B.A.

**Limited vision.**—The ideas which I have been dwelling on to-day were suggested to me by a story told me by my late friend Professor Haughton, not long before he died. He had had with Professor Huxley a friendship the warmth of which was not affected by their wide differences in religious opinion. Huxley one day said to him, 'There are those who profess to believe what I consider to be false; but I do not regard their opinions, because I doubt the sincerity of some and the intellectual capacity of others; but I respect you, and I know how sincerely you believe what you hold so strongly, and should like very much to know how it is that you believe what I can't believe.' 'May I speak frankly?' said Haughton. 'Certainly,' said he. 'Then,' he said, 'I don't know how it is, except that you are colour-blind.' Huxley was much struck. He said, 'Well, it may be so. Of course, if I were colour-blind, I should not know it myself.'—*Cathedral and University Sermons*, by George Salmon, D.D., F.R.S.

The secret things are withheld and others revealed in order 'that we may do all the words of this law' (cf. Jn $16^{12.\ 13}$). Progressive knowledge is the key to the mysteries of God and life. Froebel only followed God's methods with man when he introduced the kindergarten system. In order to teach man and enable him to profit by the teaching in practice, knowledge is revealed by stages. It takes decades, generations, centuries, millenniums for great truths to be gradually unfolded, and this is of necessity. Had Galileo proclaimed to his countrymen that words and pictures could be sent along wires and recorded a thousand miles away, what would have happened? His countrymen would have considered him insane and taken steps to prevent his working bodily harm to his fellows. Suppose Oliver Cromwell had claimed that it was possible to talk along a wire from London with a friend of his in Newcastle, what would have happened? Why, men would have regarded him as an idiot, and it would have been impossible for him to retain the Lord Protectorate. If God revealed the secret things before we were made ready to receive them, it would arrest our faithful obedience to God in things already revealed.

Man is educated through successive standards in the school of life. 'Do, and you shall know' (cf. Jn $7^{17}$) is the principle on which man passes from standard to standard. F. J. Miles.

But that which is revealed is ours—the Life
For us made manifest in mortal flesh,
That sometime dwelt among us, aye, and still,
Unseen, except by faith, with us abides—
A Righteousness by which we come to God—
A Power to work in us the Father's will—
A Guide to tread with us life's tangled maze—
A Comforter to all who rest in Him.

E. H. Divall, *A Believer's Songs*.

## For Reference.

Brooks (G.), Five Hundred Outlines of Sermons, 193.
Dyke (H. van), Manhood, Faith and Courage, 211.
Karney (G.), Church Questions, 71.
Macellar (R.), Memorials of a Ministry on the Clyde, 80.
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*Christian World Pulpit*, vol. xlv. 10 (D. Hobbs).

# Deissmann's 'Light from the East.'[1]

By Professor the Rev. James Hope Moulton, M.A., D.Lit., Manchester.

The brilliant author of *Bible Studies* has given us within the last year two valuable little books in English, *New Lights on the New Testament*, and *The Philology of the Greek Bible*: the first of these became familiar to readers of The Expository Times before Messrs. T. & T. Clark gave it us as a book. He has now, as is only proper, presented his own countrymen with a large and important work which covers the same ground much more fully. It coincides appropriately with the recognition which German scholarship has so quickly given to a theologian who has only just passed forty. It is thirteen years since *Bibelstudien*—followed in two years by the *Neue Bibelstudien*—revealed to Germany, and soon after to England, a pioneer of original genius and remarkable freshness and vigour of style. He was soon in the important chair at Heidelberg; and now he has just entered upon his work as Bernhard Weiss's successor in the premier University of Berlin, which continues to possess among its ornaments the world-famous Harnack. No one who has studied Deissmann's work will question his right to such recognition, or doubt that he will confer distinction even on such a body as the Theological Faculty at Berlin.

Deissmann's newest book is abundantly worthy of him. It is crammed with novel and interesting matter, and is written in his characteristically bright and easy style. His vocabulary is so varied and his range of illustration so wide that the English reader will not infrequently sigh for Mr. Lionel Strachan, who has so admirably Englished Deissmann's last two books; but such wishes will never be prompted by complexity of composition or obscurity of thought. To summarize a book of this kind is impossible in a brief review: it is only possible to select a few points which may illustrate its rich variety of matter. It is, however, not difficult to put into a sentence or two the lines on which the book runs. No one can read at all widely in critical literature without soon realizing that much learning and acuteness misses the mark for want of adequate endeavour on the writer's part to think himself into the actual *milieu* of the New Testament authors. He will study the profane history of the times, and learn all there is to be learnt about the literature of the world that was contemporary with the Apostles. And being thus equipped he will often assume that this is enough; and if, say, a discrepancy is unearthed by the comparison of Luke's writings with those of Greek or Roman writers of the period, the credit of the former is hopelessly compromised. He forgets that the literature and history belongs to a different social stratum from that in which the New Testament was born. The authorities we have trusted so blindly for centuries looked with a disdainful smile on the short and simple annals of the poor; and Christianity did not arise in an upper, or even an upper middle class. To understand the earliest documents of our Faith we must follow up what evidence we can find that will help us to realize the world of the middle and lower classes in the first century, as found in the provinces of the Roman Empire. We may find that we have been making as serious a mistake as if we had tried to understand the origin and history of the present House of Commons with no help beyond the 'society' newspapers and the works of Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

It is in the reconstruction of this *milieu* that the importance of Deissmann's work lies. His *Bible Studies* showed us how to recover the language of the common people, the vernacular Greek of the Empire; and this discovery proved for us the highly suggestive fact that Biblical Greek has remained without parallel all these centuries simply because none but inspired men would condescend to write in the dialect of daily life! During the last ten years Deissmann has been extending his field, and tempting other workers to enter it: he can afford to do this without risking his own easy pre-eminence. *Light from the East* still works the papyri, and there are many interesting novelties presented from documents discovered since the

[1] *Licht vom Osten.* Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt. Von Adolf Deissmann, D.theol.(Marburg), D.D.(Aberdeen), ordentl. Professor an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin. Mit 59 Abbildungen im Text. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1908. M.16 (geb.).

publication of Deissmann's pioneer volume. But the mine does not yield so many sensational finds as it yielded a decade since. We are getting duplicates in plenty, which show that the parallels discovered previously were not isolated freaks. And there is the humdrum work of consolidation —the collection of examples to show the prevailing usage of Biblical words, often, of course, only confirming what we knew already, or warning us off seductive lines which sound exegesis had already condemned.[1] But we hardly expect a new volume of papyri nowadays to provide us with real novelties enough to fill more than a page of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. Naturally this depends mostly on who the reader is: when it is Deissmann we are constantly hearing of novelties in what other readers had rejected as commonplace. But the most conspicuous feature of this book is the use of the inscriptions. Here, of course, Deissmann has had predecessors, notably Canon Hicks and Sir W. M. Ramsay; but his work in this volume has quite a distinctive note of its own.

But it is time to give some specimens, which I shall choose from material not presented in *New Lights* or *The Philology of the Greek Bible*. We need not tarry on the introductory pages which set forth the nature of the new material, nor on the long and interesting list of words (pp. 48–72) which have been rescued from the tables of 'Biblical' peculiarities by the documents unearthed in the past decade. Since Deissmann showed us the way, the reduction of the list of specifically 'Biblical' words has gone on so steadily that the burden of proof now entirely lies on those who would claim any particular word as a coinage of Jewish or Christian writers. The new examples are gathered by Deissmann largely from inscriptions and ostraka, including some of the latter which he has himself collected. Of greater importance is the section in which fresh light is brought upon the meaning of Biblical words. Anything new on ἐκκλησία (p. 76 f.) is naturally welcome; and it is of great moment to understand what pagans of Asia Minor meant by ἁμαρτωλός, a word which Christianity was to deepen and strengthen so wonderfully (p. 77 f.). There are many good things in the section on N.T. syntax. Some of us had already derived great satisfaction from the recently published Berlin papyrus, No. 1079 (41 A.D.), in which the 'Hebraism' βλέπειν ἀπό (as Blass and Wellhausen still regard it) is exploded very neatly: he was hardly a Jew who warned his friend καὶ σὺ βλέπε σατὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων! (p. 82). On p. 86 Deissmann deals with the curious phenomenon of indeclinable πλήρης. He is satisfied that John was not above using this rather illiterate[2] idiom—a point I very cheerfully concede him in the forthcoming third edition of my *Prolegomena* (p. 50). There is a very instructive section on the *style* of the N.T. in the light of the new texts. Many a writer has been convinced that John's perpetual 'and . . . and . . . and . . .' is the hall-mark of a Jew. Some excellently chosen extracts from Hellenistic inscriptions are set side by side with Johannine narrative (p. 88 ff.), with convincing effect. Among them is one from an account of the marvellous cures of Asclepios—a class of inscriptions which must strike every reader with their numerous points of contact with the Gospels. The student of style will observe their method of telling a story, which is marked enough to convict all their authors of Jewish birth, on the principles of some of our 'Hebraist' friends; and the student of human ideas will note that neither Lourdes nor 'Christian Science' can substantiate any claim of novelty.

In chap. iii. Deissmann returns to his old thesis (cf. *Bible Studies*, pp. 1–59) as to letters and epistles. He cites, with translations, notes, and facsimiles, a considerable number of letters from our newly recovered sources, mostly, of course, papyri. Twenty-one are given (pp. 100–156), the study of which would be a most remunerative discipline for a theologian who had hitherto read Paul only in the light of classics and Fathers. (It is indeed not too much to say that the most valuable tool we are yet waiting for is a *corpus* of papyrus letters, continuing the admirable little volume of Witkowski, and giving in full all the unpublished letters which are so far only known by brief catalogue descriptions, or not even by these. For the delineation of the genuine popular speech in its unstudied naturalness, the private letters on ostraka and papyrus are by far the most

[1] Perhaps I may refer to the work of this kind Dr. Milligan and I are attempting for our projected lexical record of N.T. words in the papyri and Hellenistic inscriptions, instalments of which are appearing this year in *The Expositor*.

[2] If 'John' was the son of Zebedee, the author had been called ἀγράμματος long before (Ac $4^{13}$): the papyri make it abundantly clear that nothing less than *illiteracy* was intended by the sneer, as by that against Jesus Himself (Jn $7^{15}$).

reliable sources.) One of the facsimiles given (p. 112) is a beautiful illustration of Gal $6^{11}$: it is *Ox. Pap.* 246, written just after Paul's death, and now in the Cambridge University Library. The body of the letter is in a clear and elegant literary hand, the signatures in a cursive scrawl. The converse was the case with *Galatians*: the scribe wrote a small cursive, and Paul 'a strong, stiff workman's uncial.' On p. 132 ff. we are glad to see the undutiful Theonas' letter to his father (cf. my *Proleg.* p. 28). The young rascal's grammar and vocabulary are so illuminating that it is a great advantage to have the text in a better form than Grenfell and Hunt could give us at first, without having to search in out-of-the-way periodicals for the work that has been done for its elucidation. The illustrative material of this chapter is followed up with a renewed discussion of the distinction between letters and epistles, and the classification of the 'Epistles' of the N.T. I am sometimes inclined to think that Deissmann lays a little too much weight on the casual character of Paul's letters. *Philemon* doubtless is entirely comparable with the private letters of a man with Paul's equipment of Greek culture. But is *Romans* quite as unstudied as this? It seems to me the analogue here is to be sought in the newspaper correspondence of a busy ecclesiastical leader of to-day. There is no thought of posterity —the letter is not revised and polished as if it were a contribution to literature: it is only intended for momentary effect. But the mere fact that it is to be read by hundreds of people instead of one intimate friend makes it a shade more self-conscious. One or two other passages in this chapter must be marked for the student's attention. There is an excellent suggestion made on p. 164 to account for the attachment of the short letter to Ephesus (an ἐπιστολὴ συστατική, or letter of introduction) to the Romans letter as its concluding chapter (cf. also the important note, p. 201 n.[1]). The papyri often show us evidence of the keeping of a book of letters: several documents running, by different authors, will sometimes be in the same hand. If Tertius was the scribe of Ro 1–15 as well as of chap. 16, the association of the two letters is easily understood, it being assumed that Paul kept a *liber litterarum missarum*. Does this suggestion help us in explaining the attachment of '2 and 3 Co'? Deissmann has some ideas as to an Ephesian provenance of the Captivity letters, and consequent possibilities as to the Pastorals (p. 166), on which we should have liked him to enlarge. Other points in this chapter I must not even mention, but I will refer to the eminently sane remarks (p. 173) on Luke's unfamiliarity with Paul's letters. That this should ever have been elevated to the rank of a difficulty is a good example of the doctrinaire habit some men develop in criticism.

The fourth chapter is entitled 'The significance of the newly discovered texts for the historical interpretation of the N.T. in matters of culture and religion.' Magical and religious texts and inscriptions and papyri dealing with ordinary secular affairs are alike examined for lights on Christian phrase and thought. It is impossible to summarize such material: I will only mention some specimens. Deissmann enlarges (p. 194 f.) on the new evidence as to the census of Lk $2^{1}$, reported from Kenyon in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for October 1907. Novelties as to the Number of the Beast (p. 199) are naturally worth noting. That the famous number should reasonably be Greek, not Hebrew, is a point which rival interpreters should agree on as *a priori* probable. And the quotations from vernacular documents which show a similar use of numbers certainly suggest a hopeful line of interpretation. A *graffito* is quoted, φιλῶ ἧς ἀριθμὸς φμέ, 'I love a girl whose number is 545.' This is a riddle which has to be solved on recognized principles: the letters of the lady's name are added up in their numerical value, and the total is 545. Deissmann guesses that the Beast is Καῖσαρ Θεός, which totals 616 (the reading of C, 11, and others—altered to 666 by way of assimilation to its contrast Ἰησοῦς (= 888)). Suggestive remarks are made (p. 209) on the great *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, which catalogues 8644 men and women of note during the first three centuries, but avowedly omits 'the endless crowd of plebeians named in ecclesiastical and legal writers'—Jesus and Paul among them! I pause next[1] on p. 218, where some very helpful parallels for 1 Co $5^{4.5}$ are drawn from formulæ of 'devotion' to a νεκυδαίμων: similarly 2 Co $12^{8}$ is well illustrated on p. 223. On the next page, quoting close parallels for 'I have kept my trust'

[1] But I might chronicle a trifle on p. 213 n.[5]. The iambic πέμψον βοήν, [ἄλαλ]ος, ἄψυχος πέτρα will not scan. Read [ἄφων]ος, unless the editor of this mediæval verse had some reason for the supplement of which I do not know.

(2 Ti $4^7$), Deissmann cites the record of a victor from the theatre at Ephesus which he thinks Paul may have seen.[1] His doctrine on διαθήκη (p. 232) will startle many: relying on the invariable use of papyri, he would translate *testament* all through.[2] Less disputable is the beautiful application in this context, by which Deissmann illustrates Paul's doctrine of ransom from the bondage of sin. He brings to bear on it the Greek use in manumission—the slave was bought by Apollo or some other deity ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ. The important word παράκλητος is freshly handled on p. 242: I will only cite the reminder that the word must have had a special *nuance* in the vernacular, inasmuch as it was transliterated in Hebrew and in Aramaic instead of receiving a native equivalent. The next thirty pages have peculiar importance, but cannot be even summarized here. They are a sketch of heathen religious phraseology as adapted by Christianity. It is not enough to trace Christian words and conceptions back to their roots in Judaism. That is necessary enough, and has been done, and done well, by generations past. When the new faith spoke in Greek, its hearers at first hearing attached to its vocabulary the meaning they already knew. It is therefore vital that we should know what associations the pagans of Corinth or Rome or Ephesus had with such words as θεοῦ υἱός, σωτήρ, κύριος and κυριακός, θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ, ἐπιφανής, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, εὐαγγέλιον, παρουσία, ἱερὰ γράμματα, and many others. This is perhaps the most valuable part of Deissmann's work. Its suggestive and largely novel material is worked up with the writer's well-tried skill; and it leads to a passage of splendid eloquence and force in which Deissmann discourses on the relations between theology and religion, and daringly pleads that Jesus and even Paul are wholly 'untheological.' But any D.D.'s who read my summary must please suspend judgement on this thesis until they have read the exposition!

There is much else in this noble volume which is not even catalogued in the present notice, but what has been said must suffice. I hope I am not betraying secrets when I say that Deissmann's next gift is likely to be on a yet greater scale. Thayer's *Grimm* has served a generation magnificently, but the march of knowledge is passing it by. New Testament students know enough of Adolf Deissmann now to expect with lively satisfaction the Lexicon he is soon to give us, gathering together, for the interpretation of the words of the Book, knowledge accumulated through ages past, and the new knowledge of this productive generation, to which he has himself been the greatest contributor.

[1] For τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι I would add an inscription of 267 B.C. (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 214): πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἠγωνίσαντο μετ' ἀλλήλων (*sc.* the allied Athenians and Lacedæmonians) πρὸς τοὺς καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιχειροῦντας. The allusion is to warfare, not to the games, as it has been too hastily assumed that Paul's reference must be.

[2] Perhaps I may refer to our discussion of this word in *The Expositor*.

# Literature.

## *ANCIENT JERUSALEM.*

Ancient Jerusalem. By Selah Merrill. (*Revell.* 21s. net.)

We have scarcely had time to read Professor George Adam Smith's book when another great handsome volume on Jerusalem is with us. Dr. Selah Merrill was for sixteen years American Consul in Jerusalem. He is best known by his little book on *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, unless his articles in the *Dictionary of the Bible* may have carried his fame further. There he wrote on Galilee and the Sea of Galilee, on Gilead and Kedesh-Naphtali, on the Cities of Refuge and on Tiberias. And it is all the work of a man who has walked 'those Holy Fields' until he is quite familiar with them. His new work is the work of one who knows Jerusalem just as well as it can be known.

It is not a history of Jerusalem; it is its topography. No doubt, to describe the walls of Jerusalem, its towers, its temples, its hills and its valleys, is to write its history. But it is not a formal history of the city; it is a description of Jerusalem during the siege. The volume opens with the arrival of Titus before the city in 70 A.D. And although it ends with Nehemiah, and has carried us through the interval of time historically,

still it is taken up mainly with Jerusalem as Titus would have seen it, could he have entered when he arrived, and have walked up and down in it, telling the palaces and the towers thereof.

The style is easy. It is familiar. It is almost gossipy here and there. And so, one can dip into it at any place and find one's interest captured. And if one begins at the beginning, one can read right on, chapter after chapter without a moment's weariness, with ever-increasing wonder at the ease with which the author moves among those facts and theories which have been so long and so keenly contested even by experts.

We say one can dip into the book anywhere. If it is at p. 200, the eye lights upon a discussion of the word 'opposite.' It is a word often used by Josephus. But what does Josephus mean by it? In spite of writing in Greek, Josephus was a Jew, and, like other Orientals, he uses 'opposite' for something that may really be opposite another thing, or that may be by the side of it, or that may be a mile away from it. If it is at p. 204, one finds that the whole chapter which begins there is a discussion of the meaning of the word 'build' in the Bible. The word often means rebuild, and that fact has to be carefully taken into account when the site of anything in Jerusalem is being determined. In 1 K $9^{24}$ it is said that Solomon built Millo. The meaning is that he rebuilt it. Millo existed before David captured the place from the Jebusites.

It is a handsome volume, and it is handsomely illustrated. Plans and engravings encounter the eye on almost every other page. And the plans and engravings are works of art, every one of them. Indeed, we have rarely seen more beautiful photographs or seen them more beautifully reproduced.

## Among the Books of the Month.

Messrs. T. & T. Clark are steadily publishing an important series entitled 'The World's Epoch-Makers.' Before it is finished Professor Vedder of Crozer Theological Seminary seizes the idea and writes a volume on *Christian Epoch-Makers* (American Baptist Publication Society; $1.20). Who are they? Paul, Ulfilas, Patrick, Augustine, Boniface, Ansgar, Vladimir, Raimund Lull, and on to Livingstone. The men are described, the time they lived in, and the work they did. And it is all quite simple and accessible.

Professor Burnet of St. Andrews has rewritten his *Early Greek Philosophy* (A. & C. Black; 12s. 6d. net). It has been since 1892 the standard introduction to the study of the philosophy of Greece. And just because it took so good a place and became the student's handbook, a new edition had become necessary. For the references in the first edition to works like Zeller were to editions of those works which had been superseded by later editions and were no longer in the student's hands. Then, besides that, although Professor Burnet has not found it necessary to change the 'main contentions' of his book, there were some estimates made at the age of twenty-five which could not stand at the age of forty. And above all, discoveries have been made since 1892 with regard to the opinions of the early philosophers of Greece, as well as in other departments of study. And so, as we have said, he has practically rewritten the whole book.

The 'Library of St. Francis de Sales' must be taken account of in all future histories of the literature of devotion. The sixth volume contains (1) The Mystical Explanation of the Canticle of Canticles, by St. Francis de Sales; (2) The Depositions of St. Jane Frances de Chantal in the Cause of the Canonization of St. Francis de Sales (Burns & Oates; 6s.).

Mr. Frank Grant Lewis, Ph.D., has published an investigation of *The Irenæus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel.* The conclusion which he comes to is that John, the son of Zebedee, was the author of actual Johannine writings, but that the Fourth Gospel in its present form belongs to the middle of the second century. The essay is published at the Chicago University Press (50 cents).

Messrs. James Clarke & Co. have published the seventy-third volume of the *Christian World Pulpit* (4s. 6d.). The *Christian World Pulpit* is itself the most popular of all homiletic periodicals, and it lets us know who are the most popular of all present-day preachers. For we may take it that the preachers whose sermons are most frequently reported are the most popular preachers. So the Bishop of Birmingham and Canon Scott Holland are first. Next come Dr. Horton and Mr. R. J. Campbell; and Mr. H. H. Carlisle follows close behind. There is a new thing in this volume.

One sermon is quoted from Dr. Rendel Harris, and in the index there is a short account of who Dr. Rendel Harris is. More such short biographies in the index or elsewhere would make the *Christian World Pulpit* still more popular.

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Has the recovery of the Divine Fatherhood recovered also the doctrine of Divine Providence? It does not seem so. When the Rev. John Telford, B.A., chose as the subject of the thirty-eighth Fernley Lecture *Man's Partnership with Divine Providence* (Culley; 3s. 6d.), his hearers felt that he had got hold of something which was new and unfamiliar. They felt also—and the readers of the book will feel it more than the hearers of the lecture—that he had got hold of a subject of very particular interest and importance. The doctrine of the Divine Providence alone is capable of yielding results for instruction and edification. Add to that man's partnership, and the whole subject becomes most practical and most profitable. How has Mr. Telford worked it out? Chiefly by a close acquaintance with recent literature. For he shows (and this is one of the ways in which the book takes hold of us) that innumerable writers have recently been working towards the subject which he at last has gone into thoroughly and made a book of, such a book as will live, taking its place quite worthily in the long and brilliant array of Fernley Lectures.

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Of the late Dean Butcher of Cairo, Lord Cromer said, 'A better man never lived.' But what did Dean Butcher's native servant say? He said 'There was none like him in all the world.' And besides all that, he was a preacher. He had always something to say, and never said more than he had to say. A volume of his sermons, with a short introductory memoir, has been published. Its title is *The Sound of a Voice that is Still* (Dent; 4s. 6d. net).

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Is there an outspoken preacher in the world like the Rev. R. C. Fillingham, M.A., Vicar of Hexton? Certainly there never was a more outspoken volume of sermons published than his *Sermons by a Suspended Vicar* (Francis Griffiths; 2s. 6d. net). Take a sermon in the middle of the book on 'The Ethic of Jesus.' Mr. Fillingham finds that 'The Ethic of Jesus' contains five main principles: (1) wrath is forbidden; (2) the evil desire is forbidden; (3) the dragging of God into our conversation is forbidden; (4) persecution is forbidden; (5) war is forbidden—'I pity the poor private soldier. When he enlisted he knew no better. He did it because he was out of work, in many a case, without a thought of the wickedness he was committing. Father, forgive him, for he knew not what he did!

'But we have to warn our young people in season and out of season against the sin of enlisting. In every Sunday School, in every Christian Endeavour Class, we have to say: "Don't become hired murderers. Don't take blood-money. Don't don the uniform of disobedience to Jesus, and enlist in the service of the devil. If you wound your fellow-men, you wound Jesus—Inasmuch as ye do it, anything, to one of His brethren, you do it to Him. Starve or steal rather than murder. Never be a soldier."'

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Steadily the Century Bible makes its appearance, volume after volume. There are only some four or five to come now. This is *Exodus* (Jack; 2s. 6d. net). The editor is Professor Bennett. In the present volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES there will appear a series of short articles by Professor Kennedy of Edinburgh on the Temple of Solomon and its unsolved problems. So many of these problems have been solved by Dr. Kennedy himself that he is now recognized as the chief authority on Temple and on Tabernacle. It is, therefore, interesting to read in Professor Bennett's preface: 'The editor is specially indebted to Professor A. R. S. Kennedy's articles on the Tabernacle, etc. etc., in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.'

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To the literature of Karaism, and for that matter of Rabbinism itself, add Dr. Samuel Poznański's *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon* (Luzac; 3s. 6d. net). It is a reprint from the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

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What is your opinion of Tennyson as a dramatist? It is as searching a question as could be put in an examination in Literature. Before giving your opinion remember that after the publication of *Queen Mary*, Irving, George Eliot, George Henry Lewes, Browning, and Spedding urged Tennyson to write more dramas. So Hallam, Lord Tennyson, tells us in a note to *Harold*. The new volume in the Eversley Edition under his editor-

ship contains *Queen Mary* and *Harold* (Macmillan; 4s. net).

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*Indexing and Précis Writing*, by G. B. Beak, M.A., Oxon., F.R.G.S., reduces the subject (of which it gives the best account in English) to a science (Macmillan; 2s. 6d.).

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In *Socialists at Work* (Macmillan; 6s. 6d. net) Mr. Robert Hunter shows himself much less interested in Socialism than in Socialists. He passes by the theories and introduces us to the men and women. And it cannot be denied that the strength of the movement comes not from the schemes, which have generally been its weakness indeed, but from the self-sacrifice which has been made to carry the schemes into operation. There is a fascination in the photographs which are scattered throughout the volume, and the fascination is in no way weakened when we perceive that they are photographs of men and women of like passions such as we are. For Mr. Hunter never permits us to forget that the sordid is not in outward appearance, but in soul; and these men and women are not always to be measured by the commonness of their clothing. It is a record of progress, of rapid progress recently. Mr. Hunter seems to think the end is not far off and victory all along the line. But the men and women must still be there when the end comes. It will not be victory otherwise.

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It is with much diffidence that Edward Alsworth Ross, Professor of Sociology in the University of Wisconsin, issues a volume on *Social Psychology* (Macmillan; 6s. 6d. net). For it is a new subject. There never was a book published on Social Psychology before in any language. And although the author has been teaching the subject for the last thirteen years, he is afraid. He even says he feels sure that his book is strewn with errors. And very likely it is. Yet he did well to publish it. He gives the experts an opportunity of discovering the errors, and he gives every man who has the good fortune to discover the book an hour or two of the most refreshing and thought-provoking reading.

Listen to the titles of the chapters. The first title is 'The Nature and Scope of Social Psychology.' That is nothing yet. But the next is 'Suggestibility.' That is something. The third is 'The Crowd.' The fourth is 'Mob Mind.' The fifth, 'Prophylactics against Mob Mind.' The sixth is 'Fashion.' But the chapters of most difficulty are the chapters on 'Custom' and 'Conventionality'—a mighty subject, which ought to have been taken up and scientifically discussed and made accessible to the multitude long ago.

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Mr. W. Grinton Berry, M.A., has prepared a popular edition of *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (R.T.S.; 2s.). It is a small book compared with Foxe, but the editor claims to have omitted nothing that would make for edification.

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The autumn season is evidently on us. Messrs. Revell have sent out five volumes together, and no publisher would run such a risk if he did not believe the holidays were over.

The greatest of the five is Merrill's *Ancient Jerusalem*. It is noticed on another page. The remaining four are all essays or sermons.

*Beyond the Natural Order* (2s. 6d. net) is a volume of essays on Prayer, Miracles, and the Incarnation, by Mr. Nolan Rice Best, the editor of *The Interior*. The editor of *The Interior* is evidently a professional theologian, but without the professionalism. That is to say, his knowledge is ample and accurate. But he encounters Prayer as one who has tried to pray rather than as one who has been told that other people have difficulty in believing in prayer. As for the Miracles, he says there is really only one, the Miracle of Jesus. And he is right. That accepted, the rest go with it.

Lilburn Merrill, M.D., writes on *Winning the Boy* (2s. 6d. net). He addresses parents. They are American parents, and the children are American children. For example: 'Hello, Doc!' began the youngster, 'guess you don't think I ain't something to-day; ain't I?'

*Our Silent Partner* (2s. 6d. net), by Professor Alvah Sabin Hobart, of the Crozer Theological Seminary, is a series of sermons on the Holy Spirit, but the texts are not taken at random, nor the topics. The idea that runs through the book is the fellowship of the Holy Spirit; and although a volume of sermons, the book is a systematic treatise on that vital aspect of this vital Christian doctrine.

The last volume is a volume of sermons, pure and simple. The preacher is the Rev. Wilton Merle Smith, Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, New York City. The first sermon affords the book its title—*Giving a Man another Chance*.

(3s. 6d. net). The man is Mark. Mr. Smith approves of Barnabas, who gave Mark another chance. He approves of Mark, who used his second chance so well. And he approves of the God of Barnabas and Mark, who is always ready to give a second chance to every one of us.

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Everywhere over the world (or nearly everywhere) the triumphant majority is getting ashamed of persecution. After toleration in Turkey, the millennium. And so all the men who have anything to say on religious toleration—the history of it, which may touch the conscience, or the advantage of it, which may enlighten the mind—should make haste to say it.

The Rev. Henry Thomas Potten, whom we have known as the editor of the *Irish Congregational Magazine*, has written a book on *The Strife for Religious Liberty*, as illustrated in the History of Congregationalism (The Samurai Press, Cranleigh, Surrey; 6s. net). It is not a scientific history of the subject that he has written, but a series of half-detached chapters in the history of it. One of the chapters, which is entitled 'Progressive Congregationalism,' contains as an appendix the Manifesto issued by representative Congregationalists on February 27, 1908. It is a document well worth preserving, and here it will be well preserved.

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Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, & Co. are the publishers in this country of a volume of sketches of Hindu life, entitled *The Hindu at Home* (3s. 6d. net). In Madras it is published at the S.P.C.K. Depository. The author is the Rev. J. E. Padfield, B.D., formerly C.M.S. missionary at Masulipatam. The Hindu at home is occupied with the same things as the Briton at home, with this exception, that every act of his life has some religious significance. The *Standard* newspaper has recently been rating Scotland on the number of its irregular marriages. The reference is supposed to be to marriages performed by a sheriff instead of a minister of religion. The *Standard* is probably misinformed as to the rate of increase, but it cannot be denied that the difference between Scotland and India is very great. Marriage, diet, mendicity, ornaments on the person—everything has a religious reference. Mr. Padfield has gathered his information with care, and publishes it with reserve. His book is to be relied upon; it may become a standard authority on Hinduism.

Another volume has been issued of 'The Historical Series for Bible Students.' It is heartily welcome. With an entire absence of pretentiousness, there is no series of volumes that is more distinctly marked by the authority of true scholarship. By its issue the editors, Professor Kent and Professor Sanders, have given themselves a good name in this country.

The new volume is a *History of the Ancient Egyptians* (Smith, Elder, & Co.; 6s.). The author is Professor Breasted of Chicago. Author and subject will combine to make this one of the most popular volumes of the series. For a handy history of Ancient Egypt is much in request, and Professor Breasted has already proved himself able to produce it. It is, as it professes to be, a student's book, not easily read by the indifferent, but to be depended on, and made a stepping-stone to higher things.

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The Rev. F. S. Webster, M.A., went *Round the World in a Hundred Days*, and then under that title wrote an account of what he saw as he passed through China (Elliot Stock; 2s. 6d. net). He wrote an account of the Chinese Missions—a hurried, hearty, and altogether hopeful narrative.

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It is not at the regular Sunday service, but on the *Thursday Mornings at the City Temple*, that the Rev. R. J. Campbell delivers his mind and astonishes the Universe. And so, without repenting of the astonishment, he has published a volume under that title (Fisher Unwin; 5s. net) in which all the world may read at its leisure the things which astonish it when they are delivered. The world will be more astonished than ever. These are evangelical sermons of an ordinary length, with just a phrase here and there which is not quite evangelical, but which never seems to be more than a little ornamentation, no part of the regular warp and woof of the sermon. Is it that Mr. Campbell is determined not to be evangelical, but cannot help it? There are patches of criticism also. We are told that 'the Epistle to the Ephesians might more fitly be called the Epistle *from* the Ephesians; for although it bears the name of St. Paul, and exhibits many traces of his influence, its affinities are rather with the Johannine writings and the Epistle to the Hebrews than with Romans and

Corinthians.' But the criticism never affects the argument or alters the evangelicalism. In short, this volume of sermons is as welcome as anything that Mr. Campbell has published, and the beautiful photograph at the beginning is a welcome part of it.

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In the year 1889 Mr. John Campbell Oman, Professor of Natural Science in the Government College, Lahore, became known to the world as a close observer of the life of the Hindus by the publication of a volume entitled *Indian Life, Religious and Social.* Nineteen years have passed. Professor Oman has published other books. He has had better opportunities of studying the rites and ceremonies of Indian religion. He has also become more courageous in speaking about them. He has rewritten his first book, greatly enlarging and also illustrating it, and he has issued it under a new title—*Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India* (Fisher Unwin; 14s. net).

We say that Professor Oman is more fearless now. This virtue has grown upon him. Some charge him with it as if it were a vice. But he defends himself by saying that, after all, he has withdrawn the veil which shrouds the dark places of Hinduism from public knowledge but a very little way; and that an account of Indian life and religion would be misleading unless it afforded at least some glimpses of the objectionable forms in which, under certain circumstances, Hinduism, even at the present time, finds practical if covert expression.

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Messrs. Washbourne (who know how to bind their books) have just published *The Saint of the Eucharist* (3s. 6d.), by Fr. Oswald Staniforth, O.S.F.C., and an anonymous volume entitled *Catholic Life* (2s. 6d.). The anonymous volume is a simple account of the Fasts and Feasts, with popular illustrations. *The Saint of the Eucharist* is a new edition of the Life of St. Paschal Baylon, who is known as 'The Saint of the Holy Eucharist.' 'Appearing, as it does,' says the Archbishop of Westminster in a prefatory letter, 'in the year in which for the first time the International Eucharistic Congress is to be held in an English-speaking country, it will enable English readers to become acquainted with the details of the life of the humble Spanish Franciscan Friar whom Leo XIII. was pleased to proclaim the special heavenly Protector of all Eucharistic Congresses and Societies.'

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There are those who deny that Herbert Spencer was a very remarkable man. But no one denies that his *Autobiography* is a very remarkable book. Some of us have just been reading Mr. Duncan's biography. That is a frank enough volume. But it is not to be compared in frankness with the Autobiography, albeit the frankness is so unpremeditate.

Messrs. Williams and Norgate are determined to circulate the Autobiography; and to that end they have issued it at 12s. 6d. net.—both volumes, and more than a thousand octavo pages.

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## Some Books of Travel.

Books of travel, more than other books, are allowed to go out of print. Then they are reported as 'scarce,' 'very rare,' or described by some other phrase dear to the second-hand bookseller. Callaway's *Religious System of the Amazulu* cannot be had for love, and his *Nursery Tales of the Zulus* can scarcely be bought for money.

Some volumes of travel, after going out of print are reprinted, but usually in a limited edition, and they soon run out of print again. The original edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages* in seven volumes is quoted at £50. It was reprinted by Messrs. Maclehose in ten volumes at 12s. 6d. net a volume (with an *edition de luxe* at 25s. net), but that also is reported scarce and correspondingly expensive. This article is to touch some books of travel that are not yet out of print and are worth purchasing for their permanent literary and religious value.

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We have spoken of Callaway. A very good substitute is Dudley Kidd's *The Essential Kafir* (A. & C. Black; 18s. net). The phrases 'Zulu Cologne' and 'Eau de Pondo' which are applied by Dudley Kidd to Callaway's book may well be applied to Dudley Kidd's own book. It also 'smells of the native.' And it has the advantage over Callaway that it is published in the most handsome and attractive modern form—paper, binding, illustrations, all being at present unsurpassable. The permanent value of the book comes from its innerness. Mr. Kidd is not satisfied until he has got to the back of the black

man's mind. His interest is not in anthropology, but in man; not even in the Kafir's religion, but in the Kafir.

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No book is worth buying that does not 'smell of the native.' In his *Travels in British East Africa and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba* (Chapman & Hall; 28s.), Mr. W. W. A. Fitzgerald describes a death scene among the Swahilis. 'All the shamba people attended the funeral. The body was simply wrapped in a winding-sheet, and, water having been poured over it, it was put into the ground close to the husband's house. Mabruke seemed very grieved, and said they had been betrothed when quite little children. The women all sat in the verandah, singing death songs, and when the body was brought out, they uttered a melancholy wail. Poor people—I was getting to know them and their ways better, and could not help liking their simple natures.'

That is the secret of this book's charm. There are many things said that are meant for the trader's use only. For the purpose which Mr. Fitzgerald had in writing his book was to show the British trader that the new market he was looking for was to be found in East Africa, and especially in Zanzibar. But the book has also the universal note.

The religion of the Giryamas and other tribes is described, but the description is almost entirely taken from the Rev. W. E. Taylor's *Vocabulary of the Giryama Language*. Mr. Fitzgerald recognizes the permanent value of religion in a book of travels, but he had neither the time nor the equipment himself. His book is worth buying because it is human.

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The most valuable books for the study of Religion in the present list are *The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis (Clarendon Press; 14s. net), and *The Melanesians*, by R. H. Codrington, D.D. (Clarendon Press; 16s.). They are also, perhaps, the best known. To let such books go out of print would be a misfortune. Dr. Codrington is the one outstanding authority on Melanesia; and although there are several good books on the Masai, Mr. Hollis is the most scientific of the observers who have travelled among them. If his book had been more generally known, the absurd speculations of Dr. Emil Reich about the religion of the Masai would have been laughed out of existence in a week. Both of these volumes are quite indispensable to the student of Religion. Both contain much valuable, and not otherwise accessible, contributions to Folklore. They are just the books which would rise rapidly in price if the publishers were to let them out of print. It will therefore be good foresight to see that we have a copy of each of them in our possession.

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Mr. George Allen is the publisher of a very lively volume of travels, *In Russian Turkestan*, by Annette M. B. Meakin (7s. 6d. net). Its central interest, as it ought to be, is the condition of the women. Of their life there is much vivid description, and over their hard lot some burning words are spoken. One of the chapters describes the Jews of Central Asia. It is a chapter to be read for the complete history of Israel.

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The volumes noticed are not missionary books, but books of travel. Yet Coillard's *On the Threshold of Central Africa* (Hodder and Stoughton; 7s. 6d.) and Hepburn's *Twenty Years in Khama's Country* (Hodder and Stoughton; 6s.) deserve their place because they have the travelling interest also. Both books stand in the front rank of the literature of missions, so vivid is their narrative and so devoted the service they describe. But their contribution to science, to the science of Comparative Religion, will give them an entrance where the missionary motive is not felt, and perhaps a permanence after the immediate missionary success is swallowed up and forgotten.

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On the other hand, Odoardo Beccari's *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo* (Constable; 16s. net) is almost, if not altogether, scientific. And its scientific interest is in beasts and birds. Still, there is an occasional religious remark, and it is not less valuable that it is so detached from any edifying intention. Thus: 'On certain occasions the Kayans deduce omens from birds; while on more important ones they seek them in the entrails of animals, and especially in the heart of the pig, a practice also in use amongst the Sakarrang Dyaks.' And again: 'The Tubao Kayans do not now offer human sacrifices, but I was assured that the Boajan Kayans of the Upper Banjar sacrifice a slave when one of their chiefs dies, and bury his corpse with that of the dead chief. I have also heard that certain tribes of the

interior, when about to construct a new house, sacrifice a virgin, burying her under one of the main piles.' Thus does Borneo recall the city of Jericho, the foundation of which was laid on Hiel's firstborn, and the gates set up upon his youngest.

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Messrs. Macmillan have kept Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia* and Waterton's *Wanderings in South America* on sale by charming cheap reprints in one volume (3s. 6d. each). They are both travel classics. 'I offer this book,' said Waterton, 'with a hesitating hand. It has little merit, and must make its way through the world as well as it can.' But it was found in the school library of the Rev. J. G. Wood, when a boy. 'The book fascinated me. Week after week I took it out of the library, and really think that I could have repeated it verbatim from beginning to end.' And now he has become its editor.

Palgrave cannot die. The first edition appeared in two volumes in 1865: there have been ten editions or reprints since then. Yet Palgrave has been severely handled by the expert in Arab life. Sir Richard Burton, for example, in the tenth volume of his *Arabian Nights*, says, 'Palgrave's picturesque depreciation of Mohammedanism is a notable specimen of special pleading'; and asks, 'What should we say to a Moslem traveller who would make the Calvinism of the sourest Covenanter model, genuine, and ancient Christianity?'

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Books of travel should be read as books of travel. But they will be cherished and will retain their value if they are more. Especially if they contain original and reliable information on religion. There is no out-of-print book that sells so well. How few, however, are the travellers who know how to get a savage to reveal his religion. And as a consequence, it is quite a usual thing for the traveller to declare that such a tribe has very little religion, and such another none at all.

Even a scientific observer of the reputation of Mr. A. E. Pratt, in his entrancing volume on New Guinea, which he calls *Two Years among New Guinea Cannibals* (Seeley; 16s. net), comes lightly to the conclusion regarding the Papuans that 'belief in another world they have none,' and that 'the most elementary ideas of religion do not seem to exist.'

We should like to ask Mr. Pratt, first of all, what he expects to see when he looks for religion. There is, he goes on to tell us, a spirit, and this spirit is always invisible but occasionally audible. His name is Fi-fi. He is recognized (Mr. Pratt will not allow us to say worshipped) with rites, which look very like religious rites. These rites are always performed at night. Fi-fi is represented by a visible medium, who is usually a girl, and once chosen retains the office for life. The medium (it is evidently a modern mistaken appellation) becomes priestess, and gives oracles, even as the priestess at Dodona. What is this if it is not religion?

But hear Mr. Pratt again: 'Another superstition is "Wada," which, as far as one can ascertain, seems to be a belief in an invisible man who stands near a tree, but is so like it that he cannot be seen. As you go through the forest, "Wada" may touch you, and then you are doomed. After this there is nothing for you but to go home and die; and so great is the power of suggestion that a person who believes he has been touched by "Wada" generally does die.'

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From the religion of the Papuans it is a good step to that of the Chinese, but the step is greater from Mr. Pratt to Mr. B. L. Putnam Weale. Mr. Weale is the author of two books, one published in 1905, and entitled *The Re-shaping of the Far East* (Macmillan, 2 vols.; 25s. net); the other issued in 1907 with the name of *Manchu and Muscovite* (Macmillan; 10s. net). Both books are political. They are the outcome of a politician's deliberate purpose to visit the 'Far East' in order that his own observation might be used for his country's benefit. And there is always the risk, when the traveller is a politician, that religion and its representatives will fare ill at his hands.

The missionaries are the politician's thorn in China. Mr. Weale recognizes it. He says: 'It is one of the curious phases of the Far Eastern question that side by side with the never-ending newer political problems the missionaries and their work in China continue to be one of the greatest difficulties.' His first thought was to resent this. But he is open-minded for a politician, and his study of the religion of the Chinese first, and then of the difference the Christian gospel made, compelled him to accept the missionary in spite of the political difficulty of him. And the process of education

went on apace. In *Manchu and Muscovite* there is a noble and notable chapter under the title of 'The Manly Missionary of Manchuria.'

In that chapter Mr. Weale speaks of the massacres. 'But things soon settled down again. A Russian officer's wife, who came into Manchuria by almost the first train in 1901, told me three Englishmen were with her who were going to rebuild and reconvert at a time when the musketry had hardly ceased firing. "Très hommes, ces missionaires anglais," she added. Exactly, it is the whole thing in a single sentence; the Manchurian missionary has a reputation to keep up, and he intends to do so.'

But we spoke of the difference between Mr. Weale and Mr. Pratt. He would be a blind observer who found little sign of religion in China. See, however, how comprehensively Mr. Weale expresses it. 'Clear conceptions of Heaven, the Supreme Being, manifestation or revelation, the spirits or *Manes* of departed men, were all possessed by the early Chinese, and it was because these were too vague in the minds of the masses that other practices of a debasing sort were resorted to with greater and greater frequency by the common people.'

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The great authority on the West Pyrenees, and especially on the Basques, was the late Rev. Wentworth Webster. To him Mr. A. R. Whiteway, M.A., dedicates *The Pyrenean Past* (Harrison; 2s. 6d. net). He dedicates it as a dutiful scholar should, and shows how well he has entered into the master's labours. It is a book of religion and folklore, shot through with social and economic ideas.

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Wholly occupied with Religion and Ethics is *Persia by a Persian* (Elliot Stock). The Persian is the Rev. Isaac Adams, M.D. For a foreigner, his English is surprisingly idiomatic. And his knowledge of the very inmost habits and thoughts of his countrymen makes the book one of great value. The ancient literature has been studied, though the strength of the book lies in another direction. It lies in the minuteness and fidelity of the description of customs which the author has seen with his own eyes.

The book must suffer in popularity from its outward unattractiveness. It must suffer in the eyes of the scholar from its unscholarly appearance. There is no index to anything, and the proof-reading is faulty. But it is fitted both to instruct the learned and to entertain the ignorant.

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There is another book in the list which hazards the statement, 'Their religious belief is practically nil.' It is Mr. Broadwood Johnson's *Tramps round the Mountains of the Moon* (Fisher Unwin; 6s. net). But again the author, when he has time and takes pains to make a closer acquaintance, discovers religion enough. We read pages of hurried description, and then, at last, we come upon the inevitable proof. 'In the middle was the rest-house, watched over at the side by a large spirit shrine, just like one of the inhabited dwellings. The villagers' huts had tiny spirit shrines in front of them, about a foot high, in which were placed the offerings for the spirits of the departed, to keep them well disposed and disinclined to plague the living.'

It is a traveller's book, and a rapid traveller's, and the missionary is not much considered. Yet once, just once, there is a testimony to his presence, and it is worth many interested reports. 'In another district an old chief, named Mugema, who had lived a life of drunkenness and unbridled self-indulgence, placed himself under the teacher's instruction. His face wore a heavy, sodden expression, cheerlessly suggesting a grate with the fire gone out. When I went back ten months after, it was difficult to believe that it was the same man who came to meet me. A pleasant smile effaced the old blank gloom, and a gleam in the eye told of a new fire burning within.'

# Recent Biblical Archaeology.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, Litt.D., LL.D., Oxford.

## The Exploration of Arabia Petræa.

One of the most important works that have appeared for many years past on the geography and anthropology of the nearer East has just been published by the Imperial Academy of Science at Vienna.[1] It embodies the geographical and ethnological discoveries of Dr. Alois Musil, and is a continuation of the account of his exploration of Moab contained in the first volume of the work. Thanks to Dr. Musil's indefatigable labours, not only the topography of Petra and the surrounding district, but also the geography of the whole desert between Gaza and Aqaba has been thoroughly examined and surveyed. In spite of innumerable difficulties — murderous Beduin, hostile Turkish officials, fractious Kurdish guards, and malarial fever—he has travelled year after year through the old land of Edom, visiting places previously left unexplored, verifying or correcting earlier observations, and collecting the songs and folklore of the desert tribes. Year after year he has returned with fresh spoils—Nabathean and Greek inscriptions, photographs of ruined cities and rock-cut tombs of which nothing had been previously known, as well as trigometrical surveys. Petra and its neighbourhood have now been as fully mapped as any of the ancient sites of Egypt, and it is questionable whether the desert to whose exploration Dr. Musil has thus devoted himself has any discoveries left for a future traveller to make. The volumes have been brought out in a manner worthy of their contents. Paper and type are alike sumptuous, and the numerous photographs with which they are enriched are exceptionally good.

The most striking fact which Dr. Musil's discoveries have emphasized is that in the Roman age Arabia Petræa was one of the richest and most flourishing regions of the world. The waterless desert of to-day, with its scanty population of savage Beduin, was filled with well-built cities, was intersected by roads, and was protected by a series of forts. Stately public and private buildings rose within the city walls, and the dead were buried in costly tombs. The trade between the far East and Europe passed through Arabia Petræa, and this it was which led to the rise of Nabathean Petra and the wealth of the merchant princes who inhabited it. Where there is now only the Beduin robber, the trader once carried the silks of China and the sandalwood and gold of India to the wealthy patricians of Rome. When Petra lost its independence the trade still continued; Roman garrisons kept the 'Saracen' or Arab at bay, and the population of the 'Arabian province' showed no signs of diminishing. The number of cities and fortresses, the ruins of which have been discovered or examined by Dr. Musil, is really astonishing, and makes one realize more than ever what an utter destruction of culture and civilization the fall of the Roman Empire involved.

None of the ruins, it must be remembered, can be assigned to an earlier date than the Roman or Græco-Roman age. The history of Petra itself cannot be traced back beyond the time of Alexander. Doubtless, however, excavation will yet bring to light remains of an earlier period. The trade from the East already passed through Edom in the time of David and Solomon; it was this which made the possession of Edom a matter of importance to David, and which caused Jehoshaphat, like Solomon before him, to build 'ships of Tarshish' on the Gulf of Aqaba. But the Amalekites or Beduin were already troublesome to their more civilized neighbours in the days of Saul, and, as we learn from the Book of Genesis, formed an integral part of the population of Edom. The geographical table of Shishak, at Karnak, records little else than Beduin settlements in Arabia Petræa, and at an earlier epoch we hear only of a few wells as existing there. It is true that the Nabathean Ishmaelites were established in the district, but their fortified 'enclosures' (Gn $25^{16}$) would have been erected beside the highroads of trade and war. That there was such a highroad as far back as the age of Khammu-rabi we know from the fact that Chedor-laomer and his vassals marched to Kadesh-barnea and 'smote all the country of the Amalekites,' thereby opening it out to trade.

[1] *Arabia Petræa*; vol. ii. *Edom*; vol. iii. *Ethnologischer Reisebericht*. By Alois Musil. Vienna: Hölder, 1908.

The site of Kadesh seems to have been so definitely fixed at 'Ain Qadis by Dr. Clay Trumbull's masterly work on the subject, that it is somewhat disturbing to find Dr. Musil throwing doubt on the identification. The result of his third visit to the Wady, he tells us, was to make him less inclined than ever to accept the identification, since the place is unsuitable for an encampment, being too stony and narrow, and in winter liable to sudden floods. Most of the Wadys, however, where there is water are subject to the latter inconvenience, and, geographically, it is difficult to discover any other site for the ancient Spring of Judgment. It will be interesting to hear what are the results of Professor Robinson's recent examination of the spot.

Let me take this opportunity of suggesting to motorists that they could not employ themselves better than in exploring the deserts between Egypt and Palestine. Dr. Ruffer tells me that the desert of the Tih offers admirable travelling-ground for a motor, and could be traversed in a few hours, and the greater portion of the desert to the north-east could be traversed almost as easily. With a motor the difficulties of exploration in this inhospitable corner of the world would practically vanish; Beduin, want of water, and fatigue could alike be set at defiance.

Not the least valuable part of Dr. Musil's two volumes on Edom are the indices of geographical names which are given both in Arabic and in transcription. Dr. Musil has a thorough knowledge of colloquial as well as of literary Arabic, and for the first time, therefore, we have a list of the names which is at once complete and trustworthy. The itineraries which he also gives, with a statement of the number of hours he occupied in going from one place to another, will be found extremely useful.

I have left myself but little space for speaking of the third volume on ethnology and folklore. In it Dr. Musil has collected a most interesting mass of material bearing on the beliefs, habits, and customs of the people whom Balaam described as 'the earliest of nations.' The Beduin are usually supposed to be as free from religious beliefs as the gypsies of Europe; this, however, is shown not to be altogether the case. Some glimmerings of a belief in a life to come exist among them; the soul is regarded as separate from the body, and believed to flit after death round the bones of the corpse. A certain school of anthropologists will welcome the statement that 'according to the opinion of the 'Amârîn the dead appear especially in dreams.' Traces of the worship of ancestors may be detected, as in Egypt, in the annual pilgrimages to the graves of the forefathers of a tribe, each family bringing a goat 'without blemish,' a sheep, or a camel, which it offers upon the grave. The grave itself possesses a special sanctity, and for a grave to be desecrated is an unheard-of crime. In this respect the Beduin differ from the fellahin of Egypt, whose ideas as to the sanctity of the grave have been modified by Mohammedanism.

No detail in the life of the Beduin has been neglected by Dr. Musil; birth, death, and marriage, clothing and habitation, superstitions and food, are all alike passed in review, and a formidable list of tribes is enumerated which alone must have required much patient labour to compile. In short, the student of the modern representatives of the Amalekites of the Old Testament will find here everything relating to them which he can desire to learn.

## The Babylonian Christ.

Dr. Hugo Radau has just published a very interesting little book on *Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1908), which ought to attract others besides Assyriologists. The first part of it is intended for the Assyriologist only; the second part, however, appeals to the theologian and the general public. In it he seeks to show that the primitive Babylonian regarded the world as the product of a marriage between heaven and earth, considered as husband and wife, which made them 'one flesh,' so that either of the two was at once 'heaven and earth' or 'husband and wife.' The wedding festival took place at the beginning of spring, and typified a resurrection of nature, the New Year's festival being in its origin a festival of rising from the dead. This is an important fact, and I think that Dr. Radau has gone far to prove it. The texts he quotes are quite sufficient to show that the Semitic Babylonians inherited a doctrine of the resurrection from their Sumerian predecessors, and that this doctrine was closely related to a belief in the resurrection of a god of vegetation, whose marriage with the earth brought about the renewal of nature. The god of vegeta-

tion was Nin-Girsu (called Ingurisa by the Semites), who was identified with Nin-ip, the 'messenger' or angel of En-lil, into whom he was afterwards absorbed, as 'the angel of Yahveh' was absorbed into Yahveh. In one of the texts quoted by Dr. Radau, it is said of Nin-ip: 'He who has been brought down into the nether world (*arallu*), his body thou bringest back again.'

After the rise of the Khammu-rabi dynasty, Merodach took the place of En-lil, and, Dr. Radau argues, was himself displaced by Christ in Christian dogma. The resurrection at Easter-tide, and the entrance thereby of the divine 'Lord' into his kingdom, were no new ideas; the resurrection of Christ found a world already prepared to understand and believe it. Perhaps Dr. Radau is right in seeing references to old Babylonian conceptions in some of the words used about the resurrection of Christ by the New Testament writers. When St. Paul says that Christ received 'a name which is above every name,' or when we read in the Gospel of St. Matthew that the bodies of the saints arose from their graves 'after his resurrection,' we are irresistibly reminded of the early Babylonian hymns. Dr. Radau, however, can hardly be right in his interpretation of 1 P $3^{18}$, where he would make ζωοποιηθείς equivalent to being 'quickened' or 'raised from the dead' on the third day, when spirit and body were again united. We should have to change the reading of the verse before we could reconcile such an explanation with the rules of Greek grammar; as it stands, the passage can only be rendered: 'Christ suffered, in order to bring us to God, being carnally done to death, but spiritually vivified' at the moment of death. It was the death of the flesh which brought about the vivification of the spirit.

Dr. Radau's division of the history of Babylonian religion, and therewith of Babylonia itself, into three periods—Sumerian, Canaanite, and Assyrian—is very suggestive. I would only add to it a 'Babylonian' epoch which intervened between the Sumerian and the Canaanite; and I hope that the early religious texts from the temple library of Nippur which he has been engaged in copying will soon be made public. He tells us that they show that the Babylonian religion was 'a purely monotheistic religion, more particularly a monotheistic trinitarian religion, patterned after the Nippurian prototype En-lil ("Father"), Errish (or Nin-ib, "Son"), Nin-lil ("Mother"), which Trinity is represented in the Old Testament by Yahveh (or Elohim, "Father"), Mal'ak Yahveh (or Angel of the Lord, "Son"), and Ruach ("Spirit")."

# Contributions and Comments.

## Ancient Babylonian Astrology.

A PAMPHLET which has just been issued at the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen (A. Jeremias und Hugo Winckler, 'Im Kampf um den alten Orient,' No. 3; Alfr. Jeremias, *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie*. Leipzig: Hinrichs) comes as a bomb-shell, the so-called Astral-System of Hugo Winckler having recently appeared to many to have been completely disposed of by Pater Kugler, Franz Boll, Eduard Meyer, Pater Wilh. Schmidt, and others.[1] The paper, though short, contains much matter. It derives its importance from the fact that it contains several new cuneiform documents, which quash every contradiction. Two of them are from the Temple Library of Nippur, which will yet be the cause of many surprises, and one is from the inscriptions discovered at Boghazkiöi (*c.* 1300 B.C.). My arrangement of an Assyrian list of planets according to their distance from the earth, which has been accepted by Professor Winckler, is now proved by inscriptions to be very ancient. And how advanced Chaldaic Astronomy was even 2000 years B.C. is now shown by the small tablet of Hilprecht, cited by Jeremias on p. 14, and there commented on by me. Unfortunately, a few printer's errors have been allowed to stand: We should read ✕ 7 (instead of '*mul*, *i.e.* star, 7'), and in the sixth line from the end 6 ✕ 60 (instead of 6 ✕ 50). Again, on p. 25 the last line but one of the note should read Archer and Scorpion (instead of Archer and Crab). These mistakes make the doubts of A. Jeremias which are expressed there quite unnecessary. It is to be hoped that others, perhaps Professor Sayce, will have something to say on this highly interesting paper.

FRITZ HOMMEL.

*Munich.*

[1] With regard to the Astral-Myths in the Old Testament, Professor Winckler seems to me also to go much too far.

## The Genealogy and Name of Joshua.

A Roman Catholic, if asked for the genealogy of Joshua, would name as his father *Naue*, because in the Septuagint the Hebrew name *Nun* (or once, *Non*) became NAYH, probably by a very old misspelling for NAYN. (As a parallel perpetuation of a misspelling, compare *Zenith* for *Zemth*, Arabic *Zamth*.) The Protestant names his father *Nun*, but I doubt whether any one, at least in Germany, could give his genealogy higher up. Therefore I call attention to the genealogy given in the 'Book of Joshua in Hebrew-Samaritan Recension,' discovered and for the first time published by M. Gaster (*Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. lxviii. pp. 209–279, to be continued). There Joshua calls himself (chap. xviii., xvi. p. 268):

'I, Joshua, the son of Nun, the son of עדן (= Ladan, 1 Ch $7^{26}$), the son of Shuthelah, the son of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, who ruled over whole Egypt, the disciple of the master of the prophets, Mose, the son of Amram,' etc.

As to his name I wrote in the article Jesus (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 860), that it is spelt with ו but twice (Dt $3^{21}$, Jg $2^{7}$), 'and therefore יהושע may have been originally "Jehosha'," like אלישע alongside אלישוע.' A new parallel is the name of the son of Phinehas, who in our Bibles is called אבישוע, but in the Samaritan recension אבישע *Abisha'*.

Eb. Nestle.

*Maulbronn.*

## The Reed.

In your June issue you print a note from the Rev. W. Goran Robertson of Kawimbe, North-Eastern Rhodesia, traversing a statement made by the Rev. Leon Arpee, in a previous number, that the Zulus have a tradition that man arose from a reed. As I am only a learner in Zulu-Kafir, I am unable to enter into the strict etymological or colloquial meaning of Umhlanga, or Uluhlanga, but I can assure Mr. Robertson that the cognate word in Sesuto Lehlaka does certainly mean a reed, and that, furthermore, the Basuto have a tale that men came from reeds or reedy places.

The following is the account given by Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), p. 241: 'A legend says that both men and animals came out of the earth by an immense hole, the opening of which was in a cavern, and that the animals appeared first. Another tradition more generally received among the Basuto is that man sprang up in a marshy place where reeds were growing. Can this be an allusion to the chaotic period which preceded the Creation? However this may be, this fable has become so popular that to this day a reed fastened over a hut is the symbol announcing the birth of a child.'

I also understand that the Zulus have substantially the same tale. Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 354, says: 'A more legendary version of the Creation is adapted to the notion that not the Supreme Being created, but one nearer to mankind. Thus the Zulus distinguish an Unkulunkulu, that is, the greatest who plays a part in the creation of men, from the Supreme Being Itongo. Unkulunkulu made men out of the morass, whence he himself came at the beginning. He cried out and said, "Let men come forth." Then all things—dogs and cattle, locusts and trees, grass and corn—came forth.' See also Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 104 *et seq.*

I doubt very much if Mr. Robertson is right in spiritualizing a native proverb in the way he does. From what I can gather, the natives attach no such meaning to their tradition, as the words of Paul, 'God hath made of one blood,' etc.

Mr. Robertson also says: 'The Zulu, and in common with, I think, all other Bantu tribes, trace man's creation, and, indeed, the source of everything, to the sea.' I am tolerably familiar with the Basuto creation myths, as well as those of some other tribes, and I have not come across one of which the above statement holds good. I have heard of a great hole, a cavern, marshes, etc., but never of the sea.

S. S. Dornan.

*Bulawayo, Rhodesia;*
*formerly of Morija, Basutoland.*

# In the Study.

### Dr. Charles Taylor.

There is a paper of 'Personal Recollections' of the late Master of St. John's, Cambridge, in the *Record* for August 28. It is signed R.S., which means Dr. Robert Sinker, the Librarian of Trinity College. No man knew Dr. Taylor better or was more in touch with his mind.

'Utterly unlike a certain new type of scholar, who is nothing if not continually in evidence and airing some new theory, Taylor was at all times a worker whose characteristics were soberness and thoroughness.'

'His burly figure was not suggestive of the ideal climber, yet in 1872 he made the first ascent of Monte Rosa from the Italian side, and wrote an account of it in the *Alpine Journal* for that year.'

'It must have been about this time [1892] that Taylor made a protest against what I cannot but call the cruel note of the R.V. on Mk $16^9$, which deceived no less a person than the late Professor Huxley. Tennyson talks of the lie which is half a truth; here we have a statement which is absolutely true and absolutely misleading.'

### The Passions, not generally.

Mr. J. Lewis Paton, Headmaster of the Manchester Grammar School, is an authority on certain aspects of Ethics. He will write the article on 'Gambling' for the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS.

Speaking at a public meeting in Manchester recently, he said, 'We shall never fulfil our office if we avoid such subjects as Bad-temper. Seeley well says, in his essay on "The Clergy as Teachers of Morality," that moral teaching, to be of any use, must be explicit and detailed. Benjamin Jowett, in his notebook, had a page in which he catalogued "Subjects which ought to be and never are treated in Sermons"; and among these pulpit-boycotted themes he notes as one "The passions, not generally but particularly." One of our ministers here recently delivered a short course of sermons on "Adolescence," dealing with the features, good and bad, peculiar to that period of life.'

### Lord Roberts not the Attraction.

The grand review of 10,000 members of the Boy's Brigade to be held in Glasgow to-morrow (we quote one of the dailies) recalls an amusing story of a similar event which took place in the same city a few years ago. Lord Roberts had promised to inspect the brigade battalions, but at the last moment was prevented by illness. A local officer was secured to fill his place, and in selling tickets for the inspection it was thought only fair to let purchasers know that the distinguished Field-Marshal would not be present. One small brigade boy came up and asked for two tickets for his father and mother. The clerk said, "Do your father and mother know that Lord Roberts is not to be present?" To which the boy replied, with a look of self-confidence, "It's no' Lord Roberts they're comin' to see; it's me."

### The Oracles are Dumb.

*The British Congregationalist* has published, in its issue for August 13, an address delivered at the closing meeting of New College, London, by Professor Williston Walker of Yale. Professor Williston Walker was recommended by Dr. Bartlet and others as the most capable of all men to give an account of 'Congregationalism,' and he has undertaken that article for the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS.

In the address at New College there is much that could be quoted profitably, but we shall select a single paragraph.

'Be scholarly in your habit of mind. In these days of minute and exact learning it is, indeed, impossible to compass the full round of theologic discipline, amid the duties of an active pastorate. No man can be, as the ministry was at times in the past, an oracle to his congregation. Much must be left to the specialist with time and tools at his command. But every thoughtful minister can have his special field, in which he not merely delights to exercise his mental powers, but in which he may become, in some real sense, a master. Such a resource is no mere recreation. It strengthens all a man's work. It gives him a vital and living interest in the realm of thought. It makes him something vastly more useful than a retailer of the latest periodical literature, or a pulpit critic, or interpreter of the volumes that may be the fashion of the hour. In some important field, at least, he can assure himself that he is at

home, that his judgments have independent weight, that he can speak with the authority of one who knows, and that by his own trained methods he has learned to estimate the value of others' labours, even in regions of theologic studies which he has not made his own. Such a scholarly habit dignifies his own thought, gives strength to his utterances, and commands the respect of intelligent men. No mistake can be more fatal than that of substituting the desultory reading of the ephemeral literature of the hour for the hard and patiently directed labours of the study; or that of deeming one's student days are over when these halls where you have been trained are left for that wider sphere in which you are to be your own teachers, if you are to be taught at all.'

**Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall.'**

We have been asked to name the publisher and price of the best edition of Gibbon to buy. There are a good many editions of Gibbon in the market, and which is the best of them depends partly on the edition, and partly on the use that is to be made of it. For purely students' purposes Gibbon has been published by Mr. Murray in two parts, Part I. being edited by Mr. A. H. J. Greenidge, Part II. by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson. They are published at 5s. each. These are to be sought after, however, rather by the student of the history of Rome than by the student of Gibbon, pure and simple. Both volumes have been prepared by scholars, not by men of letters. But Gibbon retains his own flavour, and the combination of accurate scholarship with literary grace makes an ideal book for the study.

A fuller, although older edition, also prepared for students' use, is to be found in Bohn's Standard Library. It contains the notes of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter, Hugo, and others. It is in seven volumes at 3s. 6d. each. This is an edition of Gibbon in the strict sense of the word 'edition.' And it is properly included in the Standard Library. For whatever is afterwards done for the history of the Roman Empire, the notes of those men will keep alive this edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. It appeals at once to the historical, the literary, and the antiquarian interest, and it is an acceptable addition to the library. For general reading Messrs. Warne have a verbatim reprint in three volumes at 5s. each. The same publishers have an edition in four volumes at 1s. 6d. net each, among their Chandos Classics. Mr. Frowde publishes Gibbon in seven volumes in his World's Classics at 1s. net each. In outward appearance Mr. Frowde's edition is superior to Messrs. Warne's. Then Messrs. Ward, Lock, & Co. have three different editions on sale, all with Milman's notes. First there is the original edition in two volumes at 21s.; next an edition in the World Library in two volumes at 3s. 6d. each; and an edition in four volumes in cloth at 2s., or bound in half-calf or half-morocco in the 'Favourite Classics' at 5s. each. The four-volume editions are good for presentation. Milman's notes bring them into serious competition with Frowde's edition for this purpose, although they are not quite so clearly printed.

But now after the purely students' and the purely popular editions, we come to the library editions of Gibbon. There are two of these, besides Ward's Milman in two volumes already mentioned. These are published by Mr. Murray and by Messrs. Methuen. Mr. Murray's edition is edited by Sir William Smith, and contains Milman's and Guizot's notes. It is published in eight volumes at 7s. 6d. each. But, although well enough to look to, it is out of date. It has been superseded by Professor Bury's edition, which is published by Messrs. Methuen. Professor Bury's edition is in seven volumes at 6s. each, attractive and satisfactory. Professor Bury has reprinted Gibbon's own text of course without alteration, but by means of his own very lucid and reliable notes he has brought Gibbon up to date. For if Gibbon was omniscient, it was only to himself and his contemporaries. Historians who have succeeded him have found him faulty in many ways. Professor Bury will be found faulty also; but he is not quite so confident of his own judgments, and he knows what other men have done. Meantime he has satisfied his own generation and done the best for his author. It is on the Slavonic side of the history of the Empire that Gibbon is most inadequate. But it is only in recent years that Slavonic history has been really studied. Here the whole aspect of things have been altered by the editor.

**Pandita Ramabai.**

Mr. T. E. Slater, the author of a thoroughly scientific book on Hinduism called *The Higher Hinduism*, has just published a small unbound volume with the title of *Missions and Sociology* (Elliot Stock; 1s. net), from which the following paragraph is taken.

'Perhaps the *most remarkable personage*, taking all things into consideration, *to be seen in India to-day is a woman—a Hindu widow*—the well-known Pandita Ramabai, who seventeen years ago began her noble work among the despised class of child-widows, and who now, in her village settlement at Mukti, in the Bombay Presidency, is sheltering and training in domestic industries some 1500 of these neglected widows. Visitors from all parts of the world are attracted to this wonderful centre of philanthropy, which sends out trained women to extend the benevolent work, and who have opened four other homes for widows in different parts of the country. Ramabai, who is the daughter of a Brahman, and was early

left a widow, is probably the most learned woman of her race, as she alone of all the women of India possesses the title "Pandita." The late Dr. C. Cuthbert Hall, of New York, and twice the Haskell Barrows Lecturer in India, whose removal the East with the West deplores, spoke of her as a "statesmanlike servant of God"; and she is certainly remarkable for her organizing and executive ability. And when one sees her and understands the work she is doing, and thinks of the millions of India's women and widows living their trivial and barren lives, one cannot possibly have a more striking proof of *what the religion of Christ can do for the uplifting of the downtrodden daughters of the East.* For Ramabai is a humble and devoted Christian; and though she wisely makes no efforts to proselytize from Hinduism, the influence of her magnetic personality pervades the whole community with the spirit and power of vital Christianity.'

**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. John Waddell, Bangor, to whom a copy of Macgregor's *Jesus Christ the Son of God* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for November must be received by the 1st of October. The text is Dt $30^{19}$.

The Great Text for December is Dt $32^{11.\ 12}$—

> As an eagle that stirreth up her nest,
> That fluttereth over her young,
> He spread abroad his wings, he took them,
> He bare them on his pinions:
> The Lord alone did lead him,
> And there was no strange god with him.

A copy of Sarolea's *Newman* and Beveridge's *Makers of the Scottish Church*, or of Adamson's *Lord's Supper*, will be given for the best illustration. Illustrations must be received by the 1st of November.

The Great Text for January is Dt $33^{25}$—

> Thy bars shall be iron and brass;
> And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.

A copy of Dykes's *Christian Minister and his Duties*, or of Graham's *Grammar of Philosophy*, will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for February is Dt $33^{27}$—

> The eternal God is thy dwelling-place,
> And underneath are the everlasting arms.

A copy of Dykes's *Christian Minister* or any volume of 'The Scholar as Preacher' Series will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for March is Dt $34^{5.\ 6}$—'So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' A copy of Barton's *Ecclesiastes* or Chadwick's *Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul* will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

**Books Wanted and Offered.**

We have often been urged to give facilities for the exchange of books, and we have resolved to make the experiment. Books wanted to buy, and books offered for sale, will be inserted free, but the Editor will exercise his judgment as to their insertion. A stamp for re-posting must be sent with every offer to buy or sell. All correspondence must be direct to the Editor's address, St. Cyrus, Montrose, Scotland, not to the publishing offices.

BOOKS WANTED.

Wright's Dialect Dictionary.
The Journal of Hellenic Studies. (I.)

The Encyclopædia Britannica, latest edition.
Prof. J. A. Thomson's Heredity.
Pal. Explor. Fund Statement, Nos. for January and April 1893, and No. for January 1901. (II.)

Bennett's Religion of Post-Exilic Prophets.
Lindsay's History of the Reformation.
Bagster's Concordance to the Septuagint.
Armitage Robinson's Ephesians.
*Half-price if clean copies.* (III.)

BOOKS OFFERED.

Hobart's Medical Language of St. Luke, 4s. 6d.
Bremond's The Mystery of Newman, 6s.
Clerke's Popular History of Astronomy, 4s. 6d.
Bancroft's Native Races, vol. i., 5s.
Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology, 12s. (A)

Three Years' War, by De Wet, 3s.
The Story of Protestantism, by F. Holderness Gale, 2s.
Family Prayers, by an Englishwoman, 1s.
Walsh's Women Martyrs, 1s. 6d. (B)

Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar (latest ed., 1904), pub. 18s. net, for 12s. 6d. (C)

*Christian World Pulpit*, vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, publisher's cases, clean, 4 vols., 7s. 6d. carriage paid.
*Expositor*, 3rd ser., 10 vols. and Index vol., publisher's cases, clean, £1, 2s. 6d. carriage paid.
*Expositor*, 4th ser., ditto, or Two Series, £2, 2s. carriage paid. (D)

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE first volume of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS has been published, and the publishers have sent a copy for review.

The idea of editing an Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics arose in this way. The *Dictionary of the Bible* contains a series of articles in Theology. But the theology closes with the Canon. It is what we call Biblical Theology. Now we have all come to understand that theology should never close. It is a record of life. It is itself a living thing. It cannot be arrested anywhere. It must live with the life of the Church. It must develop as the Spirit takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto us. The need of a Dictionary of Progressive Theology was evident.

But to confine the Dictionary to Theology was to rob Theology of its progress. A doctrine that has life in it cannot be usefully described without taking into account the manifestations of that doctrine in the religious life of the world. These manifestations are not versions of the Christian doctrine, nor are they perversions. They are parts of the complete doctrine, and must be taken account of in any scientific description of it. An article on FAITH is incomplete without some reference to the Hindu doctrine of BHAKTI-MARGA. An article on the Atonement can no longer be written by a man who misses the significance of those infants buried under the foundation-stones of dwelling-houses which Mr. Macalister has been discovering at Gezer. A Dictionary of Theology must now be a Dictionary of Religion.

And it must include Ethics. For, while the idea rose out of the study of Theology, the necessity of including Ethics became very soon apparent. Religion cannot be described apart from Ethics. It is true that there is a series of great articles in the Encyclopædia on ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, and they seem to be purely religious articles. Again, there are great articles on ACTIVITY and ANALOGY, and they seem to be purely ethical. So also it is true that there was a Congress of Religions in Oxford in September, and a Congress of Ethics in London in the end of the same month, and the one Congress seemed to be distinct from the other.

But at the Congress of Religions, the President, Sir Alfred Lyall, repeated his belief, already expressed in his *Asiatic Studies*, that Religion cannot survive without Morality, or Morality exist without Religion. And at the Congress of Moral Education (as the exact title was), Canon Glazebrook said that man's ideal of duty for himself is inextricably bound up with his conception of God's nature and providence; while Miss Alice Ottley, without protest, asserted, 'The relation between Ethics and Religion

is in my view so vital and so essential that it is difficult to separate them even in thought.'

Those who attended the Congress of Religions held in Oxford in September had one sore disappointment. It was when Professor Sanday read no more than a few extracts from his paper.

Professor Sanday was President of the Christian Section. He had prepared his address with his usual care. It was already printed and in the members' hands. They could read it at leisure. There would be very few of them who would not, sooner or later, read every word of it. But when he rose to deliver it, there was that hush of expectancy which waited but rarely upon even the presidents' addresses. And very great was the disappointment when he found it necessary to read only a few fragments of it, and sit down. The previous addresses had covered part of the ground, and the time was short.

The address is in our hands. It has been published at the Clarendon Press (1s. net). It must be read with care. It may be read with ease. The whole field is surveyed with just judgment, and there are many penetrating estimates.

The instruction given to the presidents of sections was to furnish a survey of the literature of their department, covering the period since the last Congress was held. The last Congress was held in Basel four years ago. Professor Sanday preferred a certain round number of years which he called an Olympiad. He then interpreted the scope of his department and his survey.

His department was Christianity. But what is Christianity? At a Congress of Religion held in Oxford the Christian Section must be the centre of interest. To it all the other sections must have avenues of approach. Professor Sanday rightly concluded that he would be expected to know this. He therefore resolved to survey the literature of Christianity, first as literature which the other sections had produced bearing on Christianity, and next as literature which Christianity had produced bearing on the other sections.

He knew that this would involve some overlapping with other presidents' addresses. And it was the overlapping with the address of Dr. Morris Jastrow, who was president of the Semitic Section, and whose address immediately preceded, that caused the great disappointment. Nevertheless, the method, in the hands of Professor Sanday, was the best that could have been chosen. In order to carry it out he determined to speak, first, of the literature dealing with the Old Testament, as of that which preceded Christianity; next, of the literature of Greece and Rome, of Persia and India, as of that which surrounds Christianity; thirdly, of the literature of the New Testament as of that which originated Christianity; and lastly, of the religion of the Church, as of that which develops Christianity.

He spoke first of the literature dealing with the Old Testament. And he had just entered upon his survey of the literature on the Old Testament, when he came to Kautzsch and his article in the fifth volume of the DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. 'For us in England,' he said, 'it was of special value that the extra volume of Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, which came out in 1904, contained an article on "The Religion of Israel," by Dr. E. Kautzsch, which was of the dimensions of a treatise, and that no small one. It would have been impossible to have a more admirable or more weighty summary of the work done upon this subject in recent years. I would take this opportunity to say that I hope that all our younger English students will make a point of grounding themselves thoroughly in this article as a solid foundation not only for the study of the Old Testament, but of all that depends upon the Old Testament; in other words, of Christianity as a whole.'

This led him to remark in passing, and he made the remark chiefly for the benefit of 'our foreign guests,' that 'a large proportion of the work done in this country during the last ten years or more, and not a little of that which may be expected in the near future, has found and is likely to find its way into dictionaries.' He gives two reasons. It 'is partly due to the great energy and organizing ability of the editors of these dictionaries, but also to the fact that a dictionary offers a convenient opening to students who are conscious that their country is somewhat in arrears, and who are anxious to make up for lost ground.'

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We have no doubt that, besides the dictionaries already published, Professor Sanday had in mind chiefly the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS. That dictionary or encyclopædia covers the whole of the ground represented at Oxford, and Professor Sanday has himself undertaken some of the greatest of the articles which it will contain.

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But to return to the address. There are touches of delightful friendliness. 'Another colleague and friend of mine, Dr. Cheyne, I wish indeed could be here to speak for himself. He will, I am sure, have the sympathy of all in the serious illness which keeps him away. He has always been in the forefront of progress, and has been one of the very first to greet new knowledge of every kind.'

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And there are flashes of delicious humour. 'I spoke of Benzinger's conversion as significant. Some might think still more so the remarkable excursion into the field of theology of P. Jensen, who is one of the most courageous and learned of those who have broken their teeth on the Hittite language. He published in 1906 the first volume, in more than a thousand pages, of a work entitled *Das Gilgameschepos in der Weltliteratur*, the effect of which is intended to show that not only the greater part of the Old Testament, but even the substance of the Gospels themselves, are but faint echoes of the old Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh (corresponding to the Biblical Nimrod) and the Flood. These strange doctrines are said to have made one convert in Jensen's fellow-Assyriologist Zimmern; but I greatly fear that for the rest they are likely to be preached to an unbelieving and perverse generation. By his own admission Jensen is gifted with a very fertile imagination, and with him imagination takes the form of extreme quickness to perceive analogies, which is apparently combined with some reluctance to criticise them. The consequence is an elaborate construction which seems to be built on the principles made classical by Fluellen:

> There is a river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth. . . . 'Tis so like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.'

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When we pass with Professor Sanday to the 'Surroundings,' we see at once that this scholar has not been left behind in the progress of the study of Religion. He is a specialist in Christianity. There it behoves us all to be specialists. But he has discovered, we know not how, that Christianity can no longer be studied in a compartment by itself. He surveys the literature of Greece and Rome—not generally, but as touching on Christianity and Religion, with swiftness and with accuracy. The names he mentions in the Græco-Roman department are those of Wissowa, Aust, Warde Fowler, Carter, Bailey, Farnell, Harrison, and Gruppe—names and nothing more to some of us. But they have all to be reckoned with now, even by the preacher of the gospel.

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The New Testament period is introduced by a summary of the great controversy which preceded the present Olympiad, the controversy over the title 'Son of Man.'

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By the time that the Congress sat at Basel, that controversy, says Dr. Sanday, had nearly worked itself out. What was the result of it? On the one hand, it was admitted that in the Aramaic of Palestine, as it was spoken at the

Christian era, the phrase had come to mean simply 'man' or (with the article) 'the man.' But, on the other hand, it did not by any means follow that it had not been used by Christ Himself and of Himself. For the evidence showed that it was deeply rooted in the Synoptic as well as in the Johannine tradition, and that it was confined to this, being absent from the usage of St. Paul and the Primitive Church in general.

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To that main conclusion were added some lesser results. Most scholars had come to accept at least a tacit reference in the phrase 'Son of Man' to the famous vision described in Daniel ($7^{13}$)—the Human Figure as contrasted with the four Beasts which stood for the four world-empires. The same Figure was generally seen in the heavenly Judge of the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch, there too called the Son of Man. But Cheyne's idea that the 'Son of Man' was the Messiah in the form of the archangel Michael, and Gressmann's that the words stand for 'the heavenly man' or 'the ideal man,' just as 'the day' or 'that day' was used for the day of judgment, have not been generally regarded as convincing. Out of it all, however, has come the problem of the present day. For it was universally admitted that the conception of the Son of Man was eschatological. And the problem of the present day is the eschatology of the New Testament.

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Now when Professor Sanday reaches the literature of the eschatological controversy, the book which he singles out for special remark is Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (1906). He does not altogether commend the book. Besides its combativeness, he sees two serious mistakes in it. It does not take sufficient account of the literary criticism of the Gospels; and it does not allow enough for the extent to which Christ, in adopting the current ideas of the time, also transformed them. But it is a book, he says, that has taken a strong hold upon him, and if it has conspicuous faults, it has also conspicuous merits.

The last period is that of the Christian Church. Duchesne's *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église* (1906–07) is mentioned, 'the earlier portion of which, perhaps, preserves its engaging simplicity, in part at least, by not probing too deeply.' Then after a reference to the new edition of Loofs's *Dogmengeschichte*, completely recast, and a glance at Lucius and Burkitt, Professor Sanday once more lets us see how comprehensive must be the scholar's outlook to-day if he would be at home in anything. He passes to Reitzenstein. 'Reitzenstein is a classical scholar who has turned his attention to the study of Hellenistic Religion, and especially to the so-called Hermetic literature, in which Egyptian religion in its Greek dress comes in contact with Christianity.' Dr. Sanday names for reading his *Poimandres* of 1904 and his *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* of 1906.

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The last sentence is given to Wernle. It is a sentence of generous recognition. For Dr. Sanday has never concealed his distance from Wernle's standpoint or his doubt of Wernle's method. He is speaking now of Wernle's *Einführung*, and he says: 'Dr. Wernle has a warm temperament and strong opinions of his own, and it must have cost him not a little to state both sides of the many open questions that beset the Christian theologian with as much objectivity as he has succeeded in attaining. His special gift of clear, well-proportioned, vigorous, and vivid presentation has ample scope in this volume.'

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When St. Paul was bidding farewell to the elders of the Church in Ephesus, he laid, or seems to lay, some emphasis upon his courage as a teacher. Twice he spoke of it. At the beginning of his discourse he said, 'I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you' (Ac $20^{20}$). And in the middle of it he said, 'I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God' ($20^{27}$).

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The verb used in both verses is the same. And so the Revisers render it similarly in both, using

the phrase 'I shrank not,' which is new to Biblical English. Dr. Field, in his *Notes on Translation of the New Testament*, takes them to task for so doing. Perhaps he had a weakness for Biblical English. But, apart from that, he holds that the idea in the Apostle's mind was not that of shrinking from doing the thing. There was no suggestion of cowardice or courage. He simply said that he had not done it.

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Lightfoot discusses the verb (ὑποστέλλω) in his *Galatians*. He thinks it is a military word. It describes a strategical operation. But Hobart shows that it was also medical, and its use in this place is evidence of the beloved physician's authorship of the Acts. In medical language, says Hobart, it was the technical word for withholding food from patients. And this agrees with Dr. Field. St. Paul says that he had not kept back anything from the Ephesians. He had not been silent on any part of the whole counsel of God. Tindale succeeded in using the same word in both verses and expressing the meaning well: $20^{20}$, 'I kept backe no thinge that was profitable'; $20^{27}$, 'For I have kepte nothinge backe, but have shewed you all the counsell of God.'

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But what did the Apostle mean? When he is writing to the Corinthians he says, 'I fed you with milk, not with meat' (1 Co $3^{2}$). And the reason he gives is that they were not then able to digest meat. Does he mean to tell the Ephesians that he had treated them differently? Does he say that, however high the doctrine, he had not kept it back from them, and however hard the duty, he had not refrained from laying it upon them? If that is his meaning, why did he treat the two Churches differently? And what is the modern preacher to do?

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What is the modern preacher to do? It is a question that is rarely asked, or rarely asked aloud. For the modern preacher is supposed to be always declaring the whole counsel of God and holding nothing back. If an opportunity is given him to review his preaching, he either boldly uses the Apostle's language, 'I shrank not to declare unto you the whole counsel of God'; or, if he is silent, it is with some sense of reproach. But ought he to be ashamed? Is it the duty of the preacher to declare to the congregation, whatever the congregation may be, the whole counsel of God and to 'keepe nothinge backe'? Canon Glazebrook has been thinking over it, and he says that it is not his duty.

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At the First International Moral Education Congress, which was held at the University of London in September, Canon Glazebrook read a paper on 'The Study of the Bible.' There are many congresses now, and at most of them there is some one who reads a paper on the study of the Bible. But the papers do not always help us to study it. Canon Glazebrook spoke for the most part to teachers. The preacher is a teacher, never more than now. Canon Glazebrook is himself both a teacher and a preacher. Over his immediate audience he spoke to a still greater audience of preachers, perplexed as the public-school teachers are, about this matter. The doctrine is high, the duty is hard. Must they declare the high doctrine in every case, must they insist on the hard duty? And he answered them and said they must not.

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His subject was the study of the Bible. Now if he had started with the Sermon on the Mount, he would have had to face the difficulty all at once and in its most aggravated form. For the Sermon on the Mount says, 'Be ye perfect,' a very high doctrine indeed; and it says, 'If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also,' a very searching duty. But the Sermon on the Mount suggests the way out. Does our Lord not refer to an earlier system of doctrine and an earlier code of morality? 'It was said to them of old time.' There was a period of youth and immaturity for the world. In that period the Law said, 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.' There is a period of youth and

immaturity for every man and woman. Canon Glazebrook says that in that period it is a mistake to feed with the strong meat of the Sermon on the Mount.

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'In the art of life,' he says, 'as in other arts, the teacher has to deal not only with ultimate principles, but also with those *media axiomata* which are useful and necessary guides to the beginner. The teacher of painting is content at first to give empirical rules, leaving the higher truths of beauty to be recognized when the pupil is ripe for them. The teacher of geometry lays down rules and definitions which are not exact, and teaches the pupil to regard them as absolute until he can understand how they are all modified by the conception of a plane as part of an infinite sphere.' And so far all is well. The wise teacher of painting or geometry gives milk to babes and keeps back the strong meat till they are of full age. But the teacher of religion and ethics is in a somewhat different position.

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For he knows that his pupils are already familiar with at least the phrases of higher principle. They may be fit to walk only by the *media axiomata*. He may have to make appeal to imperfect principles and motives, otherwise his teaching will lack the appearance of reality and he will lose his influence. Yet he cannot ignore the absolute principles of truth, purity, and unselfishness, which are summed up in such a familiar sentence as, 'Love is the fulfilling of the law.' So he, and he alone, is face to face with the serious problem. How is it possible at the same time and for the same persons to recognize two sets of motives and standards?

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If the teacher of ethics—ethics for the young and immature—had a text-book which treated two different stages of morality as different, and yet showed the connexion between them, a text-book which revealed unity in varying cases of moral practice without confusing the moral sense, then he would use that text-book and would make progress. That text-book is the Bible. In a supreme and wonderful degree the Bible is the best text-book of progressive morality in existence.

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For the Bible alone contains examples, beautifully simple and concrete, of the preparatory and the final stages of moral principle. 'It is the record of the way in which one of the most gifted races of mankind was led upward from a very low standard of conduct to the highest. It presents each standard in turn as absolute, yet it implicitly reconciles them by ascribing them all to the same authority. Without formal reasoning, but by the simple force of dramatic narrative, it shows how the savage patriotism, which cried, "Blessed shall Jael (the murderess) be above women in the tent," may be a stage in the evolution of that human brotherhood which declares that in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bondman nor freeman.'

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But if the Old Testament (for it is of the Old Testament only that Canon Glazebrook is speaking), if the Old Testament is to be used as an instrument of moral training, so that the moral sense is not confused and the ordered progress is felt to be a reality, it is necessary that the sequence of thought should be followed. For the history of the earliest times, says Canon Glazebrook, we must use the earliest documents, 'not those which read into patriarchal stories the after-thoughts of post-exilic piety.' The teacher must never obtrude, but he must frankly assume, the assured results of modern scholarship. 'He must not allow the vivid narratives of Samuel and Kings to be confused by the revisions of the Chronicler; nor apply to the age of the prophets the standards which were set up by their disciples who wrote the books of the law.'

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It is when the teaching of the Old Testament is simple, frank, and historical that it becomes the best text-book of ethics in the world. For it possesses these two incomparable advantages—it is full of humanity, and it is full of variety. The

epics of Joseph and David, says Canon Glazebrook, the tragedies of Elijah and Isaiah, have an undying charm. And the examples are varied as they are interesting. It offers examples of almost every stage of moral development. Whatever the pupil's moral attitude, there is some Jewish hero that appeals to him. That hero's actions can be traced to their motives, and followed to their consequences. He can be treated with sympathy in so far as he attains the standard of his times, and yet criticised in so far as his motives are not those which we recognize as absolute. So the pupil may learn at once to appropriate those *media axiomata* which fit him, and yet to realize that there is something beyond and above them.

# The Jesus-Paul Controversy.[1]

By the Rev. W. Morgan, M.A., Tarbolton.

II.

In his book on the *Origin of Paul's Christology*, Brückner works out Wrede's ideas along the line indicated by the title. Paul's leading Christological conceptions are all traced back to their source in Judaistic literature. In the Psalms of Solomon (17, 18) the figure of the Messiah has already become superhuman, and in the Similitudes of Enoch He appears as the Son of Man—a pre-existent, heavenly being. His real enemies are no longer earthly, but superhuman and demonic powers, requiring a being who is more than man to overcome them.

Wrede's critics do not, in the main, find fault with him for deriving the categories of Paul's theology from current conceptions. He is here working on ground that is common to all New Testament students of a liberal complexion. Where they join issue with him is with respect to the extremely narrow limits within which he confines the influence of the primitive Christian community, and of Paul's own religious experience, in the shaping of his theology. Wrede does not altogether ignore the fact that, from the very first, the Christian community believed that Jesus was the Messiah, and that He died for our sins according to the Scripture; but he allows no sufficient weight to it. Often he talks as if the Apostle alone were responsible for transforming the simple religion of Jesus into a theology. Jülicher rightly points out that, before Paul's conversion, Christianity had already taken this direction, and that Peter, James, and the rest found no fault with his Christology, or with the meaning he attached to Christ's death, but only with his doctrine of the law. Paul had much more in common with the primitive Christian community, and was much more indebted to it than Wrede allows. And Wrede is equally wrong in minimizing the importance of the part played by the Apostle's religious experience. There is not a doctrine to which it has not contributed something. His heart always goes hand in hand with his intellect. To regard the Pauline theology as a mere intellectual structure of ideas, and those mostly borrowed, is to do it a gross injustice.

We come to a question that cuts even deeper. One may quite well admit Paul's large dependence on current conceptions for the categories of his theological construction, and at the same time hold that in that construction he embodied the substance of Jesus' gospel and the essential meaning of His life. But this is what Wrede does not admit; and it is here that his critics are most sharply opposed to him. According to Wrede, the theology of Paul reveals hardly a trace of the

[1] 1. 'Paulus.' Professor D. W. Wrede, Breslau. *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher.*

2. *Die Entstehung der Paulinischen Christologie.* Dr. Martin Brückner.

3. *Jesus und Paulus.* D. J. Kaftan.

4. *Die geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesu auf Paulus.* D. Paul Kölbing.

5. *Die Grundgedanken der paulinischen Theologie.* Dr. Carl Clemen.

6. *Paulus und Jesus.* D. Adolf Jülicher.

7. *Wer hat das Christentum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus?* Arnold Meyer.

influence either of the teaching or the life of the Jesus of history. The Master teaches one religion, the Apostle another; and what is common to both is due, not to the dependence of the one on the other, but to their common Jewish inheritance. There are certain notorious facts to which Wrede can appeal, and which give to his view a certain colour of truth. It is, to say the least of it, disconcerting that Paul should so rarely refer to Jesus' words or life. Only on some three occasions does he make such a reference, if we leave the cross out of account. In his controversy with the legalists, one might have expected him to appeal to the free attitude of Jesus towards the law. That he does not do so, that, on the contrary, he describes Jesus as a minister of the circumcision, seems to indicate that he had not studied the historical life very deeply. And it seems to point in the same direction, when he cites as an example of His humility, not any incident from His earthly life, but the pre-natal fact of His renunciation of heavenly glory. Nay, Paul almost leaves the impression that he did not esteem a knowledge of the earthly life a matter of first-class importance. He glories in the fact that, after his conversion, he took no counsel with men, but was indebted for his gospel solely to an inner revelation. And this is not all. It is undeniable that in his theology he gives no assured place to the earthly life. The one event that is for him of cardinal importance is the death; and he presents this, not as the moral act of a man, but as an event in a superhuman drama. In his conception of the human life of Jesus, he seems to ignore its rich religious and ethical content, and to view it solely from the standpoint of self-renunciation—subjection to the humiliation and poverty of a human existence and to the shame of the cross. The Christ of Paul is not the Jesus of history, but the heavenly Christ who, being in the form of God, became man, died for our sins, and rose again, to be the ever-living Lord of the Church. The conclusion which Wrede comes to is that Paul knew very little about the Jesus of history, and did not much care to know. It is a mistake, he says, to think that the traits of the historical Jesus are transferred to the heavenly Christ. The humility, the obedience, the love which the Son of God exhibited in His acceptance of the servile lot of a child of earth, and in His submission to the shame of the cross, cannot be regarded as a reflexion of the spirit of the man Jesus; rather they came to the Apostle as deductions from his own conception of a Christ-wrought redemption. Even in those points in which there seems to be manifest agreement between Jesus and Paul, Wrede either explains it away or refuses to admit dependence. Paul's 'Bless them that persecute you' may be derived from Jesus, but not necessarily; for Judaism also knew such a thought. It is the same with the conception of God as Father. Long before Jesus' time it was current in Judaism. Moreover, the thoughts about God which Jesus connects with the Father's name—that He cares for all, numbers the hairs of our head—find scarcely an echo in the teaching of the Apostle. And if there is a certain resemblance between the criticism which Jesus directs against legalism and that of Paul, there is even more of difference. When Jesus turns against legal ordinances, it is where they deaden the moral sense, take the soul out of religion, and set externality and appearance in the place of reality. Paul, on the other hand, fights against the law as a champion of the redemption gospel, and as a missionary afraid lest obsolete rites and ceremonies should hamper his propaganda.

What have Wrede's critics to advance against such revolutionary conclusions? Kaftan takes a line of his own. In the first place, he contests Wrede's rendering of the Pauline doctrine of redemption, refusing to believe that the Apostle teaches an objective, completed redemption which the believer has simply to accept. It is much more a subjective experience, a reality in which the believer lives. He thus gets rid of one of the main differences between the Master and His Apostle. Unfortunately, his interpretation runs counter, not only to that of most modern students of Paul, but as well to the traditional view, so that he rather avoids than meets the main issue in the Jesus-Paul controversy. Further, Kaftan brings Jesus and Paul together by emphasizing the significance of the Messianic consciousness in Jesus. It was no 'burden,' as many modern scholars represent, but the decisive thing in His life. Paul's conception of the heavenly Christ is thus grounded on the Jesus of history.

Wrede's other critics take a different line. Recognizing the difference in doctrinal form, they seek to show an agreement in substance. All lay great stress on the manifest evidence which the Pauline theology gives of the dominat-

ing influence of Jesus' love, and of His teaching about love. It is on this point that the main argument of Meyer and Kölbing turns. Jesus' faith in the love of God, says Meyer, and in the victory of love in the world, His faith that love is the greatest thing in the universe—this it was which arrested Paul, and became for him a new revelation. Perhaps it was only this one message, Jesus died for our sins according to the Scriptures, of which we can be certain that Paul received it from the Christian community. The conception of a sin-offering does not itself come from Jesus; but that His disciples applied it to Him, and so explained His death, was possible only because He had made the sin-forgiving love of God, and His own love, to live before them. It was thus the spirit of Jesus that apprehended Paul. To this new might of love that met him he owed his deliverance from legalism. It seemed to him great enough to win the world, and a sufficient guarantee against the abuse of freedom. And it was this love, extending even to an enemy, that was in his heart when he formulated his doctrine of a sin-offering. To his belief in God's sin-forgiving love he has given a doctrinal enough form; but this should not keep us from recognizing that, in essentials, Jesus and Paul were one, and that Paul was Jesus' debtor. Kölbing speaks to the same effect. Paul's faith is really faith in the love and grace of God that have met him in Christ's death, and we are justified in saying that it has all the religious characters of Jesus' own faith.

In seeking to prove agreement, Jülicher takes a wider sweep, passing in review Paul's leading doctrinal and ethical conceptions. In opposition to Wrede he finds that the God of Paul is substantially the God of Jesus. It may be true that the Apostle gives a larger place to the idea of righteousness than it receives in the teaching of his Master, and that in one or two controversial passages he attributes to God something like arbitrary power; but it is also true that he proclaims His goodness and mercy—the chief traits in the God of Jesus—with an inspiration that has never been surpassed. Even his doctrine of predestination is defended as rooted in a motive far from foreign to Jesus. It sprang from a feeling, born of Jesus' spirit, that so great a thing as his eternal salvation could not be a matter of chance, but must proceed from a grace eternally conscious of its object.

Jülicher also defends from Wrede's strictures Paul's doctrine of faith. When Jesus requires as the condition of salvation the keeping of God's commandments, and the Apostle faith in the crucified and risen Christ, the difference is not so great as appears on the surface. For the faith of the Pauline theology is not a mere acceptance of historical facts or dogmas. It is an activity of the conscience. It means union with Christ—a dying with Him to sin, and a resurrection to a new life of love and service. It means openness of the heart to God, and a casting ourselves on God's grace in the conviction that no mere striving of our own can help us. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, though foreign to Jesus, enshrines two of the most significant possessions of His religion. It takes the ground from the Pharisaic doctrine of merit, and it connects faith with divine grace. Paul's conception of faith is really implicit in Jesus' conception of doing the will of God; for Jesus always presupposes that good fruit can ripen only on the soil of a genuine trust in God. It is true that the prominence given to faith, in the sense of belief, led subsequently to deplorable enough results; but for this the Apostle was not responsible. Rather he did his best to preserve the conception from degenerating into an empty assent to facts and doctrines, and to ground it deep in religious experience.

If Paul's theological conceptions are at bottom those of Jesus, this is not less true of his ethical and practical. For the Apostle, too, the Beatitudes are the expression of the soul's highest aspirations—to see God, and be called the children of God. He has not certainly thrust Jesus aside in putting faith, hope, and love at the centre of the Christian life. When he says the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, he touches the very kernel of Jesus' proclamation. And that other saying of the Apostle, 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good,' is the alpha and omega of Jesus' ethical teaching. Wrede charges Paul with narrowing Jesus' conception of love into love of the brethren in the Church. Certainly he does emphasize brotherly love, but he also teaches the wider love (Ro $13^{8-10}$ $12^{14}$). Jülicher also defends Paul from the reproach of an asceticism foreign to Jesus. The views of both as to the importance of certain earthly relationships were coloured by their expectation of the speedy

advent of the world's end; but in neither have we anything like world-weariness. Paul had almost a morbid craving for life, and his ethic is, in the highest degree, an ethic of power. The world he turns from is that of a depraved humanity, a world poisoned by Adam's sin. In both we find the same moral ideal—to lift men to a height at which God shall find His image in them; in both also the same energy in carrying it out.

Meyer and Jülicher follow Wrede in attempting to explain the new form which the gospel assumed in the hands of Paul. Something of the difference is due to the atmosphere in which the Apostle was reared. He sprung from another section of Judaism than Jesus. What the wisdom of the Rabbis, the speculation of the apocalyptists, the atmosphere of Hellenistic thought were for the one, the simple piety of the people was for the other. Something, too, is explained by the Apostle's peculiar experience. His conversion signified a breach with all in the past that he had held precious; it was a veritable death and resurrection. This fact may help us to understand why he should see in the gospel, not the fulfilment of the law, but its abolition, and why his thought should always move in a region of sharp contrasts. Then again the difference in the historical situation accounts for much. Between Jesus and Paul lie the Cross and the Resurrection. The Church, distinguished from Judaism by the one point of belief in Jesus as Messiah, had arisen, and its existence depended on its ability to maintain its faith in its crucified and exalted Lord. Christianity necessarily took the form of an apologetic. The Apostle had to defend the Messiahship of Jesus against the attack of opponents, and to surmount the offence of the cross by showing that it was in the plan of God. In a couple of sentences Meyer adduces another fact that surely deserved greater prominence. When Jesus knows of an immediate relation to God the Father, and Paul feels the need for a mediator, have we not to see in this the difference between Jesus and all other men? It is through the power that proceeds from Jesus that we reach that filial attitude toward God which He possessed as a natural endowment.

Paul did not pervert Jesus' gospel, although he brought into the foreground elements that were foreign to it. The work which he did had to be done, if trust in Jesus—through which alone His influence could make itself felt—was to be maintained. The gospel had to be presented in the thought-forms of the time. Blame would attach to the Apostle only if he so valued his theological machinery as to neglect the heritage of Jesus. But of this he cannot fairly be accused. He did not put his theology in the place of the religion of Jesus, but only as a hedge round about it.

What is the permanent value of Paul's imposing construction? None of the writers I have named, with the exception of Kaftan, would accept it as a norm for our understanding of the Person and gospel of Jesus. Its antique modes of thought are foreign to the modern mind; and when orthodox theologians imagine that they are simply reproducing Paul, they are largely self-deceived. This is not, however, to say that the Apostle has nothing to teach us. Meyer, who is the only one to discuss the subject, is ready to recognize beneath the perishing doctrinal forms thoughts and impulses that are not for one age merely but for every age. Therefore the cry should be, not away from Paul back to Christ; but rather, through Paul back to Christ and to God.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF DEUTERONOMY.

DEUTERONOMY XXX. 19.

**'I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse: therefore choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed.'**

### EXPOSITION.

**'I call heaven and earth to witness.'**—Heaven and earth as abiding and outlasting the changes of human life ($4^{26}$ $31^{28}$ $32^{1}$). Joshua in chapter $24^{27}$ appeals to 'a great stone' as a witness. This is still done in the East.—ROBINSON.

**'Therefore choose life, that thou mayest live.'**—Life, coupled with the secure possession of the Promised Land, is constantly held out in Dt. as the reward for obedience to God's commandment: cf. $5^{30}$ $6^{24}$ $30^{6}$ $32^{47a}$, especially $4^{1}$ $8^{1}$ $16^{20}$, also $4^{40}$ $6^{2}$ $11^{21}$ $25^{15}$ $32^{47}$.—DRIVER.

Unquestionably vv.$^{11\text{-}20}$ express the spirit of Deuteronomy so directly and so sincerely that they can be identified as forming part of the original Deuteronomic teaching.—HARPER.

### THE SERMON.

#### The Choice of a Religion.

*By the Rev. T. G. Selby.*

There are those who say that the twelve tribes of Israel, till the time of the Captivity, were idol worshippers and nothing more. That is an exaggeration. It is true that the struggle between pure and impure worship was continued through many centuries, but the generations, and the individuals comprising them, had to choose between the worship of the visible and that of the invisible, and there was a bold line drawn between them in every age.

The leaders of the chosen race recognized that the highest type of worship could not be established in the hearts of the people by a mandate. The methods they chose were those of persuasion rather than of coercive authority. The Bible never encourages a blind adherence to the religion of the State. An English soldier, when asked of what religion he was, replied, 'I always follow the big drum.' But the big drum may sometimes be beaten by a David or a Hezekiah, and sometimes by an Ahab or a Jeroboam.

Religion, as well as all other interests in life, is a matter of human choice. It may be denied in theory, but it is affirmed in practice. The doctrine of moral freedom has been repudiated by fetish-worshippers, Pantheists, Mohammedans, and even Christians. But the savage forgets his religion of Fate, and deters his child from evil by frowns, and encourages him to good by smiles. The scientist, who has convinced himself that the power of environment is limitless, rushes out to the street to applaud an act of heroism or denounce a wrong. The theologian convinces himself that the Infinite Sovereignty leaves no room for human freedom, but he takes up his newspaper and his heart goes with every sentence meted out to a crime. Our own repentance and remorse witness to the power we have over our own acts and characters. We make our own conduct, and we shape our own religion.

A principle of choice enters into that faith which differentiates a saved man from a moral castaway. Many things may colour our creed and give bias to our habits, but they are not ultimate. A man chooses to accept or refuse the influences which tend to mould his personality. Faith is all of God, says some one. But that is true of every faculty in the human mind. Faith is the choice we make between competing Gods—Baal or Jehovah. Do we prefer the God who may be described as Inscrutable Causation, who takes no account of moral distinctions, or the God who redeems and forgives and makes Himself known in Jesus Christ?

The river Amazon and the chief tributary of the river Plate rise within a few hundred yards of each other, and the Indians drag their canoes from the one to the other. For many miles they run parallel as if they might unite, but at last a little knoll is reached and the waterways diverge. It is difficult to judge the issues involved in this turning-point, which affects the whole of South America, but these two rivers empty themselves into the sea more than a thousand miles apart. Many lives start together in the closest intimacy, but reach widely different goals. The distance between them cannot be measured, but it began in an act of choice, which issued in unalterable good or evil.

It is well to give outward expression to our choice. Many people are Christians in everything but the avowal of the fact, and they themselves need the help of their own clear avowal as much as the Church and the world need it. 'I will pay my vows unto the Lord now in the presence of all his people.'

### The Supreme Choice.

*By the Rev. Thomas Davies, M.A., Ph.D.*

The mariner does not neglect that part of his chart which points out the dangers. He studies it most closely. Do not let us neglect the warnings which the Bible, the spiritual chart, contains. They are there that we may steer safely past them into safety. They are there that, at length, we may gain the blessing and not the curse.

1. *The highest object of choice.* 'Choose life.' What is life? The twentieth century can no more answer the question than the centuries which preceded it. The essence of life is hidden in the folds of Divine mystery. But wherever we meet the word 'life' it means one of three things—food, animation, or a line of conduct. The latter is the meaning here—moral action. Let us look at four aspects of it.

(*a*) Its functions. What are the moral capabilities of man? Perception of dependence upon the Supreme Being, discrimination between the qualities of actions, resistance of every tendency to evil, and encouragement to virtue.

(*b*) Its resources. Divine revelation is its light, prayer its solace, faith its support, and the presence of God its guide.

(*c*) Its joys. As sin is the source of all sorrow, so moral purity is the fountain of all joy. Cleansed from sin by the blood of Jesus Christ our life is a sea without a storm. To be free from sin is a condition which yields happiness as pure as the holiness of an angel.

(*d*) Its prospects. The life of faith and holiness, though weak at times, has its prospects, and moves on towards the absorption of its feebleness in the strength of God. There *is* a perfect state.

2. *The gravest responsibility.* The tree follows the course of law, the animal that of instinct, but man moves by will. 'Choose ye this day whom ye will serve.'

(*a*) Thus the highest honour is conferred upon us. There is no condition of life higher. Does not this explain why the appeals of the gospel are so gentle, and its invitations so gracious?

(*b*) The greatest anxiety should be felt by us. The two ways are plainly set forth—life and death. Every step leads to one or other. 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.'

(*c*) The issues will follow our choice. Consequences follow actions, and eternity is the harvest of time. The sentence will be just: 'Come ye' and 'Depart ye.' Are you yet undecided?

### Illustrations.

**The choice of Death.**—'I have set before thee life and death . . . therefore choose life.' In one of the *Canterbury Tales*, as it is told by the Pardoner, the story tells of three young fellows, who were careless and dissolute, giving their time to riotous living. In a boisterous humour on one occasion they set out in search of Death, intending to put out of the way this pestiferous creature, who was said to be slaying the young and the good-natured, and leaving the old and infirm. They had not gone far on their way when an old man, in answer to their inquiries, directed them to an oak standing in a near-by path, where, so he told them, Death would be found. The revellers ran straightway to the place that had been indicated, and there to their great joy they found, instead of an enemy and a terror, a great pile of gold florins. The treasure was theirs, and they agreed to share it equally among themselves. It would not do, however, to remove this heap of gold in daylight, so they agreed to wait until dark. In the meantime one of the company went to the town for food, and two kept watch over the unexpected fortune. This pair of knaves took counsel to kill their companion and to divide the spoil between the two of them. To the knave travelling alone it occurred that he might easily put his comrades out of the way, and thus gain all the gold for himself. So he bought poison and mixed it with the food. On his return, those who had watched over the treasure fell upon him, and having dispatched him, sat down to feast on the poisoned food; and soon they joined their friend in finding Death at the foot of the oak-tree where it seemed they had discovered the means of happy Life.

**'This day . . . thou and thy seed.'**—It is the end of September, and in my garden is a rose-bush on which two buds, one fairly open, the other just bursting, are slowly withering away. Their possibilities I know from the glorious blossoms which the same bush produced earlier in the year. But these have appeared too late, and their beauty and sweetness will never come forth, for lack of sunshine. It is so with us. Man's soul is a bud full of Divine potentialities, but needing for their development the light and heat, the guidance and inspiration of Jesus Christ. The choice of Christ is the choice of life. 'Choose ye *this day* whom ye will serve.'

Nor is that all. The blossom of the rose exists, not for its own sake, but for the future. It carries within its petals the germs of future plants, germs which, however, can only

become living when the flower has opened to the sunlight and the pollen has accomplished its task of fertilization. It is true that we multiply our plants by cuttings rather than seeds, but it is by the mixture of pollens from various open flowers that the wonderful roses of to-day have been evolved from the wild rose of the field; and the bud that never opens buries in itself these possibilities of a greater future. 'That thou mayest live, *thou and thy seed*.' In Christ man does not only find life for himself, he may become the spiritual father of a better race.

**The choice.**—In Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin*, a young man, at a crisis in his fortunes, was offered a piece of wild ass's skin on which the following words were engraved: 'Possessing me thou shalt possess all things. But thy life is mine, for God has so willed it. Wish, and thy wishes shall be fulfilled: but measure thy desires according to the life that is in thee. This is thy life: with each wish I must shrink even as thy own days. Wilt thou have me? Take me. God will hearken unto thee. So be it.' Deliberately, and after full warning that for its possessor To Will means the same thing as To have your Will, he takes the skin and chooses a life of riotous excess culminating in one single joy in which all the pleasures of earth should unite in a final embrace which should kill him. He had his wish: and the book is a masterly analysis of the struggle, the hopeless struggle of the self-devoted victim to escape the Nemesis who slowly, inevitably, as in a Greek tragedy, dogs his steps. Reading the story we exclaim, as of the king in *Hamlet*:

> 'O limèd soul, that, struggling to be free,
> Art more engaged!'

He cannot escape: with each wish the skin shrinks, and, with the skin, his life; till at last in one mad moment of desire he is consumed in the fire of his own passion. Balzac may have been, as he has been called, 'a very unpriestly preacher,' but the Christian preacher, reading his book, would fit it to either of two verses; and while one of these would be, 'Be not deceived: God is not mocked: whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap'; the other would be the words of our Great Text, 'Choose life, that thou mayest live.'

**Calling earth to witness.**—It is related that, on (Samuel Rutherford's) first coming to the parish (of Anwoth), there was a piece of ground on Mossrobin Farm, in the hollow of a hill, where on a Sabbath afternoon the people used to play at football. On one occasion he repaired to that spot, and pointed out their sin, solemnly calling on the objects round to be witnesses against them, especially three large stones close at hand on the slope of the hill, two of which still remain, and are called 'Rutherford's Witnesses.' —Preface to Bonar's edition of *Rutherford's Letters*.

**Choose your leader.**—'At certain intervals in our life our minds should be constituted a court of law, as in the closing hours of some momentous and entrancing case. The witnesses have been heard. The evidence is finished. Counsel has spoken. The judge has sifted the entanglements and presented the issue in a clear and continuous story. And now for the verdict and the judgment!

That, I say, is what we want in the realm of the mind. Now and again the bustling quests of the mind must be hushed and concentrated on a solemn court of judgment. The evidence must be regarded as closed. Mental explanation must change to moral verdict, and the judgment must be executed. That is what we lack in much of our mental movements,—we lack *moral verdicts*! Our thinking trails on, and on, and on, for the mere delight of the intellectual process, and the verdict is indefinitely delayed. And so life is spent in a sort of royal commission which never reports; and in the flippant delay the moral slumber of the soul is deepened and intensified. Think up to an issue! Think up to moral settledness and fixity! Life is not an inquiry, but a crusade. Register your verdict! Choose your leader!'—J. H. Jowett, *Wanted, a Verdict*.

> Whereat Siddartha turned,
> And, lo! the moon shone by the Crab! the stars
> In that same silver order long foretold
> Stood ranged and say, 'This is the night!—choose thou
> The way of greatness or the way of good:
> To reign a King of kings, or wander lone,
> Crownless and homeless, that the world be helped.'
> . . . . . .
> I choose
> To tread its paths with patient, stainless feet,
> Making its dust my bed, its loneliest wastes
> My dwelling, and its meanest things my mates;
> . . . . . .
> Now am I tired, and now I will depart,
> Never to come again, till what I seek
> Be found—if fervent search and strife await.
>
> Arnold's 'Light of Asia.'

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# The Relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptists.

By the Rev. F. W. Worsley, M.A., B.D., Durham.

The Johannine problem is always with us. Year after year, yes, and month after month, new suggestions are forthcoming. At least they pretend to be new. Not infrequently we find them to be but old friends with new faces; and this is well-nigh inevitable, for we are being gradually forced to the conviction that, given only our present available material, we can hardly hope to get much nearer to the final solution of the many-sided problem. And yet each contributor seems to bring forward some new point of view, and is in consequence welcomed, so that a restatement of some of the older points has often something more fresh, more interesting, more helpful about it than most of the fashionable novelties of the day. Presumably each investigator imagines that his work is quite independent, quite impartial; and indeed it is only in so far as this is really the case that we can hope to gain a little more insight into the possible conditions of the original writer. The only method by which such independence may be in some degree arrived at is in the determination that nothing shall be presupposed; an ideal hardly attainable under present conditions. We may be sure, however, that if we start from the avowed standpoint of any established critic or author, simply because it has been widely recognized, we shall at once vitiate our entire argument for that portion of the community that refuses to accept the conclusions of our own particular guide. Let us then once more start, with a mind as open as possible, to gather some impressions as to the relation between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists; a field of study investigated times without number, with regard to which a mass of literature is extant, but as touching which no one has yet dared to claim that they have said the last word. This is a phase of criticism as yet not reached, but we are not without indications that some such claims may soon be put forward, with just that amount of modesty that is compatible with them.

## I.

Was the writer of the Fourth Gospel acquainted with the other three narratives? No one will as yet venture to dogmatize upon this subject; but with some little hesitation we may answer 'yes.' The most doubtful side of the question is that touching the First Gospel. We do not need to lay much stress upon the fact that the sentence ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἔνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, which is but slightly altered from Jn $19^{34}$, appears in certain manuscripts of the First Gospel (*i.e.* ℵ B C L U Γ 5 48 67 115 127) at the end of $27^{49}$. We have here strong attestation for the sentence, it is true, but there is also good authority for its omission (A D al Syr$^{sin}$ and others), so that the probability is that it appeared upon the margin of some ancient MS., and that the copyist was unable to resist the idea that εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν of v.$^{48}$ implied a following ἄλλος; the sentence is certainly out of place before v.$^{50}$. Apart from this, the only place where the Fourth Evangelist is in agreement with the First against the other two is Jn $12^{15.16}$ = Mt $21^{4.5}$. This is merely in the matter of a quotation and proves nothing. There are certain subtle touches which incline us to believe that the Fourth Evangelist was acquainted with the Third Gospel; he most certainly must have known of the Aramaic original which underlies the First Gospel, but he makes no use of the matter peculiar to either of these narratives. He knew, probably, that these two writers had accepted and made use of the Second Gospel as giving in the main an accurate outline of the Life of Christ; but whether he knew it or not, he certainly adopted that plan himself; and this is the important thing to remember when we recollect the local tradition, καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μᾶρκος μέν, ἑρμενευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν. The authority upon which this Gospel thus rested was considerable, so that the all-important question to decide as far as may be is surely this, How does the Fourth Evangelist treat this 'Petrine' Gospel?

## II.

When we take the places where the Fourth Evangelist tells of the same incidents as are dealt with by St. Mark, we cannot but be struck by the almost total absence of agreement, as we use the word, that is to say, with regard to the Synoptists

themselves. Our author tells of the Baptism of Christ, and in doing so agrees in a small way with the other accounts, but he only does so in order to introduce a totally different aspect of the testimony of John Baptist, and a totally different version of the first meeting of St. Peter with the Christ; a very important point. He tells too of the feeding of the five thousand and the subsequent incident of Christ's walking upon the water (Jn $6^{1-21}$ = Mk $6^{30-56}$), but his purpose in doing so is obviously to show that St. Mark has given the text, but has omitted the sermon. He mentions the triumphal entry in Jerusalem (Jn $12^{12-19}$ = Mk $11^{1-10}$), but does so simply to bring in his reference to the influence of the raising of Lazarus upon the minds of the people in Jerusalem. We shall find some such elements in all the passages where the two narratives deal with the same events. They are divisible into the following classes:—

(*a*) Those where we find the Fourth Evangelist dismissing in a few words events narrated at some length by the Second.

(*b*) Those in which he tells of incidents which St. Mark also records, but with regard to which the two accounts are completely different.

(*c*) Places where he makes additions to the Marcan narrative—

(1) By way of explanation,
(2) By way of supplement.

Let us take these in detail.

(*a*) The following are the passages in which the Fourth Evangelist is content to make, as it were, a passing reference to the more detailed account of St. Mark:—

Jn $7^{1}$ = Mk $7^{4-31}$. Jn $18^{1}$ = Mk $14^{32-42}$.
Jn $11^{54}$ = Mk $10^{32-52}$. Jn $19^{16.17}$ = Mk $15^{15-23}$.

If we take the first of these in illustration we see that the Fourth Evangelist sums up a considerable portion of the account of the ministry of Christ in these words, Καὶ *μετὰ ταῦτα περιπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν, ὅτι ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτεῖναι.*

It is evident, then, that in this passage, and in the others mentioned above, the writer wishes to make it plain that it is no part of his scheme to repeat needlessly anything that has been correctly related in the Second Gospel. It is as though he said, 'For further details see St. Mark.' One such passage might be put down as a mere curious coincidence, but with these examples before us we are bound to decide that we have here evidences of the purpose and scheme of the writer of the Gospel.

(*b*) This becomes increasingly clear when we see that in certain cases our author is at pains to tell us events already related by St. Mark, but with regard to which he entirely disagrees with that writer. The most striking examples are to be found in the matter of the cleansing of the Temple, and of the call of St. Peter and St. Andrew. Concerning the first of these there has been much controversy. There have been those who earnestly contended that there must have been two such events, the one at the commencement and the other at the end of Christ's ministry. Others have pointed out, somewhat gleefully, that the discrepancy is best explained by the fact that we have here one of the several instances not merely of the inaccuracy of the Fourth Evangelist, but of the very mistakes to which such a writer was open, and into which he actually fell in spite of his great care to represent himself as an eye-witness. But as a matter of fact the phenomenon is capable of far simpler and far more natural explanation. Had the writer wished to remark that there were in fact two cleansings he would certainly have been more explicit; and, on the other hand, it is impossible to suppose that he is here guilty of a foolish blunder when we consider that he was making use of the Second Gospel. It remains only possible to suppose that his order is deliberately chosen with the express intention of correcting that of the Synoptists.

The second example illustrates this more forcibly. Here are the two accounts; they are irreconcilable.

Mk $1^{16.17}$.

Καὶ *παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλεεῖς· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλεεῖς ἀνθρώπων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.*

Jn $1^{40-42}$.

Ἦν *Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σίμωνος Πέτρου εἷς ἐκ τῶν δύο τῶν ἀκουσάντων παρὰ Ἰωάνου καὶ ἀκολουθησάντων αὐτῷ· εὑρίσκει οὗτος πρῶτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἴδιον Σίμωνα καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Εὑράκημεν τὸν Μεσσίαν (ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Χριστός). ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάνου, σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς (ὃ ἑρμενεύεται Πέτρος).*

Now what other purpose can our author have had than to give what he considered to be the true version of an all-important event in the life of one with whom he is closely associated in this Gospel (and elsewhere?), and upon whose authority, moreover, the Second Gospel was generally considered to rest? Any other explanation of the discrepancy is forced and unnatural, unless we are content to view the Fourth Gospel as a mere forgery. Another notable example in which explanation and correction are combined is to be found in the account of the feeding of the five thousand and the subsequent appearance of Christ upon the sea (Jn $6^{1-24}$ = Mk $6^{14-56}$). The account given by the Fourth Evangelist is a mere sketch, but he adds little details omitted by St. Mark, and inserts vv.[3-7] by way of fuller explanation. Thus in his narrative we have the locality more definitely stated, *πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς Τιβεριάδος*, in v.[1]; the reason for the assembled multitude, *ὅτι ἐθεώρουν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων*, in v.[2]; the time of year, *ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, in v.[4]; the trial of Philip, vv.[5-7]; the *παιδάριον* in v.[9]: and the result produced, *Οἱ οὖν ἄνθρωποι ἰδόντες ἃ ἐποίησεν σημεῖα ἔλεγον ὅτι Οὗτος ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον.*

And then the author goes on to point out that the miracle had a further and deeper significance, in that upon it Christ founded His teaching at Capharnaum. Again, in these examples we have strong evidence that the Fourth Evangelist intended not so much to write an independent, 'spiritual' Gospel, but that he wished to correct the existing accounts where they were wrong, as he thought, and to introduce such matter as he considered ought not to have been omitted.

(*c*) We have only to examine the additional matter in the Fourth Gospel in the light of the fact that the author admits the gigantic nature of an endeavour to tell of all that Christ did and said (indeed, his hyperbole expresses impossibility), in order to see all this more clearly.

(1) As an instance of the way in which he supplements the Marcan narrative by way of fuller explanation, we may take the events in the garden of Gethsemane in Jn $18^{1-14}$. Our author sees no reason for a repetition of the account of the Agony, but to the story of the Betrayal he adds a few graphic details, *i.e.* the amazing result of Christ's self-revelation in vv.[4-9]; the designation of St. Peter as the author of the attack upon the servant of the High Priest and the addition of the victim's name, Μάλχος, in v.[10]; and the recording of the reason given by Christ for non-resistance, *τὸ ποτήριον ὃ δεδωκέν μοι ὁ πατὴρ οὐ μὴ πίω αὐτό.*

The whole account of the Passion is strikingly illustrative of this attitude of the Evangelist towards the Second Gospel. Compare Jn $18^{15-38}$ with Mk $14^{66-72}$; Jn $19^{18-24}$ with Mk $15^{24-28}$; Jn $19^{38-42}$ with Mk $15^{42-46}$. A comparison of the last two passages will show what is meant.

Mk $15^{42-46}$.

42. Καὶ ἤδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, ὅ ἐστιν προσάββατον, ἐλθὼν Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλᾶτον καὶ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 44. ὁ δὲ Πειλᾶτος ἐθαύμασεν εἰ ἤδη τέθνηκεν, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν κεντυρίωνα ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ ἤδη ἀπέθανεν· 45. καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος ἐδωρήσατο τὸ πτῶμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ. 46. καὶ ἀγοράσας σινδόνα καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐνείλησεν τῇ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου.

Jn $19^{38-42}$.

38. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἠρώτησεν τὸν Πειλᾶτον Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, ὢν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Πειλᾶτος. Ἦλθεν οὖν καὶ ἦρεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. 39. ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Νικόδημος, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων ἔλιγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν. 40. ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν. 41. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη, κῆπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινόν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος· 42. ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

It will be seen from the above, which is typical of several passages in the two Gospels (indeed, we might say that it represents one aspect of the relationship between them), that the story of the Fourth Evangelist is in no way a retelling of that of the Second Evangelist by way of repetition. The First and the Third Evangelists have been content to do that in a large measure. The Fourth Evangelist repeats not a word more than is necessary, and, as will be seen from the passages in spaced type, adds several important details.

2. There remains for discussion the purely

supplementary matter which our Evangelist inserts by way of amplification, and which marks off his Gospel from the other three. This, of course, forms a separate subject by itself. Many reasons have been put forward in order to account for it, but it becomes increasingly plain with careful study that this writer is by no means intending to give us all that has been omitted by the others, nor is it his intention to paint a different side of the character of Christ. His purpose seems to be threefold. He wishes to lay stress upon the events which occurred in Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood, because he considers that it is to these that we must look if we would really understand the ultimate trend of events; he wishes to emphasize yet more the note of universality in the teaching of Christ, so he almost adopts the position of the Gentile towards the Jews, tells of the events in Samaria, and records in the last discourses some very remarkable sayings on this head; but, above all, he wishes to lay stress upon that aspect of the Saviour's personality and self-revelation, together with its influence and result, which he considered that the Synoptists had passed over too lightly, namely, His insistence from the very beginning upon His Godhead, the acceptance of this by His chosen band, and the consequent close personal relationship between Himself and them because of this.

The much discussed miracle of the Raising of Lazarus may be less of a difficulty in the light of this purpose of the writer. He is convinced that it was the supreme point in our Lord's life. To him it seems to be intimately connected with the decisive hostile action of the rulers. The Synoptists have omitted the entire story, and for the very good reason that St. Mark got no such impression from St. Peter, but rather considered that the Raising of the daughter of Jairus was more important, because it was more widely known; probably he had completely forgotten the Lazarus incident when he wrote his Gospel. St. Luke in his researches finds only a tradition concerning a Raising at Nain. All this points to the fact that the Fourth Evangelist in looking back over events had formed an exaggerated estimate of the importance of this miracle, which may well have been a very quiet family affair. But he certainly is convinced of its tremendous importance, and he brings this out, not only in the story of the miracle itself, but in his reference to it in the account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Jn $12^{17-19}$). The present writer has shown[1] that the framework of St. Mark may quite well allow room for the insertion of this miracle and of the other matter peculiar to this Gospel.

III.

Here we have in brief outline a truly scientific method of studying the relationship between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists. Its main importance lies in the fact that it may help to get rid of the dust-collecting cobwebs which ever-busy critical spiders are ever unremittingly spinning, and thus help to bring the discussion within its legitimate limits. It surely will make it abundantly plain that the author of the Fourth Gospel, knowing that the Second Gospel was founded upon what Jülicher calls 'the reminiscences of the Petrine circle,'[2] deliberately corrected it in many points, and added to it much of importance; that he was convinced that his authority would amply guarantee the accuracy of his statements; that he claims to have been an eye-witness without any apparent fear of contradiction. In addition to all this, such a plan of investigation strongly suggests that, broadly speaking, the Gospel as a whole is the work of a single author, working with a distinct and honourable purpose, who is amply qualified for the task that he has undertaken. Who could hope to speak with such authority? Who could expect to make assertions such as this writer makes without provoking immediate and indignant attack? It is not enough to say, with Weizsäcker, that 'the author of the book and the school of which he was a member were able to lay claim to the name of the Apostle.'[3] Either the author was, as tradition tells us, John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, or else he was a distinct John, not one of the twelve, but yet sufficiently intimate with Christ to be named ὁ μαθητὴς ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, and afterwards known as the presbyter. There are doubtless many of us who are content for the present with this, even though we like to lean towards the traditional authorship.

[1] The Expository Times, October 1907, p. 43.
[2] *Introd. to the N. T.*, p. 319 (E.T.).
[3] *Apostolic Age*, ii. p. 212 (E.T.).

# Some Problems of Herod's Temple.

By the Rev. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh.

## II. The Area of Herod's Temple.

The next problem, or rather series of problems, calling for examination concerns the great court which surrounded the sanctuary on all sides, termed by Josephus 'the outer sanctuary,' by the Mishna 'the mountain of the house' (cf. 1 Mac $16^{20}$), and by Christian writers 'the court of the Gentiles.'[1] Here there are three minor questions to which a definite answer is still required, viz. (*a*) the dimensions of the court, (*b*) the identification of the gates giving access to it, and (*c*) the arrangement of the portico known as the Royal Porch.

(*a*) The first of these need not detain us long, for most students of the topography of the ancient city are now agreed that in Herod's day the Haram area did not extend so far north as at present. Now Sir Charles Warren has described for us (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 218 ff.) a line of scarped rock running east and west immediately to the north of the present inner platform of the Haram,[2] and was the first to suggest that we have here the scarp on which stood the northern boundary wall of Herod's temple. That this view is correct is rendered almost certain by the change of masonry in the present east wall just at the point where the line of scarp, if prolonged, would meet the wall, and, to my mind, absolutely certain from this further fact that the scarp is 365–367 feet or 250 cubits distant from the centre of the sacred rock. This is also the distance, to within a foot or two,—even with large scale maps one must allow a certain margin,—of the west wall of the Haram from the same point. A final confirmation of the contention that Warren's scarp marks the northern limit of Herod's temple—and of the second temple as well—is the striking and noteworthy fact that, when prolonged west and east as nearly as possible 1000 feet in all, the line of scarp meets the west wall at a point 800 cubits from the south-west angle of the Haram, and the east wall *at the same distance* (*c.* 1170–73 feet) from the south-east angle, a little to the north of the Golden Gate. Since the south wall of the Haram measures 922–925 feet[3]—the published measurements vary within a certain range—we get a total perimeter for 'the mountain of the house' of about 1420 yards, enclosing an area of approximately 26 acres, as compared with the 35 acres or thereby of the present Haram area. Herod's court must have served as the model for that of the second century temple at Damascus, now partly occupied by the 'great mosque,' which is said to have measured 1100 feet by 1000, and was likewise adorned with a double portico (Anderson and Spiers, *The Architecture of Greece and Rome* [1902], 168).

## III. The Gates of the Great Court.

(*b*) Of the various gates mentioned by Josephus (*J.A.* xv. xi. 5) and the Mishna, the two so-called Huldah gates of *M.M.* i. 3 are those most readily identified. They are represented by the present Double and Triple Gates in the south wall, the former, as has been shown, placed 225 cubits from the western end of the wall, the latter 400 cubits from the same point, and 200 from the eastern end. The explanation of these positions is not far to seek. The Double Gate is fairly in a line with the sacred rock, otherwise with the altar of burnt-offering, but yet not so that the centre of the one is precisely in line with the centre of the other. Is this due to a lack of accuracy on the part of Herod's builders? Probably not, for it can scarcely be an accident that the centre of the rock is actually in line with *the centre of the right hand passage of the Double Gate.* Now the Mishna tells us that 'all who entered the mountain of the house entered on the right hand, and went round and out on the left hand,' with certain exceptions (*M.M.* ii. 2). This gate, then, was so placed that the worshipper entering the temple

[1] I have not been able to ascertain by whom this designation was first used. It is evidently formed on the analogy of the Mishnic 'court of the women,' to emphasize the fact that non-Jews were not admitted further into the temple precincts.

[2] Coloured blue in G. A. Smith's 'general plan of Jerusalem' at the end of vol. i. of his recent work.

[3] 630 cubits or 924 feet was doubtless the intended length.

court from the Lower City would see directly before him the smoke of the altar as it rose above the lofty wall of the sanctuary. The Triple Gate, further, is in a line with the former site of the Beautiful Gate, the principal entrance to the sanctuary proper, as will be shown in due course. Both gates were placed low down in the retaining wall, at or near the surface of the ground outside. Access was in both cases by means of a double ramp, divided by pillars, which passed under the Royal Porch—hence the name Huldah or 'mole' gates—and opened into the court at a distance of 190 feet from the wall, as shown on the plan.

On the other hand, there is much confusion in the current literature as regards the four gates which Josephus assigns to the west side of the court (*J.A.* xv. xi. 5, § 410). The language of this passage is unusually precise, and there would probably have been no dubiety as to the relative positions of the gates specified but for the almost universal, but undoubtedly mistaken, view that Robinson's Arch marks the site of a former approach to Herod's temple. Josephus does not enumerate the four gates in their topographical sequence, but places first the principal entrance to the temple enclosure, and the only one on this side mentioned by the Mishna. The name given to it in *M.M.* i. 3 is 'the gate of Kiponos,' probably Coponius, the first procurator of Judæa. This was the only entrance on a level with the great court, all the rest being apparently like the Huldah gates above described. It opened upon a bridge or viaduct which spanned the Tyropœon at the spot now occupied by Wilson's Arch, itself a product of the Byzantine age. The fallen voussoirs of an earlier arch doubtless belong to the bridge frequently mentioned by Josephus—first in connexion with the siege of Pompey in 63 B.C.—as in close proximity to the Xystus or Gymnasium, and as connecting the street from Herod's palace, near the modern Jaffa Gate, with the western cloister of the temple (*J.A.* xiv. iv. 2, xv. xi. 5; *J.W.* i. vii. 2, ii. xvi. 3, vi. vi. 2, viii. 1 compared with iii. 2). At this spot we may also locate the gate Shallecheth of the second temple, which opened on to 'the causeway (or raised way *mesillah*) that goeth up' (1 Ch $26^{16}$ R.V.).[1]

[1] It is time to have done with the traditional identification of 'the Parbar' of v.[18] with 'the suburb' of Josephus. The *parbar* or *parvar*, a word of Persian origin, clearly denotes some part of the temple enclosure, either a colonnade—the second temple already had more than one (*J.A.* xiv. xvi. 2, § 476)—or less probably a row of kiosks, along the western wall (cf. 2 K $23^{11}$).

Josephus then proceeds to mention the smaller gates in the order from north to south. First come two gates leading to the suburb (προάστειον), the part of the city beyond the old or first wall which joined the Haram at Wilson's Arch. The gates in question must therefore be looked for *to the north of the latter*. Now about 50 yards to the north, Sir Charles Wilson discovered an entrance, which he named Warren's Gate, leading to the cistern numbered 30 on the Survey maps. The cistern represents an old temple entrance, 18 feet wide, running for 84 feet under the Haram (*Recovery of Jer.* 116 f.; *P.E.F.St.* 1880, 30). Here undoubtedly stood one of Josephus' suburban gates. The second has not yet been discovered, and must be looked for further north.

There remains the fourth of Josephus' gates described by him as leading to the 'other,' *i.e.* the lower, city. A passage under the level of the court led down by a large number of steps to the bottom of the valley of the Tyropœon. This exactly describes the ancient passage entered from Barclay's Gate, at the south end of the Jews' wailing-place, with its enormous Herodian lintel, 6 feet 10 inches or 4 cubits and 4 handbreadths *exactly*, in height (*Recovery*, etc., 111 ff.; *S.W.P.Jer.* 191 f.). The passage, which has been traced a long way under the Haram, is of the same width as the passage at Warren's Gate, and as each of the double ramps at the Double and Triple Gates, viz. 12 cubits (17½–18 feet). That Barclay's gate cannot be one of Josephus' suburban gates, as is suggested by almost all recent writers, is clear from the single fact that Josephus' suburb, as has been said, must necessarily be placed beyond the old wall of the city, generally known as the 'first wall.'

### IV. Robinson's Arch.

This unfortunate confusion is due, as indicated above, to the persistent identification of Robinson's Arch as marking the position of an older bridge at the same spot, which led directly into the Royal Porch. Thus G. A. Smith still speaks of 'the fragment known as Robinson's Arch' as 'probably indicating the position' of one of Josephus' gates (*Jerusalem*,

ii. 517). The following considerations will suffice to show the untenableness of this view. (1) Josephus knows of only *one bridge* connecting the temple with the western hill. This bridge stood on the same spot in 63 B.C., long before the temple area was extended to the neighbourhood of Robinson's Arch, and the passages cited above prove beyond a shadow of doubt that this spot coincides with the site of Wilson's Arch. (2) Notwithstanding the numerous shafts sunk by Sir Charles Warren across the valley to the west of Robinson's Arch, only a single pier was found which could be brought into connexion with the arch; in other words, there is no monumental evidence of an enormous viaduct having stood in the line required. (3) If the existing stones, which formed the springing of the arch, had been placed there by Herod's masons, they would have been of the same material as the rest of Herod's wall, that is, of hard *mezzeh*. But instead of this they are of the soft *melekeh*, a fact which, in Wilson's words, may well form 'a matter for speculation' (*S. W. P. Jer.* 175). (4) Had a bridge been placed here by Herod, he would undoubtedly have built it in a line with the central aisle of the Royal Porch. That this was the case is one of the most frequently recurring fallacies regarding Herod's temple. Conder alone has made several attempts (the last in *P.E.F.St.* 1902) to show that the centre of the bridge and the centre of the porch were in line, all vitiated by forgetfulness of the fact that Josephus gives the dimensions of the porch in Greek, not in English, feet! The medial line of the central aisle was about $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the inside, and some 60 feet from the outside of the south wall, while the centre of the springing of the arch is from $63\frac{1}{2}$–$63\frac{3}{4}$ feet from the latter point.

On these grounds, therefore, it seems clear that the bridge to which these weathered stones belong must be later than the time of Josephus, and *a fortiori* of Herod. They may belong to the abortive restoration of the temple which the Jews began in the reign of Hadrian. The massive pier, which is of the harder stone, may have originally belonged to the older arch of which some stones were found at a great depth, and this older arch, I would suggest, may have been part of a 'raised way,' at a much lower level than Robinson's Arch, connecting the western hill with the buildings of Solomon, or with the later Acra fortress on the eastern hill.

### V. The Royal Porch.

(*c*) There remain for consideration certain difficulties in connexion with the porticoes by which the Court of the Gentiles was surrounded. According to *J. W.* v. v. 2, 'all the cloisters were double,' but the fuller account in *J.A.* xv. xi. 3, 5—understood to be taken from the contemporary work of Nicolaus of Damascus (see Büchler, *Jewish Quart. Rev.* x. [1898] 678 ff.)—shows that the south side of the court was occupied by a triple portico of imposing size and magnificence, known as 'the Royal Porch.' The very precise description of Josephus or his authority may be thus summarized. The Royal Porch had three walks or aisles, formed by four rows of Corinthian columns, the first row engaged in the south wall of the court. The two side aisles were 30 Greek feet, and the central aisle 45 feet, *i.e.* 20 and 30 cubits, in width, the total width being 70 cubits or 103 English feet. The height of the two former is given as 50 feet, that of the latter as twice that figure, 'for it was much higher than those on each side'—a remark which suggests that the double number is not to be taken as mathematically exact. This triple colonnade ran practically along the whole length of the wall, which helped to carry its roof, or as Josephus puts it, 'it reached in length from the east valley unto the west.' This does not seem to exclude the provision, at the east and west corners, of guard-houses or towers, which are required on architectural grounds to connect the royal portico with the double colonnades on the east and west sides of the court. Their size would at least equal the width of the porticoes, viz. 70 cubits by 30, or 103 feet by 44 feet, as on the plan. The columns of the Royal Porch numbered 162 in all, with capitals of the Corinthian order and a double moulding or torus for base. Each column was doubtless cut from a single block, like the monoliths of the side porticoes (*J. W.* v. v. 2, § 190), and was of such dimensions that three men could scarcely 'fathom it round.' We are all the more surprised to be told that the height of the monoliths was only 27 feet, or *circa* $4\frac{1}{2}$ diameters. The roofs of all the porticoes

may be assumed to have been flat, and were formed of deeply coffered cedar beams. The roof of the centre aisle was supported on pillars partly engaged in an ornamental stone balustrade; the upper portions of the intercolumnar spaces must have been left open for lighting the portico. Grand, amazing, incredible are some of the epithets applied by the historian, with good reason, to this portico which formed the climax of Herod's architectural achievements, and was indeed worthy to be distinguished as 'royal.'

Now all this reads smoothly enough, but as soon as one begins to examine the data more closely, one difficulty emerges after another. How, for example, were the 162 columns distributed among the four rows? The explanation is to be found in the fact that the south-east angle of the Haram is an obtuse angle; accordingly the length of the two outer rows of columns will have been a few feet longer than that of the first row. The two inner rows, I believe, had 40 pillars each, the two outer 41, as shown on plan.

Let us next test Josephus' statements regarding the dimensions of the columns. These, he tells us, had a circumference equal to three men's stretch, yet their height was only 27 Greek feet, notwithstanding which the height of the side aisles of the porch was 50 feet. Now the length of the south wall is known to be about 924 feet (see above). Deducting the thickness of the walls and the spaces occupied by the corner towers, we have a length of 820 feet in which to place 40 columns with 41 intercolumnar spaces. The latter give 20 feet as the distance of the columns from centre to centre. Taking this as 4 diameters, on the recognized principle that 'the sturdier the columns the greater the intercolumniation,' we get 5 feet as the diameter and *circa* 16 feet as the circumference of the columns, which shows that Josephus' reckoning does not require so much of the proverbial pinch of salt as might have been expected. The height of the monolithic shaft may be reckoned at 8 diameters or 40 feet, in Jewish measure 27 cubits. Adding the remaining elements of the order according to the usual proportions, we get a total minimum height for the order, to the ceiling of the aisle, of 60 feet.

It now becomes clear from the evidence of the space to be covered and the laws of the Corinthian order, that only one of Josephus' three irreconcilable data can be accepted as accurate, while his 27 feet is a slip for 27 cubits, as Clermont-Ganneau has indeed suggested, and the height of 50 feet is an underestimate. The height of 100 Greek feet = 97 English feet, may be retained for the central aisle, as giving an appropriate ratio to the side aisles of 5 : 3.

An interesting archæological fact remains to be chronicled in this connexion, since it affords an unexpected confirmation of the conclusion we have reached as to the true dimensions of the Royal Porch. Some years ago M. Clermont-Ganneau discovered a gigantic monolith in a disused quarry measuring a little over 40 feet in length (*Archæological Researches in Palestine*, i. 135 ff.; cf. photo in the *Jewish Encycl.* xii. 89). This column the eminent savant suggested must have been intended for one of Herod's porticoes, but, misled by a false cubit-length, he assigned it to one of the double porticoes. In reality *it was intended for the Royal Porch.* The same authority is responsible for another equally tempting identification. The antique pillar which now stands within the entrance at the Double Gate, with its capital of acanthus leaves (see De Vogüé, *Le Temple*, and elsewhere), he considers to be the top of a column that once stood in the colonnades of the Royal Porch. The height of the remaining portion is 23 feet, and the diameter 5 feet. The shafts of Herod's columns, we found, were probably 40, or, with the capital, 45½ feet in length, and 5 feet in diameter. These dimensions may be compared with those of the columns of the porch of Agrippa's Pantheon at Rome, which were set up a few years only before those we have been studying. Their shafts are 38 feet, equal to nearly 8 diameters, and the total height of the order about 58 feet. In any future delineation of Herod's colonnades the Pantheon columns may safely be taken as models. Or, if preferred, those of the temple of the sun at Jerash, east of the Jordan (*c.* 150 A.D.). With shafts of 35 feet (7½ diameters) they reach a height of 45½ feet, without the entablature; allowing for this we get a height of 56–57 feet (see the elaborate measurements with plans and photos, *Z.D.P.V.* xxv. [1902] 133 ff.).

# Recent Foreign Theology.

## A Survey.

BRILL, Leiden (London: LUZAC & Co.).

*The Encyclopædia of Islam* has begun to appear. The first two numbers have been issued (3s. 6d. each). It is described as a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples. The Editor is Professor Houtsma of Utrecht, and he is assisted by Dr. M. Seligsohn. It is to be published in German, French, and English.

The scale upon which it is being prepared is a most generous one. The second part ends with page 128, and it reaches only the word ADAMAUA. And the scholarship will be as reliable as the scale is large. There is no list of authors given, but these two parts already contain the names of some of the foremost scholars of Muhammadanism. We notice only one English author so far—Professor Margoliouth of Oxford.

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HINRICHS, Leipzig.

*Die Panbabylonisten der Alte Orient und die Aegyptische Religion.* Von Alfred Jeremias (M. 0.80).

*Die Stellung des Weibes zu Jahwe-Religion und -Kult.* Von D. Dr. Max Löhr (M.1.80).

*Christentum und Wissenschaft.* Von Gerhard Hilbert (M.2).

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*Kurzgefasste Assyrische Grammatik*, by Dr. Bruno Meissner of Breslau (M.3). In the brief space of eighty pages Meissner gives a concise account of the language of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions. The work is intended for beginners, and deals with the speech of the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, the exceptional forms of earlier and later date being for the most part only briefly indicated. The writer begins by giving a short account of the code of cuneiform signs which the Semites borrowed from the original Sumerians. The sounds of the vowels and consonants, along with the pronunciation of vowels and the system of accentuation, are then discussed; but the main part of the work is devoted to the forms or parts of speech, and deals with pronouns, nouns, verbs, and their inflexions, etc. The later part is occupied with very useful tables of paradigms. Beginners could not have a better introduction to this study.

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REUTER AND REICHARD, Berlin.

*Kurzgefasste Vergleichende Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen. Elemente der Laut- und Formenlehre*, von Carl Brockelmann (M.8). This is the latest addition to one of the most satisfactory series of students' manuals in the world—the 'Porta Linguarum Orientalium.' It will maintain the reputation of the series. Brockelmann's name stands for exact scholarship, and his scholarship has never to be discounted by the presence of philological eccentricities. He sticks rigidly to his subject, refusing to be drawn aside from Semitic speech proper, even by the temptations which the mythologists offer. He is an ideal writer for the student. He sets down everything clearly and tersely, and wastes no time in merely interesting disquisitions. The volume would be easily translated into English; and whatever honour there is in that would be well deserved.

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*Hauptprobleme der Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart*, by Professor Dr. Rudolf Eucken of Jena (M.2). This work is based on three lectures delivered by Professor Eucken at a holiday theological course held at Jena in October 1896. The first lecture deals with the basis of religion in the inner mental life. Professor Eucken seeks to find a middle way between the older method of basing religion on a consideration of the external universe and the more recent procedure of starting from the individual consciousness—a method which leads to pure subjectivism and vagueness. The writer seeks to base religion on the inner spiritual life, and at the same time to preserve its universal character.

The second lecture deals with 'Religion and History.' At the present day the cry is 'back to the historical facts,' and along with the gain in this there are dangers that cannot be overlooked. The writer seeks to give full weight to these and at the same time to allow to history its due place in opposition to the radicalism which would break itself free from all connexion with the past. The last lecture deals in a fresh and interesting manner with the much debated problem 'What is Christi-

anity?' Professor Eucken closes his discussion with the significant statement: 'Religion is either a mere product of human wishes and ideas sanctioned by tradition and social order—then no art, power, or craft can prevent the progress of intellectual life from destroying it; or religion has a supernatural origin—then the severest attack cannot shake it, but must rather be of service to it by displaying its true value and unfolding in a clearer light its eternal truth.' This work is fitted to give us higher views of the value of Christianity and the part it has played in historical evolution.

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HINRICHS, Leipzig.

One of the best answers to Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe* is to be found in *Ernst Haeckel im Kampf gegen die Christliche Weltanschauung*, by Professor Wobbermin of Berlin (M.0.60). Professor Wobbermin treats his opponent with respect, but points out his incapacity to deal with historical facts and data, his unphilosophic confusion of the questions of origin and worth, and his want of any theory of knowledge as a basis for his philosophical conclusions. His attempt to account for the spiritual personality by material conditions breaks down utterly. The use Haeckel makes of evolution to oppose (1) the Christian doctrine of creation, (2) the theological view of nature, and (3) the Christian idea of God, is unjustifiable. Evolution, as Professor Wobbermin points out, does not in the least conflict with any of the great Christian ideas. There is perhaps nothing very new in Professor Wobbermin's discussion, but as a clear, brief, and adequate answer to Haeckel's views it is eminently satisfactory.

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VANDENHOECK UND RUPRECHT, Göttingen (Glasgow: BAUERMEISTER).

*Zur Synopse.* Untersuchung über die Arbeitsweise des Lk und Mt und ihre Quellen, namentlich die Spruchquelle, im Anschluss an eine Synopse Mk-Lk-Mt. Von G. H. Müller (M.2.40).

*Dei geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesu auf Paulus*, by Dr. P. Kölbing (M.2.80). It is refreshing to find a writer who, in spite of recent theories and speculations to the contrary, still believes that the Person of Jesus did exercise an important influence on Paul's thought, who believes that it was Jesus who made Paul what he was, and not Paul who made Jesus what He is. It is also noteworthy that in spite of all recent criticism of the gospel sources, Dr. Kölbing still believes that we do know something about Jesus, and can form a reliable picture of His spiritual personality. This discussion is in the form of an historical investigation of the message of Paul in comparison with the words of our Lord as found in the Synoptics. Wrede's contention that Paul was the first to make Christianity a religion of redemption is rejected. Professor Kölbing emphasizes the creative force of the personality of Jesus. His words are 'words of eternal life,' when they are taken along with His unique religious and moral personality, as that was revealed in the whole of His prophetic vocation which found its completion in the death of the cross. This discussion is of interest and value in view of the recent attempts to regard Paul as the founder of Christianity.

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## Macarius Magnes.[1]

THE discovery at Athens in 1867 of a MS. of the lost Apologetic work of Macarius Magnes, led in 1876 to its first and last printed edition. Claimed by earlier writers as an early apology, and placed by Duchesne at the beginning of the fourth century, it was at once summarily dealt with by German critics on its appearance in print, and relegated to the fifth century. Such a date makes it a mere repetition of earlier ideas, and robs it of its value. It has consequently been so ignored as to be practically lost again, and no more work has been done on it until last year. While the present writer was working at it from a literary standpoint, and trying to reinstate it as a valuable apologetic of not much after 300 A.D. (see *Journal of Theol. Studies* for April and July, 1907), the German book under review was approaching it from the point of view of text. The book is divided into two sections, only the earlier one dealing with the 'Apocritica,' or answers in defence of the faith, and especially the Scriptures, against Neo-platonist attacks. The most lengthy and important part consists of a careful examination of the works of Turrianus, a sixteenth-century Jesuit, who was the last champion of the Apocritica before the only MS. disappeared from the library at Venice. Until now the statement

[1] *Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia.* Von Georg Schalkhauser. Leipzig, 1907, being No. 4 of vol. xxxi. in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, etc.

of Duchesne has not been contradicted (though the present writer ventured to say that his proofs were unconvincing) that the lost Venice MS. is identical with the one recently discovered at Athens. Herr Schalkhauser argues that they are different. His arguments are lengthy and elaborate, and it is not till the last of the 112 pages, which form the first part of the book, that he reveals a fact which an Englishman might possibly have put in the forefront. The Athens MS., which only comprises three out of the five books, consists of 125 leaves; but it is known from an ancient catalogue that the Venice MS., which was complete, contained only 104. This is a most interesting and convincing discovery, and it would be ungrateful to say that this fraction of a page renders a good many of the others unnecessary.

The second part of the book deals with the other work which bears the name of Macarius Magnes, the 'Homilies on Genesis.' The evidence for connecting all the ten existing fragments with him is slender, but one stands on a different level from the rest, being contained in a Vatican MS. which there is no reason for doubting. Schalkhauser has noted that the other fragments, which are known as Ottobonian, are not only unlike the style of Macarius, but give a different explanation of the coats of skins from that of the Vatican fragment, which latter may be called quite Macarian. He concludes that the Ottobonian fragments, which are to be found in Theodosius Melitenus and other mediæval chronicles, formed part of a κοσμοποιΐα. This contained a catena of commentaries on the first three chapters of Genesis, and at some subsequent time some one put the name of Μαγνήτης opposite the passages in question. Some thirty pages of the work under review are devoted to a table showing the various sources from which the account in Theodosius is drawn. Perhaps the most interesting parallel concerns a passage contained in an Ottobonian fragment, which comes almost literally from Methodius' work, *On the Resurrection.* It will be seen that the book contains valuable help towards elucidating that which still remains the mystery of Macarius Magnes. But the literary problem will seem to most minds more important than the text, and only a slight amount of material has here been provided for facing it.

T. W. Crafer.

*Cambridge.*

## The Acts of Archelaus.[1]

This writing, which falls within the first half of the fourth century, is an extremely important witness for the Christian propaganda against Manichæanism. It purports to be the record of a debate held at Carchar, in Mesopotamia, between Bishop, Archelaus and Mani. Epiphanius has preserved fragments of the Greek text, and versions in Latin, Arabic, and Coptic have been more or less completely recovered. Mr. Beeson prints the Greek and Latin, where it is possible, side by side, with a careful discussion of the manuscripts and full textual notes. The plan of the series lays stress on the linguistic and philological aspects of the respective writings rather than on their literary and religious significance, and the present edition proves no exception to this rule. But, within these limits, the work is fully done. Mr. Beeson rightly posits a Greek original for the so-called Acta. In common with Noeldeke and Rahlfs, he rejects Jerome's hypothesis of a Syriac original. The place of composition is less easy to determine: Egypt, Syria, and Rome have all been suggested. The discovery of a new manuscript in 1902 has facilitated the textual study of the Acta. Zacagni, the librarian of the Vatican, published an edition in 1698, which has practically remained the standard text till now, but Mr. Beeson has been able to utilize the material which has accumulated, especially during recent years, and his edition now furnishes the student with a serviceable text for the purposes of critical research. 'Manichæanism,' as Miss Wedgwood points out, 'was Zoroastrianism remodelled as an answer to the question, whence comes evil? The spirit of that early religion was opposed to anything which takes its starting-point from such a question. But Christianity came into a world overshadowed by the problem, and its struggle with Manichæanism was recorded partly by an acceptance, and partly by a vehement rejection of the Manichæan solution.' These Acta form one rejection of it. They are dramatic in a sense, but the earnest purpose of the writer prevents him from doing justice to Mani. Macaulay was accused of seeing that the Whigs got the best of it in his History, and Hegemonius,

[1] Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai.* Von Charles Henry Beeson. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. Band 16 of Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Pp. liv. 134. M.6.

if he was the author and not simply the amanuensis of the writing, sees to it that, even the pagans being judges, Mani is routed off the field of argument.

JAMES MOFFATT.

## The New Irenaeus.[1]

THE reported discovery of a work by Irenæus excited hopes which the publication of this volume has hardly satisfied. For one thing, the find was simply an Armenian version of Irenæus' lost treatise *On the Apostolic Preaching*, and, for another thing, the contents turned out to be rather colourless and unfruitful. No fresh information is yielded by the pages of this work upon any vital point of early Christian dogma. But the indirect gains are not inconsiderable. Harnack adds some pages to the German version, gathering up most of these. Dr. Rendel Harris, in the *Expositor* for March, elucidates the Biblical quotations with his customary ingenuity; while Mr. Conybeare, in the same magazine (July), applies his Armenian scholarship to the task of correcting the German translation in several important matters. Mr. Conybeare holds that the style points to the fifth century, not to the seventh or eighth, as the period of the version's origin. He also improves the occasion by arguing that the extraordinary blunder of Irenæus about the age of Jesus discredits him as a witness to any historical tradition. If Irenæus believed that Jesus lived to the reign of Claudius, what faith can we repose in his testimony, say, to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel? But, are the cases on all fours? Might not a writer err on the one point and yet preserve a reliable tradition upon the other?

The most recent critic of the find, Paul Drews, in an article in Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1907, pp. 226–233), is on surer ground when he attempts to show that the writing is a primitive manual of Christian catechism, comparable to Augustine's *de catechizandis rudibus*. In any case, the writing is religious rather than ecclesiastical. The significance, as Harnack indicates (p. 66), lies in its revelation of the way in which people were being instructed in Christianity at Lyons towards the close of the second century. 'The hierarchical and ceremonial elements are entirely absent; the latter, in fact, is explicitly rejected (c. 96). . . . No Church authority or tradition is adduced, the proof from Scripture is all-sufficing. Even the sacramental element, though not absent, falls into the background.' JAMES MOFFATT.

[1] 'Des heiligen Irenäus Schrift zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung.' In Armenischer Version Entdeckt, herausgegeben, und ins Deutsche Übersetzt von Lic. Dr. Karapet Ter-Mĕkĕrttschian und Lic. Dr. Erwand Ter-Minassiantz. Mit Einem Nachwort und Anmerkungen von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxi. 1.)

## Hilary's Text of the Synoptic Gospels.[2]

THIS acute monograph, written from a first-hand study of the original sources and in full view of recent criticism upon the problem of the Old Latin text, is an attempt to discuss Hilary's text of the Synoptic Gospels with a view to elucidating the precise nature of the gospel text prior to the great uncial MSS, as well as the characteristics of the Old Latin text current in Gaul during the fourth century. Naturally, the evidence is most clear, or rather least obscure, in the case of Matthew, on which Hilary wrote a commentary. But M. Bonassieux is able to show good cause for holding that the Synoptic text used by this father was really an Old Latin text, allied to that of the Irish codex Usserianus. It thus witnesses clearly to the pre-Jerome Latin text, for the affinities between it and the Vulgate are too inconsiderable to affect its independent value. The essay worthily carries on the fine work of scholars like Belsheim, Berger, and Zingerle. It is a notable contribution to this obscure problem of the Old Latin texts, but the detailed processes of argument should have been fuller and more exact, in order to convince the scholar.

JAMES MOFFATT.

*Broughty Ferry.*

[2] *Les Évangiles Synoptiques de Saint Hilaire de Poitiers.* Étude et Texte par F.-J. Bonnasieux. Libraire Catholique, Emmanuel Vitte.

# Modern Positive Theology.

By the Rev. John Dickie, M.A., Tarland, Aberdeenshire.

## III.

## Christology.

There is scarcely any conceivable shade of Christological opinion but has been advocated both in ancient and in modern times. Still there is a well-marked and far-reaching difference between the ancient Christology and the distinctively modern. The two move in different planes. Need we wonder, then, though they have not yet concurred? The ancient Christology, as it found classic expression in the Catholic Creeds, was theocentric,—some would say naïvely so. The modern, as inaugurated by Schleiermacher and developed by Ritschl is, consciously and of set purpose, anthropocentric. For the former, the problem was, How are we to construe God in His essential nature, so as to find a place there worthy of Him whom we with all believers acknowledge as our 'Lord' and 'God'? The dogma of the Trinity, with its allied Christological dogma of the two distinct natures and one Person, was the answer of the ancient Church—the 'Great' or 'Catholic' Church as distinguished from the sects and heresies, to this problem. We can confidently affirm that, *the presuppositions being granted*, it was the *best* and indeed the *only possible* answer.

Modern Christology, on the other hand, starts from the effects produced by Christ upon believers individually and collectively. It has for its data the total impression made by His personality upon the history of the world. Such data cannot easily be totalled up and appraised. But they furnish a starting-point for theology similar to that possessed by other sciences.

We do not need to accept the theological findings either of Schleiermacher or of Ritschl, in order to see that their work marks a decided advance in a scientific point of view. Christology can never again be satisfied with any *starting-point* less fundamental than theirs, however it may advance, as I believe it will and must, beyond their positive affirmations.

Meantime the fundamental question of Christology, for a theology resolved to be at once 'modern' and 'positive,' is whether we can pass by a necessary or at least legitimate road from the anthropocentric to the theocentric plane. We must begin by determining what Christ is to us. How far, and by what means, if at all, can we determine what He is for God? Can we speculatively, or in any other way, pass from an economical to an immanent Trinity? Have we any interest, intellectual or religious, in making the attempt?

This brings us to the subject of the relation between metaphysics and theology, so much discussed a few years ago. Christian theologians are interested in the point mainly because of its Trinitarian and Christological bearings. Dr. Theodor Kaftan advocates a theology without metaphysics, and, consistently therewith, an anthropocentric Christology. In this respect, as in many others, he stands much nearer to modern theologians in general than Seeberg. Indeed, Grützmacher has disowned him, somewhat violently and ostentatiously as is his wont; while he himself acquiesces in the judgment, saying that Seeberg and his school understand by Modern Theology, not a New Theology, but only an old, modified in some particulars. Others have told him that he is simply a Ritschlian, and can get most of what he asks for, in his able and suggestive pamphlet, already to hand in a book published eleven years ago—the *Dogmatik* of his brother Julius. But so vigorous and independent a thinker probably knows his own mind more fully than his critics, and there are doubtless points of contrast of which he is conscious, but which he has not yet elaborated, as well as differences of accentuation so to speak, which we can all observe, to distinguish him from the Ritschlians.

Obviously we can pass from what Christ is to us to what He is in the eternal essence of the Godhead, if at all, only by the steep and slippery Alpine path of metaphysics. To deny the legitimacy of metaphysics in theology is thus to break in principle with the Catholic doctrine of Christ's Person, as Schleiermacher and Ritschl both do, without admitting that they suffer any religious loss thereby, or that Christ is in any way less fully honoured.

The doctrine of Seeberg and his school regarding the Person of Christ is decidedly theocentric. Seeberg seeks to interpret Christ in terms of Will. This is doubtless to be explained by the circumstance that his main interests are soteriological, and not speculative, like those of the early *Logos* Christologians, or Dr. Inge, who in *Contentio Veritatis* gives us what is substantially an English *Modern Positive Christology* on the *Logos* basis. According to Seeberg (*Grundwahrheiten*, 115 ff.), 'The eternal power of love filled the human soul of Jesus so as to become its content. That is the Divinity of Christ.' 'The Will of God which directs the history of mankind to their salvation, in Jesus entered into history, becoming man in Him and working in His words and deeds under human historical conditions.' 'God was active in Jesus, so shall all the thoughts and impulses in His soul, what He did and what He willed, were always the affirmation and effect of the Will of God, which dwelt in Him and determined His activities.' The real Divinity is affirmed on these grounds; the true Humanity is accepted as axiomatic. The doctrine of the two distinct natures and one Person is rejected in form, though it is maintained that the *thing itself* to which it sought to give expression, is firmly held. Seeberg is no heretic. He is unquestionably orthodox *in intention*. But has he made good his right to occupy the theocentric position at all? We can scarcely expect a discussion of fundamental principles in popular lectures, like his, or in an extended programme like Beth's or Grützmacher's. Surely, however, it is a pity that so often they leave us just where the difficulties begin, or give us the benefit of their guidance just when they are over. I must confess that so far as I can see, in this doctrine of Christ's Person, we have nothing more than a transference *per saltum* of what is substantially the Ritschlian position into the theocentric plane. Besides, does not this view of Christ's Person always hover on the verge of Docetism?

Surely too, on their principles, the work of Christ should be discussed before His Person. We know the Person from the work, and not *vice versa*.

Subjective Christian Faith, or the content of Scripture as it authenticates itself immediately thereunto, has no adequate data for a doctrine of Christ's Person, apart from His work.

We now take up individual points. The Virgin Birth is affirmed, and defended especially by Grützmacher both on historical and on *a priori* grounds, with the emphasis on the latter. But no new arguments are adduced, and it cannot be proved that the Personal Will of God can unite itself in the manner postulated, *only* with One so born. Such reasoning cannot do more than confirm the faith of those who already accept the Virgin Birth on other grounds. It should, however, be at the same time a warning to the other side against over-confident dogmatism, especially when they remember that the historic faith of the Christian Church on this point has the independent corroboration of a theologian so great and untrammelled by tradition as Rothe. Miracles are defended on principles with which we are already familiar from the writings of such British theologians as Dr. A. B. Bruce and Principal Fairbairn—their congruity with Christ's Person. Stress is laid upon the Resurrection as God's vindication of Jesus. Seeberg has devoted a special essay to 'The Gospel of the Forty Days,' referring a considerable amount of definite dogmatic teaching to the period between the Resurrection and the Ascension in a way not common in recent Protestant theology. But the most vital interest of the school, and that most closely related to their fundamental principles, is Christ's continued influence as an actual Personal Power. Can Seeberg speak, however, either of Pre-Existence or of Post-Existence except in the sense that the Will of God exists eternally? When we pray to Christ, we pray to the Will of God in Him, he tells us. The Three Persons of the Trinity, in his view of them, denote three coincident determinations of God, 'the spiritual Personality or rational effective Will,' the one having reference to the world, the other to the redemption of the race, or the Church, and the third to the redemption of individual souls. These three, we are told, exist eternally in the Eternal God, alongside of and along with each other, being realized together.

Seeberg's view of the work of Christ is modern. It starts from what we experience as Christ's work for us. But it is no longer the distinctive property of any school. Hofmann introduced it into 'Positive' circles over half a century ago. But the kernel of the Anselmic position is that it is theocentric, like the ancient theology in general, and if we can have a theocentric Christology, why not a theocentric doctrine of the Atonement?

# The Pilgrim's Progress.

By the Rev. John Kelman, M.A., D.D., Edinburgh.

## Little-faith.

The continuity of the romance is here broken by an interjected tale which at this point Christian 'calls to his remembrance.' The artist in story-telling has perhaps begun to feel his narrative flagging, and the next part of the story of Christian and Faithful is indeed tedious and unpleasant. But, besides such literary purpose, it is easy to perceive a reason for this tale here. Ignorance and Turnaway are disheartening instances of failure in pilgrimage, and the failure of the latter we have already seen to be final. Perhaps this story is added to make us feel that after all a man may recover from a grievous collapse, and that no failure is necessarily irretrievable. One commentator has, with fine insight, pointed out the pathetic fact that even in Christian's time the story of Little-faith is an old story. When such adventures happen to us we are apt to think ourselves alone and singled out for misfortune. Really the long line of hard-beset and sore-pressed pilgrims stretches out behind us right to the beginning of man's story on the earth. 'There hath no temptation befallen us but such as is common to man.'

Little-faith had been emphatically *a good man.* Indeed, he had been too good, and consequently liable to the disadvantages of being good, which are many. It has been said of a prominent figure in recent history that 'if he had been a worse man he would have made a better statesman,' and there is a sense in which the cynical words have a certain truth in them. But, lest such statements may appear dangerous and even profane, let us hasten to clear them from misunderstandings. Goodness, in its rich completeness of meaning, can never, of course, be in excess. Yet, as words are used among us, goodness is often taken to mean a purely negative quality of character, which may be wanting both in energy and in experience. A man who has never had a doubt, whose temptations are feeble, and whose virtue has been but instinctive and routine, will often seem to his fellows an ideally good man. We owe much to Bunyan, but few things of more instructive suggestion than this reminder that such goodness may be a less admirable and more dangerous character than that of men far less blameless, but more experienced in sin, repentance, and victory.

He was a good man, but a sleepy one. How persistently, in poor human nature, that *but* is certain to come in, after we have said that a man is good! The hero of Wolfram's *Parsifal* was 'a good man, but slowly wise'; and there is an unfailing sense of human sympathy and companionship in that memorable epithet. Little-faith's first apparent drawback is sleepiness. Every pilgrim must sleep, but this is no rest-house where we find him sleeping. He had dwelt in the town of Sincere, but the teaching of geography was defective in that town. Little-faith chanced to sit down upon the road and fall asleep just at the point where Dead Man's Lane enters it, leading from Broadway-gate. This is part of the danger of easy goodness and native sincerity. Little knowledge of evil comes upon it from within, and it has been too sleepy to acquire much information from without. There is nothing like temptation for keeping a man from drowsiness, and R. L. Stevenson, in his *Celestial Surgeon*, actually prays for anything, whether it be 'thy most pointed pleasure' or 'some killing sin' which will 'stab my spirit broad awake.'

By sleep, Bunyan means thoughtlessness and negligence, and there is nothing which wakens in him a keener and more persistent sense of danger. We have already seen this in the story of Simple, Sloth, and Presumption, the Arbour on the Hill Difficulty, and the grounds of Doubting Castle. No man had a more wholesome dread of the 'pestilence that walketh in darkness.' But here we have this brought into the most lurid of all its connexions by the very fearsome name of the place, which is a veritable murder-trap. Dead Man's Lane has in it the suggestion of the 'bloody forelands' of pirate stories, or the 'murdering hut creeks' of the Australian Bush. Wild times, such as those of Bunyan's England, had still much realism of this sort in their geography, and *Dead-man* haunted the imagination of the living. Readers of the *Holy War* will remember how

effectively 'Deadman's Bell' is introduced in that allegory.

It is very striking that the name of this unfortunate is not, as we might have expected it to be, Little-carefulness, or Little-sense, but Little-faith. Faith and Knowledge are in closer alliance than we often think. Faith in the invisible and eternal does not make a man unpractical, or lead him to fall into dangerous situations. On the contrary it quickens all his powers and makes the world interesting and his mind full of curiosity about its facts. Parsifal lost his life's great opportunity by failing to ask the question as to what it was that he saw when the Holy Grail passed before his eyes. But the meaning of that allegory is not merely want of curiosity: it is also want of a sufficiently quickened faith, which would have made it impossible for him to refrain from asking that question. Faith, by accustoming a man to 'walk often in heaven's friendly streets,' quickens the imagination all round; and the man of faith cannot but wrestle with the mystery of human life and conduct. It is Little-faith, as this passage truly shows, that 'has no speculation in his eyes.' Of course, Faith is here understood in a wider sense than mere intellectual assent and belief. Part III. restricts it to this, and tells us of Little-faith's son Seek-truth hearing of his father's fate in the land of Vain Opinions. Faith, however, obviously represents here the whole grasp and realization which the man has of spiritual realities, his realizing sense of eternal things. Such meagre spirituality, which is ready at any given moment to lie down upon the earth to sleep, forgetful that there is any spiritual world at all, is liable to rude and terrible awakings. We often awake in quite a different mood from that in which we lay down. Life here, and still more the life beyond, seems terrifying and alien, and a thing in which we have no part at all. To quote Bunyan's own words (cf. Offor *sub loco*, p. 147, note 4), we find that 'Believing is sure sweating work. . . . Oh, the toil of a gracious heart in this combat, if faith be weak.'

## The Assault.

The three enemies are Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt. One of them we have met before, Mistrust, fleeing back with Timorous from the fancied danger of the lions at the Palace Beautiful. Here he is in other company, and has now joined a gang of highwaymen who rob those pilgrims who are weaker than himself. It is ever true that cowards are apt to become also bullies, and this second dangerous and aggressive aspect of cowardice is brilliant with genius and true to experience.

The graphic picture of highwaymen, with their bullying superiority of numbers and their entire lack of any sense of decency or honour in combat, was no doubt suggested by the condition of England in those days, when the romance of the road was a matter not of fiction but of fact, or at least of very actual possibility, for every traveller. But it may be permissible, without pressing the allegory too far, to see in the detailed account of the attack a very definite sequence of spiritual experiences. Faint-heart speaks, Mistrust robs, Guilt strikes down. *Faint-heart* obviously stands for certain words which every one of us has heard in our own souls—words spoken by no human voice, but somehow borne upon the air in our direction—vague fears, and nervous tremors that seemed somehow to be connected with conscience, though they could certainly not be called in any definite sense conviction of sin. Yet all the more because of their vagueness they shook our resolution and, rendering us spiritless and unnerved, left us afraid of life. *Mistrust* stands for a more definite stage of the assault, in which the pilgrim loses certain positive and distinct possessions. Whatever hold he may have had on truth, and especially any secure and restful sense of his spiritual heritage, together with the joy and interest that these imparted to his journey—all such gains are gone. The two together—Faint-heart and Mistrust—may be taken to represent that state of *Accidie* to which we have already referred in connection with Bishop Paget's brilliant introductory chapter to his *Spirit of Discipline*. It is an ancient sorrow and a modern one as well, and all those who are liable to fits of discouragement, following upon times of ungirded and self-indulgent slackness, should read that great and wholesome chapter.

Yet worse is to follow. Mingling with the indefinite wretchedness of his spirit there has all along been an uneasy sense of moral failure, conscience muttering in the background like a distant thundercloud. But now the storm draws near, and the lightnings are in full play. Sin after sin flashes out into new and condemning vividness, and the good easy man of little faith finds himself a criminal. Conscience, that 'makes cowards of us all,' is a fell

adversary even for a man of much faith. When our crimson and scarlet sins are flaming out upon us in their blood-red colours, it will tax the reserves of faith, even of a great believer, to say to his soul that God will make him white as snow. But Little-faith has no defence against the club of Guilt. His despair is as thorough as his carelessness was before, and he lies 'felled flat to the ground, and bleeding as one that would bleed to death.' This use of faith, to protect the soul from the blows of Guilt, is a piece of far insight on the part of Bunyan, and its suggestiveness will lead us far in among the mysteries alike of human nature and of divine grace.

Thus we see once again how true it is that 'from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.' It is a principle wide as human life, and every department of secular interests confirms it. But in religion it is peculiarly and often tragically true. Faith, in small quantities, is a precarious possession. Like fire, it is easily extinguished when the flame is low; and the only course for a would-be believer is to lay hold with all his might upon eternal life and to commit himself whole-heartedly to the doing of 'this one thing.' The result of playing with faith is seen in this poor spectacle of a man on the right way indeed, but prostrate on it, a good man, but a spiritual pauper.

## Great-grace to the Rescue.

The ancient antidote to *Accidie* was *Fortitudo*, and Bishop Paget has some memorable passages regarding that virtue. It is a bracing and challenging doctrine that the victim of *Accidie* must find the remedy within himself, and it has changed many a Little-faith into Great-faith. Tennyson expresses another aspect of the same truth in his famous lines—

> If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep
> I heard a voice, 'Believe no more,'
> And heard an ever-breaking shore
> That tumbled in the Godless deep;
>
> A warmth within the breast would melt
> The freezing reason's colder part,
> And, like a man in wrath, the heart
> Stood up and answered, 'I have felt.'

It may, indeed, be some such inward impulse of will or heart that Great-grace represents in this passage. Yet it rather seems to indicate a friend coming from without. Great-grace has been well described as 'an informal Christian combatant'—a sort of knight-errant or champion, whose work is to right the wrong wherever he may find it. He is not a supernatural being, but a strictly human character, like Help at the Slough of Despond. He is not necessarily an official helper even, and it is more likely that Bunyan was thinking of a layman than of one in clerical orders. He stands for one of those strong and brave spirits whose courage is infectious. Theirs is the habit of victory, and in their presence it is easier to be strong and to believe, to hope and to be good. The characteristic feature of him is that he is a soul habitually confident, living in the town of Good Confidence. Of such servants of the Lord, Thomas à Kempis has happily said that they are 'equal to the angels, pleasing to God, *terrible to devils*, and worthy to be commended of all the faithful.' It is a fine point in this story that Great-grace is never seen, but only what the robbers take to be the sound of him is heard, and yet that is enough to make them flee away. In many heartening books we meet with such men. Shakespeare's Henry v. on the night before Agincourt, Browning's Herakles in 'Balaustion's Adventure,' are perhaps as fine examples as one could find. Browning and R. L. Stevenson are full of them and their spirit, and they have indeed been terrible to the devils of those latter days, chasing far away the fears and misgivings that beset weak souls. There is a delightful exhilaration in this Gospel of the Healthy Mind, which has heard the champion Great-grace 'come sounding through the town' which others were calling the City of Dreadful Night.

## The Future of Little-faith.

His pocket-money was gone, but he had managed to keep his jewels—the sort of adventure which often meets us in romances of the road. The jewels may mean, like Shakespeare's 'eternal jewel,' the soul of the man. He had not lost his soul. This would be quite characteristic of the Calvinism of Bunyan, who was a tried but firm believer in the perseverance of the saints. That this is, in effect, the meaning intended, is proved by the well-known passage in *Grace Abounding*, which follows the narrative of that great deliverance which came to Bunyan when 'suddenly this sentence fell upon my soul, "Thy righteousness is in heaven."' The passage is: 'All those graces of God that were now green on me were yet but like

those cracked groats and fourpence-halfpennies[1] that rich men carry in their purses when their gold is in their trunks at home. Oh, I saw my gold was in my trunk at home! In Christ, my Lord and Saviour. Now, Christ was all; all my *righteousness*, all my *sanctification*, and all my *redemption*.

His jewels were safe. His redeemed soul was still his own, for it was kept in God's safe keeping. But his pocket-money was gone—that spending money of minor graces which make the spiritual life easy and pleasant, beyond the bare question of the spirit being alive and not dead. This man just managed to make shift to *scrabble* on his way. (The word is not scramble, but *scrabble*, a much more expressive word, used by Bunyan when he thought of his possibly being hanged for his nonconformity, and 'dreaded lest he should make but a *scrabbling* shift to clamber up the ladder.' Cf. Offor, p. 147, note 4.) He had nothing to spare—neither hope, faith, character, strength, nor joy—but was always on the edge of being hard up or bankrupt.

Consequently he has *to beg his way* onward. He has no self-reliance, no self-dependence, but has to depend on others for all his spiritual help. He is the opposite extreme of the type of character so strongly drawn in Emerson's essay on 'Self-reliance,' or Matthew Arnold's poem on 'Self-dependence.' Like the foolish virgins, he is for ever borrowing his faith from books or speech of others, and has not manhood enough in him to find or to work out a faith that is indeed his own. Like Tomlinson, 'Oh, this he has read and this he has heard, and that was told to him,' and he supports his pilgrimage by the scraps of faith and hope thrown to him by other pilgrims.

As to the keeping of the jewels, it was a wonder he had skill to hide them or anything else. Like other shallow natures, he has no reticence, nor has he learned to recognize and to trust a great fact in his own experience, and to distinguish it from small and unimportant facts. We can see this want of skill in the statement that 'he scattered almost all the rest of the way with nothing but doleful and bitter complaints, telling also to all that overtook him, or that he overtook in the way as he went,' all that had befallen him.

This is lifelike and graphic. There are some who can suffer and be silent, and there are others who can only suffer and tell, and they are a poor race. Trouble does not bless this man, but works in him a change only for the worse. He does not take his trouble rightly in any way. He blames not himself, but his fortune. He becomes self-centred, bitter, and morbid; and all who allow themselves for want of resolute will to fall into such darkness, and to talk about it, are simply taking the liberty of becoming public nuisances. Like those doleful people who victimize all whom they may meet with a narrative of their diseases, so this pitiful creature has nothing better to tell his fellow-pilgrims than the story of his own carelessness, and cowardice, and weakness. The deep selfishness of such a pilgrim is manifest. He cared not how many he discouraged, or how many more he wearied. There is a subtle pleasure for such diseased natures as his in dwelling on their own misfortunes, and his loquacity was but a form of self-indulgence.

And, after all, it is but his pocket-money he has lost. He sets too high store upon the minor graces and emotions of the Christian life. No doubt, these are very valuable; but he who so exaggerates their value as to let the loss of them drive the priceless jewel of his salvation out of mind, is but one of those whose treasure is on the earth. Too much may be made of minor spiritual losses. We all have to fight our way through many misadventures; and if some early virtues of the gentler and more tender sort are lost, yet to the brave spirit these may be replaced by a robustness which will more than compensate for what is gone. The knight, when his combat is over and he takes off his visor, need not be surprised at the rust that begrimes his face. The main thing is that he should win his battle.

[1] Offor explains in a footnote that these coins were 'Irish sixpences,' which, in the dearth of silver coin in England, were made current at fourpence-halfpenny.

# Literature.

## *THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SPIRIT.*

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SPIRIT. By Horatio W. Dresser, Ph.D. (*Putnam.* 10s. 6d. net.)

THIS is a beautiful book. It gives utterance to a beautiful thought, expressed in beautiful language. Is the thought true?

We have said thought, not thoughts. For one thought rules it, and so absolutely that it is impossible to pick out a subordinate, far less an independent, thought, and get it to stand alone. With commendable patience and with most loving art, that thought is stated, repeated, reiterated; it is illustrated and argued; it is set in comparison and in contrast; till not only is there no doubt about its meaning, but its whole worth and its weakness are made most unmistakably manifest. What is the thought?

It is that the universe owes all that it is and has to the Spirit. 'By the term "universe" employed in its largest sense is here meant the total eternal universe, the divine order. That order includes the heavens and the earth, and the possible future abodes of the soul, as well as the present world. This fair world of ours might disappear and yet the divine order would conceivably remain. Worlds may come and go, but the universe is ever here.' That is the universe; what is the Spirit? The Spirit is not so easily defined. This is the clearest definition. 'By the Spirit we mean an unqualifiedly universal presence, a wisdom that is for all. . . . It is not a power sent forth at random, not a capricious will, but the mind and life of God in purposive action.'

This Spirit informs all the universe, including man. It is not identical with the universe. 'In nature we behold the visible results of the Spirit's activity.' Nor is it identical with the inner life of man. But it is open to man, to any man, to become conscious of the presence of the Spirit within him, and in that consciousness to live the life of the Spirit. He is not dependent, therefore, upon an external authority, whether Church or Bible. But, on the other hand, neither is he led by the natural light of conscience, which is liable to ignorance and to error. He experiences the Spirit, and in that experience knows what is right, and does it. Is the thought true?

The *incarnation* is not once mentioned in all the book. To *sin* there are two slight references. ''Gainst thee, thee only have I sinned!'—Dr. Dresser never gives us a hint as to what he will do with that. 'In due time Christ died for the ungodly.' That experience comes not once within the horizon of all his thought. The thought of the book is beautiful, but it is the beauty of nature; it is outside man.

## Among the Books of the Month.

Dr. Whyte has completed and crowned his series of 'Bunyan Characters' with the issue of *Bunyan Himself.* He calls it the fourth series of 'Bunyan Characters' (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; 2s. 6d.). And what we find when we read the book is not that Dr. Whyte was leading up to this in all his earlier writing, but that all his earlier writing was this. It is as if this book had been written first, and Dr. Whyte could not get away from it. *Bunyan Himself* seems to gather into it all the characterization of all the Bunyan Characters; and as the imagination that created them never, in all that Bunyan wrote, travelled further than his own person, this book contains the wisdom of Bunyan and his worth for edification. It is built of course upon the *Grace Abounding.*

The Rev. Henry W. Clark, who has already written two books and gained a name for himself as an ethical thinker of considerable penetration, has now issued *The Christian Method of Ethics* (Oliphant; 3s. 6d. net). It is the finest of the three volumes which have come from his pen. It is a systematic sustained argument for Christianity as the religion of moral life, the only religion that the enlightened conscience can find rest in.

And this is the topic of the hour. Men will become Muhammadans if Muhammadanism will enable them to live better than Christianity does. For they say now, and rightly, that the value of your God is not in your definition of Him, but in His ability to make you do to others as you would that

they should do to you. Mr. Clark has written no systematic treatise on Christian ethics. He is too much in the world for that. He has shown how the follower of Christ, and no other fully, may do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before his God.

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At the Pilgrim Press is published a new edition of Madame de Gasparin's *The Heavenly Horizons* (2s. net). It contains an introduction by Dr. Campbell Morgan.

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Why is it that Loisy's books have not been translated into English? He is a scholar. He writes popularly. And he has the martyr charm, dear to the average Englishman. Here at last is one of them, well translated by Mr. Christopher Home, and introduced by Father Tyrrell. It is his *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, and the English title is *The Gospel and the Church* (Pitman; 3s. 6d.). *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* appeared as long ago as 1892. Father Tyrrell has selected it for translation because he holds that Loisy is less a critic than an apologete. 'He will go down to posterity, not so much as a Biblical critic, nor as the creator of Modernism (for Modernism is the creature of the modern world, and of no individual or group of individuals), but as the man who put the question definitively, whether the truth of Roman Catholicism was compatible with the truth of Biblical and historical criticism.' And this is the volume that is most characteristic of his apologetic position.

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Mr. Frank Podmore is the popular exponent of modern Spiritualism. With the title of his new book, *The Naturalisation of the Supernatural* (Putnam; 7s. 6d. net), he challenges the whole world. The title is a self-contradiction. But apart from that, it is just the attempt to naturalize the supernatural that makes modern spiritualism an offence. We do not desire to have the inhabitants of the spiritual realm show themselves within the limits of the physical, first, because we do not believe the thing is possible; and next, because if it were it is unnecessary. Spirit-rapping to persuade us to believe in spirit? We believe in Christ. And for the rest we are content to walk by faith until the day dawns and the shadows flee away.

Nevertheless Mr. Podmore writes his book, fills it with 'cases' that are as sure as eggs is eggs, and finds a monstrous regiment of readers, chiefly women. It is not because they want to assure themselves of their immortality; it is because they have nothing else to do.

Mr. Podmore dares to speak of spiritualism as if it were a science. The only scientific sign is the unctuous use of a long-necked barbarous terminology—the last addition being Poltergeists! The exactitude of its scientific spirit may be seen in the freedom with which evidence like 'After a minute or two she quietly and suddenly *was not there*' is used to prove that before the minute or two she was there.

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Edersheim's *Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ* is likely to live longer than any other of his books. The *Life and Times of the Messiah* will be superseded by criticism and research. But no scholarship will touch the intimacy and literary grace which make the Jew of our Lord's day live again. The Religious Tract Society has issued a new edition (2s.).

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*The Baganda at Home* have been described by Mr. C. W. Hattersley (R.T.S.; 5s.). So the book is not an addition to the literature of missions, the literature of travel, or the literature of religion. It belongs to the literature of social life. The Baganda are at home. It is true there is a chapter on religion, a chapter of 'Travel Talk,' and the mission buildings are never out of sight. Yet it is the home-life of the Baganda that is described and illustrated (and the illustrations are numerous and graphic), with all their inheritance of colour and custom upon them, with all their attempts to break the inheritance and at least wear the clothes of Europeans.

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Mr. Robert Wells Veach has turned the gospel narrative into a series of studies, one for each day of the year. Pursue the course and persevere to the end, and assuredly you will know the facts of the life of Christ. The title is *The King and His Kingdom* (Revell; 2s. net).

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There are men who understand other men and can preach to them. There are men who understand boys. Mr. Robert E. Speer understands young men. He does not get at the peculiar formation of a boy's mind, but he understands young men, and can steady them as they face the great battle. His new book is *The Master of the Heart* (Revell; 3s. 6d. net).

The history of Egypt is not complete without the chapter on Christian missions there. That chapter has just been written by the Rev. Charles R. Watson. *In the Valley of the Nile*, he calls his book (Revell; 3s. 6d. net). It is the outcome of lectures delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary, and has all the clearness of the spoken word. But it is a real book. The references to the sources are ample and accurate. The whole subject is described systematically. The publishers have done their part also, selecting the illustrations well, and reproducing them artistically.

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Messrs. Revell have issued another big bundle of books. We have already mentioned three: four remain to be mentioned. First of all there is a volume of addresses by Dr. Wilbur Chapman, with the title of *Another Mile* (2s. net). The title is taken, not from the first sermon as usual, but from the next to last. That sermon, with the text, 'Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain,' is a conversational survey of the Sermon on the Mount, well sprinkled with anecdote. All the sermons are anecdotal, conversational, confidential.

Next take Mr. Henry F. Cope's *Levels of Living* (3s. net), a volume of 'Essays on Everyday Ideals.' The essays are short, but they are grouped together, so that the subject handled is in the end handled pretty fully, and yet each short essay is intelligible and memorable by itself. Thus, under the title of 'The Age-long Miracle,' chapter vi. contains three essays, 'The Sufficient Sign,' 'Behold the Man,' 'The Life that Lifts.'

There is, next, a new book by Dr. James S. Dennis, and of course it is a mission book. Its title is *The New Horoscope of Missions* (3s. 6d. net). It contains four lectures, delivered at the M'Cormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, on the John H. Converse foundation. The plan is to stand aside and see what is the general movement of present missionary work, not to describe any particular field of operation. It is a most hopeful book. And Dr. Dennis is not hopeful without knowing why.

The last in the list is one of those large thoroughgoing volumes on Homiletics which still come occasionally from America, but are no longer written in this country. What is the meaning of the collapse in homiletical writing here? The author of this volume is Professor Herrick Johnson, formerly of the Auburn Theological Seminary, now of the M'Cormick Seminary in Chicago. It is called *The Ideal Ministry* (6s. net). The volume is divided into three parts. The first part, called 'The Ideal Ministry,' deals with the preacher's message; the second, called 'Related Ideals,' with himself; the third with the sermon. And there is scope in this handsome well-written volume for a full discussion of each of these topics. There may be nothing new under this sun, but every new preacher needs the old retold, and reinterpreted.

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Messrs. Rivingtons have published the first of a series of *Sermons Doctrinal, Philosophical, Critical, and Ethical*, by the Rev. Joseph Miller, B.D. (5s.). The explanation of the four adjectives is not given. Perhaps they are used to express variety. But every sermon should be doctrinal, philosophical, critical, and ethical; and not merely every volume of sermons. These sermons can all be described by one adjective. They are apologetic. And the apology is expressed in strong though somewhat large-worded language. A pleasing change occurs at the end, where quotations are given from certain great French and German preachers.

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Mr. James Robinson of Manchester is fast becoming the homiletical publisher of the day. He has issued now a volume by the Rev. J. G. Greenhough, M.A., which is meant to serve the hungry preacher with hints when the feast-days draw near. Its title is *Christian Festivals and Anniversaries* (3s. 6d. net).

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Messrs. George Routledge & Sons owe their reputation as publishers to the popular character of the books they publish. They have just published a book, however, which belongs to the severest and most restricted region of pure scholarship. It is an investigation into the exact nature of two Jewish festivals, the festival connected with the presentation of the first-fruits, called Bikkurim, and the festival of the water libations celebrated during the Week of Tabernacles, called the Water Feast. The author of the work is the Rev. Joseph Hochman, B.A., Ph.D. Its title is *Jerusalem Temple Festivities* (2s. 6d.).

Let students of the Old Testament, and of Judaism generally, see to it that they do not overlook this investigation. The author has read all the relevant literature, and he has studied the Old

Testament passages in the light of later Jewish writings.

To their series of 'Golden Anthologies' Messrs. Routledge have added an anthology of *The Hundred Best Hymns in the English Language* (1s. net). They have been selected by the Rev. John Cullen, D.D., Vicar of Radcliffe-on-Trent.

When the uproar occurred in Ephesus and the Ephesians rushed into the theatre with their cry of 'Great is Diana,' the Jews put forward Alexander to make an explanation. If they had given him a hearing Alexander would have explained that the Jews had no hand in the disturbance. For the Jews have never tried to turn the world upside down. They have never been missionaries. The disciples of Jesus had to be filled with the Holy Ghost before they could even conceive the idea of preaching the gospel to every creature. And being without the Holy Ghost all through the centuries, Judaism has been true to itself, it has not been a missionary religion.

But that is to be altered now. With the good wishes of the Very Rev. Dr. Gaster, the Haham, on the anniversary of the birth of Theodor Herzl, Mr. Paul Goodman signs the preface and publishes *The Synagogue and the Church* (Routledge; 6s.). The object of the book is to show that Judaism was intended from the beginning to be a missionary religion, and it is no longer to remain on its defence, but to come out and evangelize the world.

But that involves a criticism of Christianity. For Christianity claims to be the heir of the religion of the Old Testament, its fruit and its fulfilment, and so leaves no place for modern Judaism to occupy. The criticism is frank. We see ourselves as at least one other sees us. Even of Jesus of Nazareth the criticism is frank. Dr. Paul Haupt, first at the Congress of Orientalists in Copenhagen, and next at the Congress of Religions in Oxford, has been arguing that Jesus was not a Jew. Mr. Goodman argues that He was nothing else.

From the Sunday School Union comes a small volume of religious poems with a sweet face for frontispiece. It is *A Believer's Rest* (1s. 6d. net.) The author is Miss Edith Hickman Divall.

Mr. Fisher Unwin has brought Holyoake's *History of Co-operation* within the reach of everybody by issuing it in a single substantial volume at 7s. 6d. net. The book is one of the standards. It will often be reprinted, but it will never be superseded.

In *The Incarnate Purpose* (Williams & Norgate; 2s. 6d. net) an effort is made to express the Incarnation in terms of modern scientific thought. The author is Mr. G. H. Percival. The tone is reverent, and it would be a very narrow ecclesiasticism that would take offence at the method or its conclusion.

The fullest account of the papyri discovered at Assuan and Elephantine that has yet appeared in English will be found in a book entitled *Light from Egyptian Papyri* (Williams & Norgate; 3s. net), written by the Rev. Charles H. H. Wright, D.D. Some will say that Dr. Wright has an axe to grind. And certainly he has no love for critics, and forgets not to show it. But he is a scholar, and has a scholar's sense of responsibility to the truth.

A new Amiel with a wider range and a healthier appetite is George Christopher Lichtenberg. And it is a wonder that the outlook in *The Reflections of Lichtenberg* (Sonnenschein) is so healthy. For Lichtenberg's body was deformed, and he felt it. He felt it so keenly as to shut himself up in his room for months at a time. But he travelled to England, and knew Garrick. Here are some of the shorter of his Reflections—

'I have invariably found that, all else failing, a man's character can be deduced from nothing so surely as from a jest that he takes in bad part.'

'It is a positive fact that some thoughts please us when we are lying down which fail to please us any more when we are on our own feet.'

'Intentional virtue is never worth very much; feeling or habitude is the thing.'

'As soon as you know a man to be blind, you imagine that you can see it from his back.'

The latest of the 'Heart and Life Booklets' is *The Upward Way*, being readings for a month from the writings of Samuel Rutherford, selected and arranged by Eleanor C. Gregory (Allenson; 6d. net).

Welcome a new American essayist. His name is Stephen Berrien Stanton. His book is published in this country by Mr. Allenson, its title *The*

*Essential Life* (3s. 6d. net). His essays are well considered and expressed in sound unprovincial English. The topics are 'The Spirit in Man,' 'Time,' 'Individuality,' 'Imagination,' 'Attitude,' 'Travel,' and the like.

Out of all the host of text-books choose *Prayer, Promise, and Precept* (Allenson; 1s. net). Without and within it is a triumph of art.

Mr. Allenson has also published a third edition of Mr. S. A. Tipple's *Sunday Mornings at Norwood* (3s. 6d. net).

Notice further two dainty reprints by Mr. Allenson, Brother Lawrence's *Practice of the Presence of God* (6d. net), and Neale's translations of *The Rhythm of Bernard de Morlaix and Damiani's Glory of Paradise* (1s. net).

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There are two men of the name of Strong who are associated with Systematic Theology. The one is the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. The other is President of the Rochester Theological Seminary in the United States. President Strong has published his Systematic Theology in three immense volumes. And now he has issued an abstract of the same in one volume under the title of *Outlines of Systematic Theology* (Amer. Bap. Pub. Soc., $2.50 net).

The book is, in the language of the student, 'a pure grind.' It might be committed to memory; perhaps that is the author's idea. In any case it is meant to be studied, not merely read. Into its ample pages is packed the whole round of systematic theology, the only omissions from the three great volumes being the bibliographies and the quotations.

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Once more *The Great Pyramid of Gizeh* has been measured and made the *fons et origo* of all other measurements, and especially of British measures. The author this time is Mr. M. W. H. Lombe Brooke. The publisher is Mr. Banks (7s. 6d. net).

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The Rev. James Baikie, F.R.A.S., is an enthusiastic Egyptologist. No explorer's spade is forgotten by him; no discovery fails to find its place in his thinking. He has written *The Story of the Pharaohs* (A. & C. Black; 7s. 6d. net). The publishers have made a most attractive book of it, and the writing is 'popular' enough to meet their evident intention of having it sent by friend to friend at Christmas. But it is more than popular, it is the work of a scholar. The history of the Egypt of the Pharaohs is told with full consciousness of all the vexing problems, and with full knowledge of all the discovered facts.

In describing the reign of Merenptah, Mr. Baikie comes to the famous and perplexing stele. After quoting it, he says: 'It thus appears that there was a people of Israel already living in Palestine at the time of Merenptah's reign, and that they suffered, along with other tribes of Syria, from an Egyptian raid, whether earlier in the reign than the Libyan war, as Breasted supposes, or subsequent to it, as the position of the reference might suggest. On any view of the date of the Exodus this reference is puzzling. Perhaps the least unlikely suggestion is that of Petrie, who suggests that when the migration into Egypt occurred in the time of Joseph, some of Jacob's stock may not have left Palestine, or may have returned as soon as the famine was over, and that it may be the descendants of these to whom the inscription refers.'

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The Church of Scotland is much occupied with the social question. And so the Rev. David Watson's *Social Problems and the Church's Duty* (A. & C. Black; 1s. 6d. net) comes at an opportune moment. It is a good survey of the subject, with statistics in plenty to hang arguments on, and not too much sermonizing. The competence of the author for his work is seen in the admirably chosen books which he recommends. Perhaps he might have added the dates; the edition of a book is often a matter of importance.

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The welcome which was given to the late Professor Adamson's work in two volumes, which was published in 1903 under the title of *The Development of Modern Philosophy*, has led the editor, Professor W. R. Sorley, to re-edit the first volume and issue it by itself under the same title (Blackwood; 10s. 6d. net). It thus forms a companion volume to *The Development of Greek Philosophy* by the same author, which is nearly ready for publication under the same editorship.

It is unnecessary to go over the ground again in reviewing this volume. In its separate form it will be much more useful to the student because so much less expensive; and it is for the student of philosophy, the working student with examination

atmosphere round him, that Professor Adamson wrote and Professor Sorley edits.

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At Keswick in 1905 the idea came to the Rev. Albert E. Sims to write an account of our dual nature, under the allegory of a giant and a dwarf in conflict, and to call it *Palace Beautiful*. He has now published the allegory (Brown; 1s. 6d. net).

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Messrs. Cassell have issued a cheaper reprint of Garbett and Martin's *Family Prayer Book* (5s.).

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The Rev. G. T. Manley, M.A., late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, has studied the Psalms to find what they say about Missions. He calls the book of his findings *The Gospel in the Psalms* (Ch. Miss. Soc.; 1s. net).

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Mr. W. A. Craigie, an excellent and diligent Teutonic Scholar, found one day in the University Library of Copenhagen, a manuscript with the title *Skotland's Rimur*. It was a volume of poetry, and it told the story of the Gowrie Conspiracy. So he copied the text and edited it, with an introduction, notes, and an appendix containing the Danish version of the Conspiracy (Clarendon Press).

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*The Road to Happiness* is the title given to an anthology of prose and verse gathered by E. W. Walters (Culley; 1s. 6d. net).

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It is quite possible to preach theology still. It is quite possible to preach a systematic and complete course of it, and find the congregation athirst for more at the end. For the Rev. R. J. Wardell has done it. And he has done well to publish his course of theology in sermons. He calls it *Permanent Elements in Christian Theology* (Culley; 3s. 6d. net).

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From Mr. Culley may also be had the Wesleyan Year-Book, of which the ancient title is still preserved, *Minutes of Several Conversations*, etc. (2s. net). But it is quite a new book, and grows with the growth of 'the People called Methodists.'

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It is the day of Bible Study. And we need Bibles to study. Mr. Frowde has published one. It is the work of an American scholar, the Rev. F. C. Thompson, D.D. The special use of it for study is found in its margin. The text itself is simply the Authorized Version, with no marks whatever except, curiously enough, marks for the pronunciation of the proper names.

But the margin contains a series of cross-references which are so new and so useful that the author is quite entitled to call himself a discoverer. First, there is a word which gives the meaning of the phrase or verse by which it stands, and at the same time a reference to the first passage where the same word is found in the margin. Thus by following the word all its uses in Scripture can be traced. And to facilitate the process there is an Index of Words at the end.

The plan is simplicity simplified, and it is as helpful as it is simple.

The volume is published in cloth at 12s. net. Its title is *The Chain-Reference Bible*.

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*The Story of the Captivity Retold in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Edinburgh: Grant; 3s. 6d. net). This is the title of a new book by Mr. Samuel Jennings, F.L.S. It is time that the story of the Captivity were retold, and Mr. Jennings is thoroughly abreast of the evidence. His style is a little careless, which is a pity in a popular writer. But his readings may be relied on.

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Mr. Francis Griffiths has published a complete history of *The Church of England*, within 184 small octavo pages (2s. 6d. net). The author, the Rev. R. Ellis Roberts, has begun at what is to him the beginning, the year 597, and he has carried it down to the year 1900. He has even made his book easy to read.

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Professor Orr of Glasgow is in our judgment the most successful apologetic writer of the present day. He has no interest in science or theology or anything else that does not minister to edification. He is quite scornful over the seeker after truth who professes to be above considering where the truth may lead him. Professor Orr knows that the truth is in Christ Jesus. And he is just as sure that the representation of Christ Jesus which makes Him the truth is that which has been held by the Church Protestant. So his new book on *The Resurrection of Jesus* (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s.) is a learned, unhesitating apologetic, the only

book that it is of any use to write, if we are to have apologetics at all. He has chosen his subject with unerring judgment. The Resurrection is the citadel. It is less violently attacked now than formerly, but it is still the chief object of attack.

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Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton are the British publishers of Professor A. T. Robertson's *Epochs in the Life of Jesus* (2s. 6d. net). The book has been reviewed already.

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The Rev. George Jackson, B.A., is steeped in modern ways of thinking and modern methods of expressing thought, and yet he is unswervingly true to the ancient gospel of the Grace of God. And it is just this combination of the old and the new that makes him so successful in all his work and labour of love. His latest book is entitled *The Fact of Conversion* (Hodder & Stoughton; 3s. 6d.). It is a good subject. For him there is no better. For he is quite well aware of all that the psychologists have been saying, and he takes full account of it; but conversion is a fact. Nor does he fear to say that sudden conversion is a fact, though all the varieties are recognized. His book is an evangelist's book, written if by any means it might save some; but it has careful distinctions, and will enlighten the mind even when it does not persuade to embrace Jesus Christ.

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Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published the fifth volume of the seventh series of *The Expositor* (7s. 6d. net). Again the editor has carried out the policy of single papers. There is only one series in the volume, the series by Professor Orr on the Resurrection, for we can scarcely reckon Dr. Moffatt's 'Materials' or Dr. Milligan's 'Lexical Notes' as series. The names are all significant. Among the rest it is interesting to find that of Professor Cheyne, whose eye may be somewhat dimmed but his mental force is no whit abated. To make one other selection, there are two papers by Professor Denney, such papers as handle a subject so that it never looks quite the same again. The one is 'The Cup of the Lord and the Cup of Demons,' the other 'He that came by Water and Blood.'

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*Missions in State and Church* (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s.). Was ever a volume published that, as Dr. P. T. Forsyth's own countrymen would say, was so kenspeckle? 'Sermons and Addresses' Dr. Forsyth adds to his title, for that is his work. He writes sermons and preaches them; he writes addresses and preaches them also. He is a preacher, that and nothing more. But he is a preacher who can never be mistaken for another preacher. Great is the company of them that publish the good tidings, but Principal Forsyth is distinguishable among them. For one thing, he has length of sermon or address in the day of popular shortness. For another thing, he never bates one jot of the great thoughts that have come to him, either to make his doctrine acceptable or his paragraphs intelligible. Get him at the beginning and you may hold him to the end, not otherwise. He preaches to preachers. The pew could never have patience with him, but the preacher will wait, and then rejoice to have received one new thought or one uplifting encouragement. Is he not a modern preacher? He is entirely modern. 'The Lord save us from the sentiments of our sets, from travellers' tattle, from the commercial-room creed, and the man in the train with the *Daily Mail*.' That is quite modern. The difficulty is rather that he is before than behind. And it is extremely likely that the next generation will find him easy and ordinary. If that is so, he is in a sense a prophet, and the prophet is one of the greatest.

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Under the modern title of *Salvation and the Old Theology*, Dr. Len G. Broughton has published an exposition of the Epistle to the Romans (Hodder & Stoughton; 2s. 6d. net). He calls his theology the old theology, and it is so, as old as Calvin at least, as old perhaps as the Epistle to the Romans. There are certainly positions that need emphasizing, and Dr. Broughton states them emphatically. As this: 'From God's standpoint, a man is just as clean when he is born again as he ever can be afterward.'

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Here is a 'complete set up to date' of Dr. Adeney's new 'Century Bible Handbooks'—they are published in cloth at 1s. net each (Jack)—*The Religion of Israel*, by Professor A. S. Peake, D.D.; *The Apocryphal Books*, by Professor H. T. Andrews, B.A.; *The Life and Teaching of Jesus*

*Christ*, by the Rev. W. B. Selbie, M.A.; *Man's Sin and Salvation*, by the Rev. R. S. Franks, M.A.; *The Early Church*, by the Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D. The authors are all well chosen, and the measure of accomplishment is singularly equal. Dr. Adeney will do more for Christ by this series than even by his popular commentaries.

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Some years ago Professor John Watson of Queen's College, Kingston, Canada, published a volume of Extracts from the writings of Kant. The Extracts were used by him in class-work, and it was their utility there, the way in which they roused his pupils' minds to reaction by bringing them into direct contact with a master thinker, that induced Professor Watson to publish them. But to obtain the knowledge of a philosophy by means of extracts from the philosopher's writings takes time, and Dr. Watson has now been led to publish the explanations of the extracts which he has been accustomed to make to his class. The book is called *The Philosophy of Kant Explained* (Maclehose; 10s. net).

So the two books go together. And it is enough to say that the possessor of the one will be a possessor of the other as soon as he hears of it. To master Kant is to master oneself, the end of life, and to the mastery of Kant there is no road so nearly royal as the way of Professor Watson's two delightful volumes.

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The fourth volume of Mr. Frederic Harrison's 'Studies' has now been published. Its title is *Realities and Ideals* (Macmillan; 7s. 6d. net). It consists of essays, described as Social, Political, Literary, and Artistic, which have (all but four) appeared in various periodicals, most of them in the *Positivist Review*, during the last forty years. The book is divided into two parts. Part I., called Social and Political, covers a great variety of topic, from 'Funeral Rites' and 'Centenaries' to 'The Lords once more.' Under Literature and Art, which is the title of Part II., come 'Art and Shoddy,' 'Canon Liddon,' and 'A Pompeii for the Thirtieth Century.'

The four essays which appear in this volume for the first time are all on Woman. For Woman with a capital is a discovery of our day. Mr. Frederic Harrison had written the essays on 'The Future of Woman,' 'The Realm of Woman,' and 'The Work of Women,' when circumstances occurred which led him to see that he had left one aspect of the subject untouched, so he sat down quickly and wrote 'Votes for Women.'

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If money is the root of all evil, loyalty is the root of all good. Professor Royce of Harvard has written a book on *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (Macmillan; 6s. net). And one has not read much of the book till one discovers that loyalty is the great commandment in the law. It awakens Professor Royce to an enthusiastic exposition which compels response in enthusiastic reading right through to the end.

For loyalty is the active energetic love of what is one's ideal good. And as loyalty is obeyed it enlarges the heart and the heart's object of affection, till the soldier, say, who was at first loyal only to the standard of his own regiment, becomes at last loyal to the standard of his dearest foe. Therefore the proposition which Professor Royce sets down and works out is this: 'In loyalty, when loyalty is properly defined, is the fulfilment of the whole moral law.'

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Another book has been published on the great subject of Attention, a subject which is forcing itself on the attention of even the general reader. The book is described as *Lectures on the Elementary Psychology of Feeling and Attention* (Macmillan; 6s. net). The author is Edward Bradford Titchener, D.Sc., Ph.D., LL.D., Sage Professor of Psychology in Cornell University. 'Lectures,' and on the 'Elementary Psychology'—so it is addressed to the general reader. It is, in short, the book to begin with, the book to begin the whole study of psychology with. And yet the scholar is not forgotten. At the end come notes, and the notes contain many useful references to recent bibliography, and some acute criticism. Among the rest Pillsbury's *Attention* is referred to and criticised; it came too late to be used in the body of the book.

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*Becket and other Plays* (Macmillan; 4s. net) completes the Eversley Series of Tennyson. The competition lies between the green single-volume edition and the Eversley, and the price will often decide in favour of the former. But these nine chaste volumes are very satisfying to the eye and

the hand. And, besides, the Eversley is the only annotated edition.

Complete your set of *The Keswick Week*. The volume for 1908 is just out (Marshall Brothers; 2s. net). It is unbound, which is a pity, for it contains addresses which will last; but then it would be costly if it were bound, and the desire of the publishers is that it should reach the million. There are no new names this year, but we do not think the old were ever more manifestly endued with power.

Messrs. Morgan & Scott have published another edition of Miss Wilson-Carmichael's *Overweights of Joy* (2s. 6d. net).

The best survey of missionary enterprise we have seen has been made by the Rev. W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D. Its title is *Missionary Achievement* (Morgan & Scott; 2s. 6d. net). Its chief merit lies in what we must call its impartial spirit. That is to say, there is no twisting or ignoring of facts to make a case, and the one sect or Church gets as impartial treatment as the other. Then it is most readable. To say that it is trustworthy is not to suggest that it is crammed with tables of statistics. The facts are part of the narrative, and the narrative is the work of a literary artist.

We have had our Lord considered as a Poet before, but never so scientifically as by Dr. Otto Frommel of Karlsruhe. His book has been translated into English by Amelia Gurney, with the title *The Poetry of the Gospel of Jesus* (Nutt; 2s. 6d. net). We say scientifically, for first of all Dr. Frommel builds his book on a critical foundation, and secondly he limits himself to one aspect of the mind of Christ, His æsthetic enjoyment of the works of God's hand.

# Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, Litt.D., LL.D., Oxford.

America is beginning to take a foremost place in Oriental research. One of the best books that have ever appeared upon Assyrian history is a little volume by Dr. A. T. Olmstead, entitled *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1908). It is really a critical examination of the historical records of the Assyrian king, Sargon, in which the minute scholarship of the German is combined with the common sense of the Anglo-Saxon. For the first time the annals of the Assyrian conqueror are subjected to a searching criticism, and all available sources of information bearing upon them are laid under contribution. Even the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor have been examined, and modern Assyriological literature has been pretty thoroughly ransacked. Papers hidden away in obscure periodicals have been consulted, and Dr. Olmstead has not forgotten, like so many of the younger Assyriologists, that there were scholars before himself and his friends. To every student of Oriental history and geography, and more especially of the Old Testament, his book will be found indispensable.

It is so crowded with matter that it is difficult to select any single portion of it for special notice within the limits of a review. Attention, however, must be drawn to the author's careful examination of the theory which places the kingdom of Muzri in Arabia and transports to it the Mizraim of the Old Testament. Archæologically and Assyriologically alike the theory is shown to be untenable, and the unprejudiced reader can come to no other conclusion than that in which Dr. Olmstead sums up the result of his discussion that 'we may very properly refuse to accept an independent Muzri in the Negeb.' The Negeb, it is true, is covered with the relics of a former civilization; but they all belong to the Roman period; no pottery has been met with that can be assigned to an earlier date, and none of the architectural remains is older than the age of the rise of the Nabathean kingdom in the third century B.C.

The contents of the book are well arranged. The sources of our knowledge of the history of Sargon are first examined; then come chapters on his accession, on his policy towards Babylonia and

Syria, on his defence of his north-west frontier, on his Armenian, Median, and Elamite wars, on the last years of his reign, and finally on what Dr. Olmstead somewhat awkwardly calls 'the Culture Life.' It will be seen that the whole of the ancient civilized Orient, with the exception of Egypt, is embraced, and new light is thrown on its history and geography. The pages devoted to the Assyrian campaigns in Asia Minor are especially noteworthy, though I am not convinced that the author is right in his identifications of some of the Cappadocian towns, more particularly Uesi, or in placing the victory of Sargon over Midas 'near the mouth of the Calycadnus.' The geography of Asia Minor in the age of the Second Assyrian Empire still needs a considerable amount of 'threshing out.'

There are a good many misprints in the book which will require to be corrected in a second edition. Thus we have 'Adar' for 'Adad,' 'ishkum' for 'ishkun' (p. 18), 'Melesian' for 'Miletian' (p. 78), 'Pamphilia' for 'Pamphylia' (p. 88), 'Helita' for 'Melita' (p. 91), 'Deoikes' for 'Deiokes' (p. 109), 'Urz an ashe' for 'Urzan-ash' or rather 'Urzanas' (p. 113), 'Sargartioi' for 'Sagartioi' (p. 123), 'Kekha' for 'Kerkha' (p. 130), 'Mar' for 'Nar' (p. 143). The land of Elli should be Ellip, the supposition that the final *p* is the Elamite suffix *-pi* being devoid of foundation. And the pronominal 'his' is twice used in an ambiguous sense (pp. 82 and 106); in fact, in the first passage it does not refer to Sargon, as Dr. Olmstead's grammar would necessitate, but to Midas. The misprints are doubtless due to Dr. Olmstead's absence from America; he was Thayer Fellow at the American School for Oriental Studies at Jerusalem, and part of his time was occupied in visiting the sites of the cities mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. No better preparation for his historical researches could be imagined; historical criticism is always questionable where the critic is not personally acquainted with the geography of his texts. To his travels we owe, amongst other things, a note which clears up the difficulties connected with the Biblical expression 'entrance of Hamath.' 'The Septuagint on Jud. $3^3$,' says Dr. Olmstead, 'Labo Emath, gives the clue. Libo is not a verbal form, but a proper noun, the Libo of the Antonine Itinerary, 198. 3, and the modern Lebweh, which we visited July 1904.'

There is only one thing wanting in Dr. Olmstead's book, and that is an index.

Yet another volume of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* has appeared, this time from the capable pen of Dr. Radau.[1] It contains facsimiles of the letters addressed to the later kings of the Kassite dynasty of Babylonia, as well as to their higher officials. I have used the term 'facsimiles' deliberately, for the copies of the tablets are more than mere copies, and in accordance with the example first set by Professor Hilprecht, reproduce exactly all the characteristics of the originals. The difficulty of the task can be appreciated only by those who have attempted to copy the inscriptions of the Kassite period, with their badly-formed characters, careless writing, and crumbling clay. The Introduction to the volume is unusually long, and philologically interesting. Transliterations and translations of many of the tablets are given, with copious notes, which discuss, explain, and illustrate the words employed in them. The Introduction has thus been made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Assyrian grammar, and still more of the Assyrian lexicon; and, in view of the importance of the letters and the relation the language of them bears to that of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, it is a welcome feature in the book. I hope it is a feature that will be imitated in future publications; for, as I said years ago, the first duty of the Assyriologist is to translate his texts, and until he does so we are justified in being somewhat sceptical as to his Assyriological attainments.

The letters extend over the period between the reigns of Burna-buryas II. and Kastilias II., and what I may call the first and fourth chapters of the volume are occupied with an attempt to settle the genealogy and chronology of the kings who represented it. The subject is an exceedingly difficult one, and the materials for definitely settling it are not yet in our possession; but Dr. Radau is certainly on the right track in not rejecting or correcting the chronological statements of Nabonidus. It will be time enough to do that when we know a quarter as much about the matter as did the royal antiquary of Babylonia.

Another chapter of the Introduction deals with a subject which has excited a good deal of unnecessary controversy in America, and shows that the archive chambers of Nippur were as much a library as the famous library of Assur-bani-pal at

[1] *Letters to Cassite Kings from the Temple Archives of Nippur* (vol. xvii. part i.), Philadelphia, 1908.

Nineveh. The so-called Temple Library was really a royal library, the temple revenues being administered under the king, who accordingly bore the title of *sakkanakku*, or 'treasurer' (literally, 'he of the sealing') 'of Ellil.' Dr. Radau proves conclusively that 'the lord' to whom so many of the letters are addressed was, as in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, the king.

Among the proper names found in the letters is one which will be interesting to Old Testament scholars. This is Arad-Yau, 'the servant of Yau' or Yahweh, formed on the model of Arad-Marduk, 'the servant of Merodach.' Other West Semitic or Amorite names are also met with:—Bail-Marduk, Pan-Bali, Aziru, and E-Saggil-zuria ('E-Saggil is my rock'). Some of the letters were probably written by West Semites or else by Kassites who were not well acquainted with the Babylonian language; at all events, both grammar and spelling are at times very defective. Naturally, therefore, there is now and then room for differences of opinion as to the translation of the texts. In a letter to the king, for example, from the General Nimgi-sar-ili, I should translate lines 22–24: 'The five chariots which I have made ready that they should defend the fortress are gone on the road ordered by (my) lord,' the verb *sabâtu* signifying 'to bring to a head,' or 'make ready.' *Ummâni raksûti* (p. 109), again, is 'apprentices' rather than 'stipulated workmen,' the verb *rakašu* being used in a similar sense in the Cappadocian tablets, and *asbaku* (p. 138) is 'I am camping' rather than 'campaigning.'

# Contributions and Comments.

## Joseph's 'Coat of many Colours.'

It is generally held that we owe Joseph's 'coat of many colours' to a mistranslation by the LXX of the Hebrew *Kethoneth pasim* (Gn $37^3$). Preference is given to the rendering 'a long garment with sleeves,' such as would be worn by persons of distinction who did not engage in active labour requiring freedom of hands and legs. Such a long tunic 'of palms and soles' (פסים) (as Driver well puts it) was worn in David's time by princesses (2 S $13^{18}$), in contrast to the ordinary tunic which reached only to the knees and was sleeveless.

Now, in Peiser's *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* for August, Dr. Robert Eisler enters a plea in favour of the popular rendering. The Mishnah (*Negaim*, xi, 7) knows a many-coloured summer garment described as a coat of *paspasim*, and the word, according to Dr. Eisler, underlies the *pasim* of the Hebrew text. This arose from the belief that in פספסים we have an initial dittography, and thus the first syllable was struck off under this belief. But the Assyrian *p-as-pa-su* means a bird of bright or many-coloured plumage (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Studien*, 1874, i. p. 105). A coat of many colours would be worn by astrologers; according to Dr. Eisler it is the robe of Tamuz-Attis-Endymion, as he proposes to show in an important forthcoming work on *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*. In support of this he cites Joseph's dream of the sun, moon, and stars, which falls in with the theory admirably. Dr. Eisler thinks further that the alteration from *paspasim* to *pasim* was made intentionally by scribes who wished to eliminate such astrological association from the story of Joseph. But this is not necessary for the point at issue: namely, that after all the old versions were right which saw in Joseph's robe a 'coat of many colours.'

*Cambridge.* I. Abrahams.

## A Certificate of Poverty from the Greek Papyri.

The existence of a poor-rate (μερισμὸς ἀπόρων) in Roman Egypt, by means of which the well-to-do (εὔποροι) contributed to the relief of the poor (ἄποροι), conjectured by Wilcken on the evidence of an Ostrakon of 143 A.D., was pronounced by Mommsen 'too good to be true' (see Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, i. p. 161). It has since, however, been supported by various tax-receipts from the Fayûm (see *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, Nos. 53, 54, 256), and is now strikingly confirmed by the following document published by Dr. F. G. Kenyon and Mr. H. I. Bell in the new volume of

the *British Museum Papyri*, iii. p. 126 f. The document is of the date 149 A.D., and is described by the editors as 'a copy of an official certificate of lack of means, which presumably implied that the person named in it was entitled to poor-relief.'

ἀντίγραφον γραφῆς ἀπόρων
κατα[κε]χωρισμένον ιβ ἔτ(ους)
Ἀντ[ων]εί[νου Καίσ]αρος τοῦ
κυρί[ου], Μεσορὴ ιβ̄.

Δ[ . . . . .]ια [
ἐστι δὲ ἐν ἀπόροις

Πετεσόραπις Πεναῦτος
τοῦ Πετεσόραπις μητρὸς
[ ].

'Copy of a certificate of poverty recorded in the 12th year of Antoninus Cæsar the lord, Mesore 12th (=August 5th).

. . . . . .

'There is among the paupers
'Petesorapis the son of Penaus, the son of Petesorapis, his mother being . . .'

The way is thus paved for the discovery of an application for an old-age pension!

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

*Caputh.*

## The Name 'Yahweh.'

ALL attempts to derive Yahweh (יהוה) from a Hebrew root have fallen back on either הוה (=היה), *to be*, *to become*, or הוה, *to fall* (Hiph.), *to cause to fall*, or הוה, *to breathe*, *to blow*. It is strange that no attempt seems yet to have been made to connect the word with הוה, *to desire*. This meaning is recognized as one of the possible meanings of the root הוה, being developed, it is supposed, from the idea of *breathing* or *panting after*; cf. הַוָּה, *desire*. In Arabic the same root means *to love*, and it is quite possible that this was also one of the meanings of the Hebrew root הוה.

If derived from this root יהוה would mean *He loves, the Loving God.*

How, then, can we explain the use of יהוה in Ex $3^{11\text{-}14}$ and its connexion with אהיה?

It is often said that יהוה is simply the third person of the verb of which אהיה is the first person; but this is not strictly true. Even if we qualify this statement and say that יהוה is simply the third person, *in the archaic form*, of the verb of which אהיה is the first person, the statement asserts too much; for in it we are taking for granted that the verb הוה had exactly the same meaning as in later times היה bore. To say that יהוה and אהוה (in the later meaning of היה) are different persons of the same verb is, in fact, to beg the question. They may both have had the same origin, and yet have differentiated along different lines so that in the time of Moses there may have been two verbs היה and הוה with widely differing meanings; and it is quite conceivable that for אהיה in the phrases אהיה אשר אהיה and אהיה שלחני אליכם we should read אהוה as the original form. The use of יהוה as the *one holy* name of God would sufficiently explain the later disuse of the verb הוה, and because of disuse, the original meaning might easily be lost. It is not difficult to see how in later times אהוה would become אהיה.

The close connexion between the first and third persons in the mind of the original writer is emphasized by the way in which the verb is used in the phrase אהיה שלחני אליכם, and it does not seem to have been generally noted that in view of this close connexion we are quite justified in suggesting that the true reading may be אהוה, and that this is to be translated with the meaning of the real root of הוה, and not that of היה. He who is spoken of as Yahweh (יהוה) must speak of Himself as Ehweh (אהוה) and not as Ehyeh (אהיה).

There is also a strong presumption in favour of this reading in the fact that while the first and third persons are so closely connected, there is no *apparent attempt at derivation* in the passage. In other cases where a name is derived from a root of similar sound there are explanatory clauses which draw attention to the fact that a derivation is suggested. Here there is nothing of the kind. The writer uses the words *as if they were from the same form*, and yet in the *present text* they are *not the same form*. It is not unreasonable to suggest, then, that in the original text they were the same form, and this is *quite apart from any view of what the meaning of* הוה *may be.*

Reading, then, אהוה and translating according to the derivation suggested above, אהוה אשר אהוה

would mean *I love that which I love*, or *That which I love, I love*, 'I am everlasting love, I am love that never changes, that never dies.' אהוה שלחני אליכם would mean, '*I love*,' (*the Loving God*) *hath sent me to you.*

In Ex $3^{12}$ the phrase כי אהיה עמך might at first sight appear to tell against this interpretation, but it does not really do so. Up to this point in the narrative there is no question of the *name*, and here אהיה is simply from the verb היה with its usual meaning, 'I will certainly be with thee.' The question of the name does not come up till v.$^{14}$.

Does the name *the Loving God* suit the circumstances of its promulgation and the position taken in other parts of the Old Testament with regard to the relation existing between Yahweh and Israel? Most certainly it does. It is not as *Creator* or as the *Self-Existent God*, or as the *God of the Storm*, or as the God *who causes* anything *to descend*, that Yahweh is introduced to the people by Moses. Yahweh is the God of their fathers, the God who having had relations with their fathers cannot cast them off—whose love standeth firm, and who is now about to take them as His own people from among all the peoples of the earth. He will be their God, and they shall be His people, and no name by which God was known could better express this condescending *love* than the name Yahweh, the *Loving God*. The idea expressed by Love is not too abstract; it is concrete, yet it is a moral, ethical love such as is supposed to be expressed by the name 'Wudd,' as used formerly in Arabia. It may well have been an ancient name for God common among the forefathers of Israel and other Semitic peoples before the time of Moses.

Such a meaning, further, consists with the whole line of Yahweh's self-revelation of Himself in history and through the prophets. It consists with the claim of Yahweh on the people. They are to love Him as well as serve Him. In fact, their service is to be shown by *love*. Thou shalt love Yahweh thy God. They are to love Him because He has loved them.

It consists with the 'proclamation of the Divine name on Sinai' (Ex $34^{5-7}$). 'Yahweh, Yahweh, a God merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear (the guilty); visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children's children, unto the third and fourth (generation).'

In this we have both sides of the Divine Love. On the one side Yahweh is merciful and forgiving, on the other side Yahweh is a *jealous* God. But we must note that that *jealousy* as attributed to Yahweh is simply the counterpart of His Love. His Love is ethical, moral; it is not simply an indulgent indifference, and His *jealousy* is only the demand that what is due to Love on the part of those loved is given; cf. Song of Songs, 'Love is strong as death, Jealousy is hard as the grave' ($8^{6}$). Here Love and Jealousy are not contrasted, they are different aspects of the same affection.

The theme of the whole Old Testament may, in one sense, be said to be Yahweh's unchanging Love for Israel. 'Because he loved thy fathers' . . . (Dt $4^{37}$); 'Because Yahweh loved you . . .' (Dt $7^{8}$). The whole book of Hosea is simply an expression of Yahweh's love, and in chap. $11^{1}$ the prophet refers specially to this time (the Exodus) as the time when Yahweh first manifested His love to Israel as a nation: 'When Israel was a child then I loved him.'

To quote passages from the other prophets is unnecessary. If we can accept this proposed derivation of *Yahweh* (יהוה), what a light it throws on the whole history of Israel and the teaching of the prophets; and how it falls in line with the full manifestation of the Father's love as made known to us in the New Testament!

W. R. W. Gardner.

*Zeitoun, Egypt.*

## Matthew xii. 19—Isaiah xlii. 2.

The relation of this quotation to its original, especially the origin of the verb ἐρίσει, has hitherto been a puzzle. Th. Zahn, who is, of all commentators at my disposal, the most accurate and explicit, says: 'Of the three verbs in Mt $5^{19}$ the first (ἐρίσει) does not correspond to any of the three verbs in the Hebrew text; the second in Matthew (κραυγάσει) corresponds to the first in Hebrew (יצעק); while the second in Hebrew (ישא) remained untranslated in Matthew.' Of these three statements only the middle is correct—that the second verb in Matthew corresponds to the first in

Hebrew; the first and third statements of Zahn are wrong. In fact, as the second verb in Matthew corresponds to the first in Hebrew, so does his first, ἐρίσει, correspond to the second in Hebrew. But how? and how can this be proved?

Take the Syriac Version of Isaiah and you will read there לא נקעא ולא נריב, 'he will not cry nor *be loud*.'

Take the oldest Syriac Version of Matthew (*Curetonianus* and *Sinaiticus*, as edited by Burkitt), and you will find in Syriac not a single letter different, and as its translation, 'He shall not cry out nor *strive*.'

Now that the Syriac נריב in Isaiah is the translation of ישא is proved by Nu 17[1] (ותשא=אריבת); and there is not the slightest doubt that in Matthew it translates ἐρίσει. Syriac רוב means mostly 'to be loud, noisy,' but also 'to be quarrelsome'; but that ἐρίσει is a direct translation of Hebrew ישא is not likely. We must therefore, it seems, conclude that in a Semitic Matthew the root רוב was used in the sense 'to be loud,' and afterwards translated into Greek by ἐρίζειν.

If this equation ἐρίζειν=רוב=נשא be correct, the consequences are great: for then it follows that between the Hebrew prophet and our Greek first Gospel an Aramaic Gospel stands in the middle.

EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

## Acts vii. 53.

THE expression εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων has caused difficulties (see R.V. margin). The rendering of the A.V. may go back to the Latin Vulgate 'in-*dispositione* angelorum,' where, however, the correct reading is 'in dispositione*m*.'

The late Professor Blass remarked: 'εἰς διαταγὰς *non potest differre ab* ἐν διαταγαῖς,' and he justly quotes Gal 3[12], 'νόμος . . . διαταγεὶς δι' ἀγγελων'; He 2[2], 'ὁ δι' ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος.'

It has been overlooked hitherto that εἰς διαταγὰς merely represents the Hebrew בְּיַד or בִּידֵי 'through the hand' or 'hands,' *i.e.* the mediation of angels. This is shown by 2 Ch 23[18]: Vulgate, 'iuxta *dispositionem* David'=LXX διὰ χειρὸς Δαυείδ=Hebrew עַל־יְדֵי דָּוִיד. Further, Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* iv.1, *in die quo arripui* dispositionem *eorum* =LXX ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν. It is gratifying and surprising to find the same linguistical usage in Tertullian and Jerome. Whether the expression εἰς διαταγὰς favours the supposition of a Semitic original for the speech of Stephen is a question which it is more easy to ask than to answer. Having written so much, I turn to the Syriac version of Acts and find there the very בְּיַד which I had suggested, with the addition of פוקדנא 'the command.' EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

# In the Study.

**Hastings's Single-Volume Dictionary of the Bible.**

The Single-Volume Dictionary is now about to be published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark. It has been longer on the way than was anticipated. But not a moment has been lost. The labour spent upon it has been very great. And then it is a large book. It contains more than a single volume of the five-volume Dictionary, considerably more. And every statement in it has been subjected to the closest scrutiny.

**Stop Press.**

Some books, too late for review this month, should be mentioned.

Mr. G. H. Box has written a Commentary on Isaiah. The publishers are Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons.

Messrs. Constable have found so great encouragement in the sale of their series on the Religions, that they have begun a Philosophical Series to stand beside it. The earliest volumes are *Scholasticism* by the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J., and *Comte and Mill* by Thomas Whittaker (1s. net. each).

In *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea*, the Rev. John Rutherfurd, B.D., provides a new translation and commentary for the Epistle to the Colossians, and discusses the relation of that epistle to the Epistle to the Ephesians (T. & T. Clark, 6s. net).

The same publishers issue Professor J. Arthur

Thomson's Bross Lectures on *The Bible of Nature* (4s. 6d. net). There are few who can command the English language as Professor Thomson can.

Lastly, a new book by Professor Peake, published by Messrs. Duckworth (2s. 6d. net). Its title is *Christianity, its Nature and its Truth.*

**The International Scientific Series.**

We are still occupied with the reconciliation of Theology and Science. It is true there are those who in this matter count themselves righteous and despise others. On the one hand, they say that theology, not being a science, cannot be reconciled with science; and, on the other hand, that science, until it is really science, that is knowledge and not merely guesses at knowledge, cannot be reconciled with theology, which is *Scientia Scientiarum*, the science above all others. These Pharisees have nearly had their day. Theology recognizes science, and science admits at least a bowing acquaintance with theology. Thus that exhilarating mental exercise, the reconciliation of theology and science, has received the benediction of popularity, and we are likely to be occupied with it for some time to come.

But the discovery has just been made that those who reconcile science with theology should know something of theology, and those who wish to reconcile theology with science should know something of science. The knowledge may not help the reconciliation. We have sometimes seen that the less the knowledge, the more has been the confidence in the particular theory put forward. But, help it or hinder it, no one can deny that it is a reasonable suggestion. And it does not involve impossibilities. For there are now many competent and accessible books in theology written in the language of the present century, and there are many authoritative and untechnical books in science that are within the reach of even the well-starved preacher of the gospel.

We have been asked to name some recent books in Science which a preacher can rely on. We have gathered together the volumes of the two most popular series, the International Scientific Series and the Contemporary Science Series. This time we shall speak of the former.

This year the International Scientific Series has reached its ninety-second volume. The series began in 1873 with Tyndall's *Forms of Water*, and began well. For the book was written by one who at the time ran Huxley hard for the first place in popular distrust and popular affection; it handled a subject which its author had mastered; and it was written in a style of English which then had great fascination for ordinary readers, its sentences being short, its adjectives strong, and its assertions acknowledging no exception. There were men and women who travelled in Switzerland because Tyndall's *Forms of Water* had made them in love with glaciers.

After Tyndall came Walter Bagehot with *Physics and Politics*, an unpromising title also, for the editor had not yet discovered the use of titles; but the name was promising and the style provoking. Edward Smith's *Foods*, and Bain's *Mind and Body* followed, and then came Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology*.

That was the book that set the International Scientific Series on its feet. It is strange to think of it. It will seem yet more strange twenty years hence. But biographies and autobiographies have much to answer for.

The thirteenth volume was Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science.* The book was fiercely polemical, and it stirred much heat, in which the publishers rejoiced. Berkeley's *Fungi* followed, a cooling draught. Steadily now there came volume after volume, the real purpose of the series being more firmly adhered to, science and not controversy. Those to be named are Whitney's *Life and Growth of Language*, Norman Lockyer's *Studies in Spectrum Analysis*, Bain's *Education as a Science*, Quatrefages' *The Human Species*, Huxley's *The Crayfish*, James Sully's *Illusions*, Lord Avebury's *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, Romanes' *Animal Intelligence*, Sheldon Amos's *Science of Politics*, Milne's *Earthquakes*, Abercromby's *Weather*, and Poulton's *Colours of Animals.*

Then there was a pause. And after that the series began again. The more recent volumes are more strictly scientific, more physically scientific, than the average of the earlier. But it is just such volumes as Stebbing's *Crustacea*, Wallis Kew's *Dispersal of Shells*, Henslow's *Plant Structures in Relation to their Environment*, Lord Avebury's *Seedlings*, Trowbridge's *Electricity*, and Binet's *The Mind and the Brain*, which give the theologian that knowledge he requires, popular enough to enable him to get the good of it, yet technical enough to prevent him from fancying that he has mastered it.

But there are more directly useful books. Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography* is an almost indispensable introduction to the study of the Papyri, now occupying so many of us so profitably. Lefèvre's *Race and Language* is just as necessary to the student of Philology, and it is a very triumph of simplicity. No musical enthusiast is ignorant of the existence of Sir Hubert Parry's *The Art of Music*, but not every enthusiast has yet discovered the necessity of a knowledge of the science of his art. Vincent's *Elements of Hypnotism* handles a subject which always retains its fascination. Less alluring but much more valuable is the volume on *Memory* by Dr. Edridge-Green. There is an amazing amount of quackery at work in suggesting remedies for a bad memory. The business of life is not how to pick up a good memory, but how to subordinate the memory to the imagination, how to use the past fact for present character-building.

The latest volumes of the series are Le Bon's *The Evolution of Forces*, and Makower's *Radioactive Substances*. They are both filled with such physical facts as the preacher, if he has mastered the facts and can cast them into the melting-pot of his imagination, will be able to use with effect in the way of illustration and the enlightening of the eyes.

### Wild Wheat in Palestine.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for October of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Mr. Macalister has a note on the discovery of wild wheat in Palestine and the importance of it. He says: 'In the *Berichten der Deutschen Botanischen Gesellschaft* for 1908, vol. xxvi.*a*, part iv., appears an interesting paper by Dr. G. Schweinfurth on the discovery of wild wheat (*Triticum dicoccoides*) in Palestine, by Herr A. Aaronsohn, of Haifa. A single plant, found some fifty years ago at Rashaya, on Mount Hermon, by Theodor Kotschy, and deposited in the Herbarium at Vienna, had been identified by Professor Körnicke, the eminent authority on cereals, as a primitive form of the plant: but the identification has been disputed, and others had explained this one known specimen as a degenerate, escaped from cultivation. The rediscovery of the plant by Herr Aaronsohn in numerous parts of Palestine has, in the opinion of experts, completely established the hypothesis of Körnicke. The plant has been found in the neighbourhood of *Khan Jubb Yusif*, on the way to Ṣafed; on the east side of *Jebel Kina'an*; round *Ja'ûneh*; between Mejdel and 'Arni, on Mount Hermon; and in considerable quantity and extent over the land of Gilead. An important observation is made that this plant grows *only* on rocky places, where there is little depth of earth. It has been found on Jurassic Limestone and Dolomite, Nubian Sandstone, Dolomitic Limestone, Lower Eocene, and Basalt, but not on soft chalk, gravel, or conglomerate.

'The importance of this discovery is twofold. If the newly-found plant be the original stock from which cultivated wheat was artificially developed, then the origin of wheat-culture must be looked for, *not* in a rich alluvial basin like Mesopotamia or Egypt, but in some stony country; for there, alone, the original plant seems to grow. On the rich soils of the plains and valleys of Palestine the plant appears to be absolutely unknown, though common enough in the more uninviting regions, where it is always found associated with wild barley (*Hordeum spontaneum*). This is, evidently, a fact of far-reaching archæological importance. Secondly, there is, of course, a practical side to the discovery; for, given the original material from which primeval agriculturists developed the wheat-plant, it may be expected that with modern scientific methods of culture yet greater results may be attained in developing the material than have been attained hitherto.'

### For Christ's Life on Earth.

The man who prepares a bibliography and does it well earns the right to be called Benefactor. The Rev. Samuel Gardiner Ayres, B.D., Librarian of Drew Theological Seminary, has prepared a Bibliography of the greatest subject of all, and has called it *Jesus Christ our Lord* (New York: Armstrong; $3.90). He has divided his subject into sections, beginning with the Pre-existence of Christ and ending with a Devotional Miscellany. Within each section the works are arranged alphabetically by the author's name; and before the list begins a few books are selected for special recommendation. The date and place of publication are given in every instance; then the work is completed with a Subject Index and an Index of Authors. Working slowly through it we have found as yet but a single mistake. On page 366 James Hamilton Thom is misprinted James

Hamilton Thorn. Evidently Mr. Ayres is an ideal bibliographer.

Now let us quote his recommendations for Christ's life on earth:

Andrews, for chronology and a broad view.

Edersheim, for his great grasp of the subject and use of Rabbinical sources.

Geikie, for the same reason, to which is added an excellent style.

Fairbairn, for his grouping and discussions.

Sanday, Stalker, and Rhees, for their suggestiveness and conciseness.

Weiss, for his liberal evangelical spirit, and also as a representative of the best German orthodoxy of the day.

David Smith, for his understanding of the human.

Matheson, for his deep spiritual insight.

Whyte, for his brilliancy.

**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. Morland Whaling, Harrisburg, Texas, to whom a copy of Macgregor's *Jesus Christ the Son of God* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for December must be received by the 1st of November. The text is Dt $32^{11.12}$.

The Great Text for January is Dt $33^{25}$—

> Thy bars shall be iron and brass;
> And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.

A copy of Dykes's *Christian Minister and his Duties*, or of Graham's *Grammar of Philosophy*, will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for February is Dt $33^{27}$—

> The eternal God is thy dwelling-place,
> And underneath are the everlasting arms.

A copy of Dykes's *Christian Minister* or any volume of 'The Scholar as Preacher' Series will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for March is Dt $34^{5.6}$—'So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' A copy of Barton's *Ecclesiastes* or Chadwick's *Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for April is Rev $1^{5.6}$—'Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood; and he made us to be a kingdom, to be priests unto his God and Father; to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.' A copy of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* or Rutherfurd's *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

**Books Wanted and Offered.**

We have often been urged to give facilities for the exchange of books, and we have resolved to make the experiment. Books wanted to buy, and books offered for sale, will be inserted free, but the Editor will exercise his judgment as to their insertion. A stamp for re-posting must be sent with every offer to buy or sell. All correspondence must be direct to the Editor's address, St. Cyrus, Montrose, Scotland, not to the publishing offices.

BOOKS WANTED.

*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Nos. 1 to 7.
*Journal of Philology*, No. 10. (IV.)
*Notes and Queries*, the first five series in publisher's cloth, and any Indexes. ——— (V.)

No. 2 or No. 26 of the *Journal of Theological Studies*. ——— (VI.)

Moulton's Grammar of N.T. Greek, vol. i.
Burkitt's Gospel History and its Transmission.
Thayer's Grimm's N.T. Greek Lexicon.
Swete's LXX (3 vols.).
Adamnan's St. Columba (Fowler's edition). (VII.)

Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Charles' Book of Enoch. (VIII.)

BOOKS OFFERED.

*Expository Times*, vol. I., 12 Nos., unbound, clean, 3s. 6d. ——— (E)

*Hibbert Journal*, Nos. 1 to 20, clean, with Tables and Contents, 15s. ——— (F)

Wace's Christianity and Agnosticism (pub. 10s. 6d. net.), 3s.
The Great Reconciliation, by Edward Seeley (pub. 7s. 6d.), 2s. 6d.
Henslow's Present Day Rationalism (pub. 6s.), 3s. (G)

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

'With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer' (Lk $22^{15}$). On these words there are two notes in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for last quarter. The first note is by Professor Burkitt, the second by Mr. A. E. Brooke.

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The words have a pathetic sound. Is this due to the words themselves, or to their meaning? Their form is ancient, in the Greek as well as in the English. 'With desire I have desired'—so the ancient Hebrews said when they would express an eager desire. And sometimes we have had it so translated in English, as in Gn $22^{17}$, 'In blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed.' But oftener by far we have had the emphasis laid on an adverb. In Gn $16^{10}$ the Hebrew again is 'multiplying I will multiply thy seed,' but the English is 'I will multiply thy seed exceedingly.' Here, however, the quaint Hebrew form of speech happily had to be retained, for it has been retained in the Greek.

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Is the pathos in the quaintness of the language? It is usually understood to be. For it is usually understood that our Lord did eat that Passover with His disciples. But Professor Burkitt believes that there is deeper pathos in the meaning than in the words. For he believes that Jesus did not eat that Passover. He believes that, passionate as His desire had been, His hour came before the Passover could be eaten.

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And Mr. Brooke agrees with him. Mr. Brooke has seen Professor Burkitt's paper, and declares that he is altogether in agreement with it, three or four years having passed since he came to the same conclusion. He has therefore little to add beyond the textual evidence. But the textual evidence is of great importance.

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For if it is true that Christ did not eat of the Passover; if it is true that the Last Supper was not the Passover Supper, but a separate meal on an evening before the Passover, then the testimony of St. Luke agrees with the testimony of St. John, and one of the greatest controversies in all the history of the Church must be re-opened.

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Professor Burkitt and Mr. Brooke both hold firmly (though as yet they confess that they are in a minority of two) that the Last Supper, according to St. Luke's account of it, was not the Passover. And when Mr. Brooke examines the evidence of the text, he comes to the conclusion that St Luke's original statement was afterwards altered to make it fit into the Synoptic tradition. 'May we not, therefore, add Lk $22^{15.16}$ to the indications, considerable in number, that the so-called Synoptic view of the Last Supper is not the view which lies

behind, or is presupposed by, the earliest forms of the tradition which they embody? It may be incorrect to speak of the Fourth Gospel as "correcting" a Synoptic mistake. It has at any rate preserved more clearly the truer tradition.'

We recall a word spoken by Professor Sanday a good many years ago, we cannot tell where, in reference to this very question. His word was in the form of a caution. To those who used St. John's account of the Last Supper to discredit the trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel, Dr. Sanday said they could not be sure that the tradition embodied in the Fourth Gospel might not yet be proved to be the true tradition.

It is reported that there is in the University of Glasgow in these days a fine flourishing agnosticism. Its origin is subject of dispute. But it is there. It is there in quite vigorous and almost insolent growth.

In the University of Glasgow there is also some Christianity. Now it has ever been the way with Christianity when it found itself menaced by agnosticism to 'apologize' for itself. Not apologetically. The fine old name of 'apology' has been permitted to descend from its high place and join the company of poor relations. When the Christianity of the University of Glasgow discovered that it was regarded as a mere antiquity, it formed itself into the Society of St. Ninian and began to deliver its apology.

The Society of St. Ninian engaged distinguished lecturers, who delivered lectures in the University throughout the winter session. It engaged the Rev. G. A. Johnston Ross of Cambridge, the Rev. Father W. J. Crofton, S.J., of Glasgow, the Rev. Canon Macculloch of Portree, the Rev. P. A. Gordon Clark of Perth, and others. And among the others it engaged Mr. John M. Robertson, M.P., of London.

Now Mr. John M. Robertson is the most successful apologist, not for Christianity but for agnosticism, in the present day. He is successful because he is so unhesitatingly unscrupulous. The word is not used offensively. There are those who have scruples and are defeated. Mr. Robertson has no scruples and he is nearly always victorious. Was the Society of St. Ninian twitted with timidity? Were they told that their lecturers would say what they were expected to say? Or was it simply that for one lecture they determined to hear the other side? We cannot tell, but they invited Mr. John M. Robertson. Mr. Robertson readily accepted the invitation, and lectured on 'Comparative Hierology and the Claims of Revelation.'

What is Comparative Hierology? It is simply Mr. Robertson's name for Comparative Religion. It is a better name. It is better for Mr. Robertson's purpose. Comparative Religion seems to say that there is some reality about Religion. Comparative Hierology says nothing of the kind. Rather does it delicately suggest that all Religion is Hierology, a mere theory and probably a false one.

For Mr. Robertson's purpose was to show that the study of Comparative Religion destroys the claims of Revelation. And without scruple he boldly began by saying that it had done so in the past. He said that in the past whenever a nation came in contact with another religion than its own (the ancient way of studying Comparative Religion) there was a tendency either to variation of belief or else to scepticism. And he quoted examples.

Mr. Robertson always quotes examples. And when he has made a statement and has quoted a certain number of examples in support of it, he passes to another statement. He takes it for granted that you admit the truth of the first statement, and he uses it as the starting-point for the second. It is therefore necessary when you listen

to Mr. Robertson to hold his statement in suspense till you have considered his examples.

Now examples are nothing but statistics. And statistics may be used to prove anything. Here Mr. Robertson's examples are cleverly chosen, as they always are. For he has a good working knowledge of history, and he takes notes as he goes. His examples are cleverly chosen for his purpose. But he gives no hint of the fact that the Jews came in contact with the religion of Babylonia and became more exclusive (Mr. Robertson himself would say more bigoted) than before. He does not mention that afterwards they came in contact with the Persians and were confirmed in their exclusiveness. Nor does he remind us that when the Greeks used every art and every effort to hellenize them, they remained Jews still, earnestly waiting for the Consolation of Israel and nourishing in their bosom a highly exclusive Phariseeism.

Why does Mr. Robertson affirm that the study of Comparative Religion will make sceptics of us? To frighten us from it? It may be so. For if we were to become students of Comparative Religion, his present advantage over us would be lost. It is on the supposition that he knows Comparative Religion better than we do that he comes to lecture us. It is because we know so little about it that he is so successful as a lecturer.

The lectures which were delivered before the Glasgow University Society of St. Ninian last winter have been gathered into a volume. The title of the volume is *Religion and the Modern Mind* (Hodder & Stoughton; 5s.). Principal Macalister contributes an introduction. The first lecture in the book is written by the Rev. G. A. Johnston Ross, who calls his lecture 'The Religionist and the Scientist.'

These are ugly words. But Mr. Ross cannot help it. For his purpose is to deal not with things, but with persons. He is to try, not to reconcile science and religion, but to show what is the attitude of a minister of religion in the present time to a student of science. He conceives of his relation to his 'brother the student and exponent of science' under four aspects.

The first aspect is Independence. He and his 'brother' have both to deal with facts, but their facts are different. 'The scientist's facts are external, mine internal. The scientist's facts are natural, mine moral. He speaks of his facts in the language of mechanism: I of mine in the language of freedom. He deals with courses and sequences of phenomena: I with origins, purpose, and destiny.'

The facts are different, but both are facts. 'If the scientific man says, "This room was swept with a broom," I as religionist am saying as real a thing when I say, "This room was swept with a purpose"; or again, that if a man commits a murder, his guilty conscience is as real as the corpse of the person he has murdered.'

The next aspect is Comradeship. For though the religionist and the scientist are at work in independent spheres of fact, they are both at work. There is Comradeship in that. If they could finish their work they would see that the facts of the one sphere are not really independent of the facts of the other sphere. But they will never see their work finished. And just because they cannot see it finished here, let each of them recognize that the work of the other may be a true portion of the finished whole.

They are also comrades in discipline. For they have both been guilty of mistake and they have both been tried by misfortune. The facts are more, and more unmanageable, in both spheres of work than either worker ever dreamed. But both are sustained by hope. 'For the more we know of the universe, the more numerous become the suggestions of order, and the more excitingly near

do we seem to come to a satisfactory demonstration that the whole system is one rational unity.'

The third aspect is Debtorship. It is debtorship on the side of the religionist. Have there been changes in the presentation of religion, and have they been for the better? We owe it to science far more than to criticism or philosophy. We owe to science three new emphases in theology, to be expressed by the words Unity, Law, Progress.

The word 'Unity' is now heard with frequency on the theologian's lips. He owes that to the frequency with which the scientist insists on the uniformity of nature. The theologian speaks much of the Unity of God now. And here Mr. Ross quotes Professor Gwatkin. 'What we mean,' says Professor Gwatkin, 'by saying that the physical universe is governed by general laws, is that knowledge is impossible unless the whole system is at least a rational unity, whatever else it may be. And this means that if force be its moving power, there must be one force and no more: and if God, there must be one God and no more.' 'It is to that last sentence,' says Mr. Ross, 'that I desire to draw your attention. Science has proclaimed aloud its monodynamism: theology has overheard, and has been startled into a new understanding of its own monotheism.'

And the new emphasis on the unity of God is accompanied by a new sense of the unity and solidarity of the human race—a truth without which, as Mazzini said, there is no religion. The immediate open effect has been 'kindlier international relationships, saner and more intelligent views of the responsibility for Christian missions, wider appreciation of the value and responsibilities of grouped lives, and especially (that which so ministers to-day to hope in the sphere of theology) an expectant and docile observation of developments of thought and life in the Far East.' Is that all? There is also a new systematic theology. For out of our theology have been driven those ideas of election and reprobation, of distinctions among men and nations, 'distinctions which an over-confident thought in earlier generations traced even up to the eternal councils of God.'

The next debt which the religionist owes to the scientist is the emphasis on Law. At first this emphasis seems to widen the gulf of separation, not to close it. For the emphasis upon law may almost be called the *differentia* of science, while the *differentia* of religion is the emphasis on freedom. Science deals with facts and consequences in the natural sphere and emphasizes retribution. Religion deals with moral acts and their consequences, and has staked, and rightly staked, her whole existence on the possibility of forgiveness.

Mr. Ross does not attempt to reconcile these two voices. He is concerned for the moment with religion only. He is speaking of the debt which religion owes to science, not science to religion. And he says that the emphasis which science puts on Law has made it no longer possible to speak of forgiveness in the way it was formerly spoken of. 'I assert that there were whole vast areas of evangelical religion where a conception of forgiveness was prevalent, which simply would not square with the facts of life, and where, for need of such a corrective as science has furnished, there was the most appalling blindness to these facts, with the inevitable stream of consequences to public morality.'

The third item of debt is Progress. 'We are all evolutionists now.' And being evolutionists now, we have a new view of Holy Scripture, of its history, and of its doctrine, and of its relation to secular history and doctrine. And we have a new view of Christ. 'Confined within human limits,' says Mr. Ross, 'He is the stultification of the calculations of evolutionists; viewed as our moral natures direct us to view Him, He is the goal and crown of the evolutionary process in the history of man.'

But the debt is not all on one side; and so, in the end of his lecture, Mr. Ross discusses the last aspect in which he views his relation as a Christian minister to his brother the exponent of science. That aspect he calls Benefactorship.

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Now the benefits which religion has conferred upon science have not been so much considered, and it must be confessed that they are not so easily set forth, as the benefits which science has conferred upon religion. They require to be worked up. Perhaps the best beginning would be made with the confessions of scientists themselves. But the confessions of men like Lord Kelvin need systematizing, perhaps also verification. It is a fruitful field, but not easy to labour in. All that Mr. Ross attempts to do is to show that however the scientist, *qua* scientist, may confine himself to 'natural' facts, as man he has also moral experiences to deal with, experiences which he cannot escape from, and which continually impinge upon questions of origin, purpose, and destiny.

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These experiences are not less real, and they are not less important, than the external facts of nature. And it is because the minister of religion has a message for the scientist fitted to meet his spiritual discontent, 'a message to hearten him in the midst of these nameless faintings of *faith in life* which come to the believer and unbeliever alike; to quiet, if not to explain, turbulent moods of the spirit, which, in all, tend to overset the balance of self-poise in the face of life's troubles; to nourish and respond to aspirations, without the uplift of which life were a poor and jejune thing; to fortify and prepare, not so much for death as for judgment, of which last the unbeliever has as definite an instinct as the Christian has; and, finally, to transmute into a glad certainty, through Jesus Christ, his hopeful guesses about immortality'—it is because he has such a message that the minister of religion speaks of benefactorship, and claims that in his intercourse with the scientist he has far more to give than to receive.

'Is it not the very defect of so many sermons that they follow already well-trodden tracks?' The question is asked by a distinguished Swiss scholar, Professor Bertholet of Basel. It is asked in his own delightful English, which has evidently been printed exactly as it was received by the editor of the *Homiletic Review*. It is asked in the course of an article in that preachers' monthly for October.

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Professor Bertholet is right. This is the very defect of so many sermons. There is no defect so damaging. And even the preacher of the sermons is sometimes dimly suspicious of it. But what is he to do? Where is the man who will show the preacher how to leave the well-trodden tracks?

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Professor Bertholet undertakes to show the way. He has written his article for that very purpose. He is a preacher himself. He is more frequently a hearer than a preacher, and on that account he has felt more crushingly the weariness of the well-trodden track. But he is also a preacher, and he has found that his studies in other religions than Christianity have given unbounded pleasure to himself, and when used in the pulpit, as he has been able to use them, 'have led his hearers in paths which for them have all the charm of novelty.'

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But Dr. Bertholet does not reach this matter of the well-trodden track all at once. The title of his article is 'The Value of the History of Religions for Preachers.' He finds other values for the preacher in the study of the religious life of the world besides the charm of novelty that may be introduced into the sermon.

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The other religions of the world contain some grains of truth. Let us save the truth whenever we find it, however buried and distorted. And Professor Bertholet thinks that even if we hold the strictest doctrine of revelation, we need not be behind the Swiss Reformer. 'Truth,' said Zwingli,

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'wherever found and by whomsoever uttered, takes its origin from the Holy Ghost, the well from which Plato drank and Seneca drew water.'

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But this is dangerous ground. We are still sensitive to the exclusiveness of Christianity. Very naively, almost amusingly, Dr. Bertholet shakes his head at Bileam (as he spells the name of the Seer), and says 'his words, that the Israelites shall dwell alone, must be taken *cum grano salis*.' But we have scarcely left Balaam's point of view yet. Not for the sake of Judaism, of course, but of Christianity. Professor Bertholet thinks that Christianity has dwelt alone too long. But it is delicate ground to walk on.

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With his second argument he is out of danger. He says that other religions should be studied in order that they may be combated and conquered. Especially by missionaries. And then he quotes Dr. Paul Carus. 'Missionaries,' says Dr. Carus, 'are religious ambassadors. Their duty consists not only in the propagation of their own religion, but also in the acquisition of a perfect comprehension of the religion of those peoples to whom they are sent; and Christians can justly pride themselves on the fact that all their great missionaries, such men as Duff, Judson, Hardy, Beal, Legge, and others, every one in his field, did an enormous amount of work which served to widen our own knowledge of the religious views that prevail in India, Ceylon, Burmah, and China.'

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It is time Professor Bertholet had come to the preacher. What can the study of religion do for the preacher who is neither a professional theologian, compelled to adjust his doctrine of revelation, nor a missionary compelled to know the religion he has come to destroy? It can do two things for him.

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First, the study of other religions will enable him the better to understand and appreciate his own. And, next, it will show him how his own religion, or at least his own comprehension of it, may be both strengthened and deepened. For where is the attack upon Christianity made to-day? It is made from the side of Comparative Religion. Christianity, we are told, is a syncretistic religion. It is made up of elements culled from the other religions of the world. Well, we must meet that. An uneasy denial, uneasy on account of our conscious ignorance, is worse than useless, it is treacherous. Now, Christianity came out of Judaism. And what was Judaism?

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Whatever it was originally—and on that some astonishing light has been cast by the excavations of Mr. Macalister at Gezer—it is certain that before the inheritance passed to Christianity it had adopted elements from Babylonia from Persia and from Greece, if not from others besides. We cannot at present tell what Judaism was. And the reason why we cannot tell is that we cannot fix the amount or the proportion of its ingredients. Says Professor Sellin: 'The religion of the Old Testament in the framework of the other religions of the Ancient East—that is the problem which now occupies Old Testament science, the problem which has at once put all the others in the background, and to which all comprehensive representations of the Old Testament religion, as well as all detailed investigations, have to be directed if they are to be up to date.'

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Did Judaism, then, entertain strangers so hospitably, and did Christianity at once put an end to the entertainment? The claim would not be worth making if it could be made. But it can no longer be made. Professor Bertholet speaks of certain Christian customs as 'survivals.' He can do so now without offence. For we know now that they are survivals, and we can trace their origin and their affinities in Greek or Roman or other pagan religion. More than that, Professor Bertholet says, 'it is quite surprising how much light is to be obtained from the history of Vedic or Muhammadan theology for a full comprehension of Christian ideas about the inspiration of Holy Scripture.'

Again, the study of other religions opens the preacher's eyes to the originality and particular value of his own. For the true nature of anything, says Professor Bertholet, can be recognized only by comparison. Only by setting it beside other precious stones can we see the eminence of the diamond. And then he refers to his own experience. 'I may speak by my own experience. In my *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (1908) I have endeavoured to render non-Christian sacred texts accessible to a larger circle of readers. The point of view from which their selection has been made was not, it is true, that of their beauty, but of their fitness for rendering comprehensible the religions which they are destined to illustrate. But the more I plunged into them, the more it struck me how much the Bible—not of course every part of it, but taken as a whole—excels them. And if in some papers I have tried to sketch the superiority of Christianity over them, this was the very result of my closer occupation with Buddhism.'

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It is quite true that on the part of certain members of Christian countries there is a movement at present in the direction of embracing Buddhism. And an active Buddhistic propaganda has begun on European soil. But what does that signify? It signifies that the preacher has neglected to study Buddhism for himself and to tell others what it is. These persons are ignorant of Buddhism. That is why they embrace it. And Professor Bertholet is not afraid to say that they are merely toying with it, and indulging the latest freak of fashion.

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It is then that Professor Bertholet comes to the value of the study of Comparative Religion for the pulpit. It is not in the way of illustration merely, though he gives illustrations. It is still more in the new and larger outlook, the new emphasis, the new proportion, and even the new and welcome vocabulary. 'At the Congress of the History of Religions at Basel,' says Professor Bertholet '(the previous gathering to that just held at Oxford), a Parsi high priest from Bombay asked me to recommend him some books of Protestant sermons, as he wished to oppose the traditionalism in the present manner of preaching among the Parsis, and hoped that new life would be given to it by means of non-Parsi homiletical literature.'

# The Bearing of Criticism upon the Gospel History.

By the Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford.

## I.

[The papers which follow are the substance of two lectures delivered in the summer of this year; and the lecture form has been retained. The full title of the lectures (which, it may be explained, was not of the writer's choosing) was 'The Bearing of Criticism on (1) the Events of the Gospel History, and (2) the Belief in the Divinity of our Lord.' It might perhaps be expected that the lectures would include the discussion of some burning questions, such as the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection. But the omission of these subjects was deliberate; partly from a desire to avoid anything at all sensational, and partly because the lectures were addressed to students, and their purpose was not so much to supply cut-and-dried conclusions as to suggest a method and attitude. When the time comes, I shall be prepared to deal as well as I can with all parts of the Gospel History; but my belief is that the particular questions I have mentioned are best reserved till the last. A somewhat prolonged suspension of judgement is, I conceive, to be encouraged rather than otherwise, in order that when the decision is made it may be made with the total mass of the

facts behind it and not merely the few that lie nearest to the surface. At the same time I have, in the second lecture, discussed more directly the one great premiss which affects the estimate of everything connected with the Gospels.

The lectures, as I have said, were addressed to students, for all of whom it was not possible to assume a high degree of knowledge. It was therefore perhaps inevitable that they should cover a certain amount of ground that to many will seem elementary. It was also necessary at times to make assumptions that could not be fully defended. Within the limits of two lectures a choice of topics had to be made that may well appear arbitrary. I can only say that more consideration has been given to this than may at first sight be supposed. I have kept the lectures by me for some time in the hope of improving them; and perhaps they have been a little improved. The most that I can look for from them is that, taken as a whole, they may give an impulse in what I conceive to be the right direction.]

The fundamental difference between the older, non-critical, method of studying the Gospels and the newer, critical, method is that, whereas under the former the Gospels were taken simply as they stand and no attempt was made to go behind them, under the latter (the new method) we seek to operate as far as possible not with the Gospels in their present form, but with the sources on which they depend—many would say, with the documents out of which they are mainly composed. Here at the outset we must take account of two different theories which at first sight will seem strongly opposed to each other but which in practice are by no means far removed and even on the main point come to almost the same thing.

The majority of those who have made a study of what is called the Synoptic Problem believe that there once existed written documents, earlier primitive Gospels as it were behind our present Gospels, of which use was made in the composition of those Gospels. It is in that way that we explain the great amount of resemblance that strikes us at once in the Gospels as we have them. The easiest way of explaining that resemblance appears to be to suppose that the first three evangelists—to whom, as a rule, this part of the inquiry is confined—largely made use of the same material. If three separate historians base their narratives on a single authority, the result will naturally be that, so far as they do so, their narratives will be very like each other. And so, as a matter of fact, we find that over a large extent of the ground our first three Gospels are closely parallel: indeed, to be precise, almost the whole of our Second Gospel St. Mark has been incorporated substantially in the other two—all but about fifty verses out of a total of 661. Then again, if two historians out of three make use of a single document, those two will present the same kind of resemblances. And that is just what we find. Over and above the common matter which St. Matthew and St. Luke share with St. Mark—the 611 verses of St. Mark's Gospel of which we have just been speaking—they too have a considerable amount of mutual resemblance. Sir John Hawkins[1] estimates that they have at least 185 verses in common; and that may be taken as rather a minimum estimate; it is an estimate rather of the actual extent of the matter that they can be strictly said to have in common, than of the matter in which they may be reasonably presumed to have had before them the same authority. There will be a certain number of verses that were present in the original authority but were omitted, or modified out of recognition in one or other of the later Gospels. Beyond this both St. Matthew and St. Luke have a good many verses peculiar to themselves which may be taken to represent so much special information to which they severally alone had access.

This may be called the documentary theory of the origin of the Gospels. But by the side of this there is another oral theory, which for some time past has been held by a minority of scholars and critics, but a minority of considerable eminence and influence. It included Gieseler the Church historian, and the late Bishop Westcott; and a somewhat similar view is held by Dr. Arthur Wright of Queens' College, Cambridge, who is the editor of two excellent *Synopses* of the Gospels in Greek, one based on the order in St. Mark, and the other on the order in St. Luke. This last may be said to be the form of the oral theory which is most prominent at the present time. I described this theory as not being *in practice* very far removed from the documentary theory. And I did so for this reason. Dr. Wright bases his view upon the fact that in the East, throughout a

[1] *Horæ Synopticæ* (Oxford, 1899), p. 89.

great part of its history and even to the present day, more use is made of oral communication and less of writing than in the West. In the famous mosque of El-Azhar, at Cairo, groups of young students may be seen learning off long passages of the Koran by heart, instead of using books as we should. That is one of Dr. Wright's reasons; and the other is that he thinks that in this way he can better account for the differences between the Gospels in their common matter and quite as well for the resemblances. The resemblances, according to him, are due to the early catechists or Christian teachers learning off the texts by heart.

I can quite believe that there is an element of truth in this, but I do not think more than an element. St. Mark's Gospel was probably written at Rome; St. Luke was a Greek, and used the methods of the West rather than of the East. Both these Gospels in all probability circulated more over the field of St. Paul's missionary labours than in Palestine. It seems to me, too, that the freedom with which the evangelists reproduced their sources is in part rather deliberate and literary than due to mere failure of memory. I shall have occasion to come back to this point later. But for the present I would ask you to remember that the evangelists did not think of themselves as mere copyists but as historians, or at least narrators who told their story in their own way. They did not use books as we do, but they used lengthy rolls which had to be unrolled every time they were consulted. I imagine that the evangelist would read a paragraph at a time, and carry it in his head, and then set down the substance of it more or less from memory. It seems to me that the phenomena are just what we should expect from this mode of procedure. I doubt if two students repeating the Koran would repeat it with anything like the same amount of variation that there is in the Gospels.

At the same time it is to be noted that on Dr. Wright's hypothesis, too, there is the same fixed text to start with, and the same idea of variation due in part to memory; the difference is only as to the conditions under which the lapses of memory came in.

This amount of preface will perhaps be enough for my present purpose. I shall assume the facts on which most scholars at the present time, including Dr. Wright, are substantially agreed. I shall assume that there are three main sources, or classes of sources, of our present Gospels: (1) our present St. Mark — the actual Gospel, not an *Urmarcus* or older form of the Gospel—which has supplied the outline and broad narrative of our Lord's public ministry as it is found in the other two Gospels; (2) a collection consisting for the most part of discourses, which an ancient tradition would lead us to think was the work of St. Matthew, and which was drawn upon by both the first evangelist and St. Luke, but not or in a much less degree by St. Mark; we may follow the example of many scholars at the present time by using for this document the symbol Q; (3) certain special material peculiar to the First Gospel and St. Luke, and amounting in the latter Gospel, at what is perhaps a maximum reckoning, to nearly 500 verses (499, J.C.H.).

The point that for our present purpose it is most important for us to ascertain is, What is the ultimate character and value of these sources? I say the 'ultimate character and value' of these sources, because I think that some light may be thrown on this by their subsequent history—by the history of the text, and by a study of the manner in which they have been used in our Gospels.

1. *The Text.*—It is a fact well known to textual critics that the further back we go in the history of the New Testament and more particularly of the Gospels, the greater the freedom with which they were copied. To such an extent is this the case that Dr. Scrivener went so far as to say:

> 'It is no less true to fact than paradoxical in sound, that the worst corruptions to which the New Testament has ever been subjected, originated within a hundred years after it was composed' (*Introduction*, ii. 264).

A good many of Dr. Scrivener's judgments in the context of this passage need rather drastic revision, but the passage itself is substantially true. There are really two kinds of textual corruption, and another kind may be said to have been more prevalent in the fourth century than in the second; but that kind which we should describe as 'freedom in copying' is specially characteristic of the earlier period.

It can be easily explained why this was the case.

There were of course professional scribes, and there was a fairly active book trade in the first century of our era. But there must have been

great inequalities in regard to book-production. In an old centre of scholarship like Alexandria or Athens, or in a somewhat less degree Pergamum, no doubt the facilities would be ample. But even at Rome the production of books on a large scale only went back to the time of Cicero, and so far as the trade was concerned seems to have been in comparatively few hands. Away from the large cities, and for ordinary middle-class people and the poor it must have been often by no means easy to get a MS. professionally copied. I must not make too sweeping statements. There was doubtless great variety of conditions, and with the variety of conditions great variety also of practice. It would happen from time to time that the wealthier Christians would have copies made for them by experts, and finely written MSS would after a time be produced for use in churches. But I imagine that the greater number of private copies would be made by individual Christians for their own use. And they would naturally be guided by their interest in the subject-matter. They would not have the rules or traditions of the professional scribes. They would be intent on the record of what Jesus said or did, and they would think little of minute exactness in the reproduction of the text as it lay before them. They would be only too glad, if they could, to enrich the text by additions made from other sources. It would be in this way that the story of the Woman taken in Adultery made its way into the Gospel of St. John; in this way that the anecdote of the man working on the Sabbath day found a place in the Bezan text of the Gospel of St. Luke, and another rather long interpolation not only into Cod. Bezæ but into many Latin and some Syriac copies of Mt $20^{28}$. And there are many other smaller examples.

2. *Our present Gospels.*—It is interesting to observe the phenomena of which we have been speaking in the history of the text, because it is really in many respects a continuation on a smaller scale of processes that we can see at work in the composition of our present Gospels. Here we are able to test the procedure of the writers with a considerable degree of accuracy. It is an extraordinary piece of good fortune that in one instance —and that as it happens the most important of all, nothing less than the ground-document of the two later Gospels—not only have the Gospels been preserved to us, but the original on which they are based. We are thus able to compare our present texts with the original which lay more or less before the writers—I say 'more or less' because I do not think that they either professed or tried to copy it continuously. I have already explained that the evangelists were not mere copyists, and did not think of themselves as copyists; they thought of themselves as narrators, whose duty it was to reproduce such information as they possessed, in the form in which it was best to lay it before their readers for their souls' health.

Accordingly we find that here, just as in the case of the text, the characteristic of their procedure is freedom. We know that by degrees the notion grew up that the actual text of the Gospels was not only sacred but infallible, that every jot and tittle of it was in effect dictated by the Spirit of God. But this was by no means the view of the writers themselves. The Preface to the Gospel of St. Luke shows us exactly how that writer thought of his own composition. He aimed, it is true, at conveying to his patron the 'certainty' of the things in which he had been instructed (lit. 'catechized'). But the whole context and practice of the evangelist shows that he meant *substantial* certainty and not minute verbal exactness. He bases his claim to be accepted as trustworthy on the human ground of the care and pains that he has taken to get back to the facts and to reproduce them methodically.

With slight shades of difference the same description would suit the other Synoptic Gospels as well. The special purpose that the author of the First Gospel had before his mind appears to have been didactic. The consideration that guides his hand in setting down his narrative is effectiveness of teaching. It is for that reason that he groups together the masses of discourse that form such a prominent feature in his Gospel, and in his treatment of events such as the miracles he seems to wish to make his examples typical, and impressive because they are typical. St. Mark's is the first written Gospel to come down to us, and it has the qualities that we might expect under these conditions. The writer aims at painting a picture, a graphic rather than a finished picture, of the Lord's ministry.

In Sir John Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ* will be found a very close and instructive analysis of the literary method of the three evangelists. Treated as Sir John treats it, this method stands out with

great distinctness; he is not content with giving vague impressions, but illustrates every point with an abundance of concrete examples. These examples very largely converge on the general characteristic of freedom. It is shown how each of the three evangelists has his own favourite words and phrases, which he does not hesitate to employ instead of those which he finds in the document before him. This is very markedly the case in St. Luke, but also quite distinctly in St. Matthew. And even in the case of St. Mark, though we cannot recover the exact words used by his authority St. Peter, yet we can generalize to some extent as to St. Mark's own personal predilections.

The freedom of treatment is by no means confined only to style; it extends also to the subject-matter, and is perhaps specially noticeable in regard to the order in which sayings and incidents succeed each other. Although there is no doubt a considerable degree of uniformity as to the main outline of our Lord's public ministry, due to the fact that both the later evangelists follow on the whole the lead given them by St. Mark, yet neither of them has any scruple in altering the place of a section when it suits him. We have seen how the first evangelist groups his materials so as to make them more effective for his purpose. It is probable that what we call the Sermon on the Mount has worked up into it sayings spoken on other occasions. If we compare Mt 8 and 9 with the parallel sections in St. Mark on which these chapters are based, we shall see that their contents have been in great part taken to pieces and rearranged. There is one conspicuous dislocation (the Preaching at Nazareth) and one disturbing insertion (the miraculous Draught of Fishes) at the beginning of St. Luke's narrative; but there is a larger amount of displacement, mainly through the introduction of new matter, towards the middle and end of his Gospel. A still greater degree of variation in position may be seen in the common matter of St. Matthew and St. Luke that has no parallel in St. Mark. This common matter is mostly of the nature of discourse; and whereas St. Matthew, as we have seen, shows a tendency to collect the sayings together in larger masses, in St. Luke they are for the most part widely dispersed. There is little doubt that much of the grouping in St. Matthew is artificial; the only question is whether the grouping as we find it was made for the first time in our Gospel, or had been already carried out in the older document that the evangelist was using. In regard to St. Luke the main question is, how far the slight introductions or connecting links of narrative rest upon independent tradition preserved in the source, and how far they are simply conjectures by the evangelist suggested by the context. Both alternatives are possible, and the choice between them is still more or less open.

It is a curious characteristic of St. Luke that sometimes for no very apparent reason he transposes whole sentences or paragraphs: *e.g.* the second and third Temptations, the sayings about the Ninevites and the Queen of the South, and the giving of the Bread and of the Cup at the Last Supper.

It is probable that slight changes such as these are due to unconscious brain-action. They fall into the same class with a number of other small changes, in which, *e.g.*, words attributed to one speaker or set of speakers in one Gospel are attributed to another in another, or words are used with slightly different senses or applications. Many instances of this kind are collected by Sir John Hawkins, *Hor. Synopt.* pp. 53–61.

I may perhaps venture upon a small modification of the inference which Sir John draws from these examples. He speaks of them as 'inexplicable on any exclusively or mainly documentary theory' (p. 53 n.). But I would submit that they do not prove quite so much as this. They do prove that there was some interval of time and some room for unconscious brain-action between the moment at which the original document was followed with the eye and the moment at which its substance was reproduced in writing, but the interval need not be a long one. I suspect that the difference is not between the use or non-use of documents, but only between a stricter and a laxer method of reproduction. We should have to describe the method adopted in the Gospels as relatively lax; it is at least not punctilious or pedantic; the standard of accuracy is not exactly the same as ours.

There are one or two cases in which the divergence seems to amount almost to direct contradiction. For instance, in the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount, where St. Matthew describes our Lord as going *up* into a (or rather, the) *mountain* (*i.e.* the high ground surrounding

the lake) and *sitting down*, while St. Luke describes Him as coming *down* and *standing* on a *level place*. Dr. Wright thinks that the introductory phrases are in both cases only editorial conjectures; and that may be the case. But it is also possible that St. Luke may be affected in this passage by another document which overlapped the collection of discourses that he and St. Matthew were using together. His substitution of four Blessings and four Woes for the eight Beatitudes of St. Matthew seems to point in this direction. It is equally difficult to think that the first evangelist, with the text of the third before him, abolished the Woes and made the four Beatitudes into eight, and that the third evangelist, with the text of the first before him, made the converse changes purely of his own motion. The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that some further influence, some parallel tradition, has come into play. And this is to be found most easily in what we call the Special Source (or Sources) of St. Luke. I believe that St. Luke had two versions of this group of sayings before him, and that he combined or 'conflated' them together. On the other hand, the first evangelist may have enlarged the original group by the addition of sayings that he found elsewhere.

Another instance which perhaps has a similar explanation is the account of the Transfiguration, which is expressly dated by St. Matthew and St. Mark six days after the preceding incident, and by St. Luke eight days. The agreement of St. Matthew with St. Mark shows that our present text of the latter is that of the original Gospel. The change must be deliberate on the part of St. Luke; and I suspect that he took it from his other authority because there are other additions in his narrative which appear to have come from this. It is an overlapping of two distinct traditions, and this is one of the instances which goes to show that when such overlapping occurred, St. Luke preferred the line that was peculiarly his own.

It is perhaps a different cause which led to an apparent discrepancy in the narrative of the mission of the Twelve. Here St. Mark expressly reserves permission to use the pilgrim's staff and such light footgear as sandals, whereas in both the first and third Gospels these too are prohibited. It is a slight detail on which not much stress is to be laid. St. Mark appears to be right; and it is not very surprising that the other two evangelists, with their rather wholesale methods, should have overlooked or neglected his somewhat fine distinctions.

But considerably the most important of the changes introduced in the later Gospels are those of which specimens are collected by Sir John Hawkins on pp. 96–100 (changes due to increasing reverence). There is no doubt room for slight differences of opinion in regard to particular instances; the motive at work may not have been always exactly that which is suggested. But in the larger proportion of cases the reason for the change seems obvious and unmistakable; and the number of these instances taken together sheds light upon the general tendencies at work in the period during which our Gospels were being committed to writing—let us say roughly, the period of twenty or thirty years from about 60 A.D. onwards. During that period it is clear that reverence for the Person of Christ was steadily, though we can well believe at the time imperceptibly, growing; and there was an increasing reluctance to ascribe to Him anything that seemed in the least degree inconsistent with the exalted conception which the Church had formed of Him. A certain reflected glory also fell from Him upon the Apostles; there was a tendency to treat their memory with a degree of respect which silenced at least the severer kinds of criticism. We cannot be surprised that the later Gospels should suppress a statement like that in Mk $3^{21}$ that the friends of Jesus 'went out to lay hands upon him: for they said, He is beside himself.' Where St. Mark says that He 'could not do any mighty work' at Nazareth because of the unbelief of the inhabitants (Mk $6^{5}$), St. Matthew only says that He *did not do* such works there (Mt $13^{58}$). The comment has dropped out from St. Luke altogether, as he has anticipated his version of the incident with a quantity of new matter (Lk $4^{14\text{-}30}$). On several occasions a feeling of anger is ascribed to our Lord in the earliest Gospel (Mk $3^{5}$ $10^{14}$; cf. $1^{41}$ *v.l.*), where this feature has disappeared from the later Gospels. In Mk $6^{48}$ the phrase 'would have passed by them' (ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς) apparently was taken as implying something of reproach, as though our Lord had been indifferent to the danger of His disciples; and it is accordingly omitted by St. Matthew. A rough expression like that in Mk $1^{12}$, 'the Spirit *driveth* (ἐκβάλλει) him into the wilderness' is softened down in the other Gospels. Mk $1^{32\text{-}34}$ informs us that the

people of Capernaum brought *all* their sick to our Lord, and that *many* were healed, where St. Matthew says that *all* the sick were healed (though this may be only due to his compendious method by which the two clauses are run into one); and St. Luke, borrowing a phrase from other contexts, says that He 'laid His hands on every one of them and healed them.'

Again, in several places a seeming harshness of rebuke or imputation of blame directed against the Twelve (Mk $8^{17.18}$ $6^{51.52}$) is modified or omitted; compare the treatment of Mk $4^{38}$ $10^{35}$.

These examples taken together make it clear that there was a tendency to idealize, or throw something of a nimbus over, the Gospel history as a whole during the period of which we are speaking (60 to 80 or 90 A.D.). I do not think it can be described as a very sweeping tendency; the examples of it in proportion to the whole amount of matter are not very numerous; and yet they seem to be distinct and unmistakable so far as they go.[1]

But at the same time that we duly recognize these facts and do not attempt to explain away their significance, it is not less incumbent upon us to point out and to emphasize the converse truth of the way in which they heighten the value of the oldest extant Gospel. The indications on which we have been relying are all derived from a comparison of this oldest Gospel St. Mark with the later secondary narratives that are constructed out of it. There has been no deliberate intention of misrepresenting the facts, but in the process of reproduction the motives at work in the writers' minds have unconsciously made themselves felt and toned down the stronger colours of the original. But all this does but enhance the essential veracity of that original. It throws into relief the naive simplicity with which St. Mark has told the story just as it reached him, sophisticating nothing and extenuating nothing. St. Mark too was human, and he had some of the infirmities natural to man. I can well believe that he has magnified a little at times, that he has spoken roundly and generally where he should have spoken particularly, that he was not on his guard as a modern might have been. And yet on the whole he comes well out of the ordeal of criticism.

In this connexion I cannot help referring to an argument which has attracted a good deal of attention in Professor Schmiedel's article 'Gospels' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. ii. 1881 ff. Schmiedel there singles out nine passages which he calls 'foundation-pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus.' Of these passages, seven are taken from the Gospel of St. Mark, and the remaining two from Q. They all derive their point from the fact that at first sight they appear to run counter to the general teaching of the Church in regard to our Lord: *e.g.* one takes hold of the incident in which His relations are said to have declared Him to be beside Himself (Mk $3^{21}$); another, of the statement that no mighty work could be done at Nazareth (Mk $6^{5}$); a third, of the apparent disclaiming of the title 'good' (Mk $10^{18}$); a fourth, of the admission that even the Son did not know the time of the end (Mk $13^{32}$); and so on. It is argued that these passages are such marked exceptions to the general tenor of the Gospel tradition that they cannot have been produced by it; they may therefore be accepted as absolutely credible.

Both in this country and in Germany the argument has met with criticism from the left as well as from the right. Some (like the author of *Pagan Christs*) who go further still than Professor Schmiedel in the way of negation deny the validity of the inference. Schmiedel has replied to his critics in this country, in a preface contributed by him to the translation of Arno Neumann's *Jesus* (London, 1906), and in Germany by an article in the *Protestantische Monatshefte* (1906). So far as the criticism from the Left is concerned, I must profess myself entirely at one with him. It is of course possible to explain away almost any fact in history; but I do not

[1] What is said in this paragraph may perhaps go some way to furnish an answer to a question that may be raised. It may be asked whether, if there was this tendency towards an increase of reverence for the Person of Christ and that which was associated with it, the whole process represented in the Gospels may not have been a process of gradual deification. The reply seems to be that the movement, so far as we can trace it in the twenty or thirty years that are open to detailed investigation, is too gradual and too slow to admit of such a conclusion. At the rate of movement that is revealed to us in the years 60–90, it would never have been possible to build up such a structure as we find from its foundations in the years 30–60. We are compelled to suppose that at the very beginning of this period the belief in the deity of Christ was substantially complete; it must have been a universal assumption of the Christian Church from the Day of Pentecost onwards. And this result is overwhelmingly confirmed by the Epistles of St. Paul.

doubt that Professor Schmiedel is right in claiming for the passages he enumerates a very strong stamp of authenticity. They are a decisive refutation of those who contend that there is nothing credible in the Gospels and that there is no solid proof that Jesus even existed.

In further explanation of his position Schmiedel goes on to divide the contents of the Gospels into three classes:

> 'First, those which are plainly incredible; secondly, those which are plainly credible; and in the third category those which occupy an intermediate position as bearing on the face of them no certain mark either of incredibility or of credibility. This third group contains almost the whole of the purely religious and moral teaching of Jesus, including most of the parables; it also embraces much that is said about various journeyings of Jesus, about works of healing of the kind that are known to happen even at present, about His entry into Jerusalem, about His cleansing of the temple, about His Passion and His death.'

He also lays down that

> 'One may hold as credible all else which agrees in character with these (foundation passages) and is in other respects not open to suspicion.'

But that is surely narrowing the ground unduly, and indeed begging the whole question. To say the truth, Professor Schmiedel really starts by assuming what he will accept as credible and what he will not. The position that he takes up is the paradoxical one of insisting upon certain passages because they seem to run counter to the main tenor of Christian tradition, but at the same time practically ignoring this main tenor, which is really that which gives them their value. In other words, he builds on the exceptions, and ignores the rule to which they are exceptions. Is it not a much fairer way of proceeding to treat the passages of which we have been speaking as so much striking evidence of the generally high historical character of the documents in which they occur? We have seen that two documents are really concerned, one still extant and the other not. It is of the second of these that I must now go on to speak.

3. *The Lost Sources.*—Among the hypothetical documents which we have seen reason to think once existed, though they soon dropped out of sight, the most important is that which we have hitherto designated Q. This is the document which must in any case be mainly reconstructed from the common matter of St. Matthew and St. Luke that is not found in St. Mark.[1] It is called Q—a symbol first used for it in Germany—in order not to make any more assumptions about it than can be helped. An older name for what was substantially the same document was *Logia*. The reason why this is now less commonly used is because the use of the title presupposed the identity of the lost document with a work referred to by Papias in a famous extract preserved by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 39) as the composition of the Apostle St. Matthew. I still think this identity probable, as it explains more satisfactorily than any other hypothesis would seem to do the way in which the name of St. Matthew came to be attached to the First Gospel. But it is no doubt well that the reconstruction of the document should not be too much mixed up with a possible tradition as to its origin.

The clearest effect produced by Q is the picture that it gives of the Christian ideal and of the character of Christ. We think at once of the Beatitudes, and the Sermon on the Mount as a whole, and of those wonderful verses at the end of chap. 11, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart.' And then we remember how exactly St. Paul seems to have caught the features of this picture, when he entreats his readers 'by the meekness and gentleness of Christ' (2 Co $10^{1}$), or when he bids them bless their persecutors, not to render evil for evil, not to avenge themselves, but to feed their enemy if he is hungry, and if he is thirsty to give him to drink (Ro $12^{14-21}$). So close is the resemblance, and so marked is the way in which these features stand out, that we are tempted to ask if it is possible that St. Paul can have had access to this document Q. He had not, it would seem,

[1] On the contents and extent of Q see especially Sir John Hawkins, *Hor. Synopt.* pp. 88 ff.; Harnack, *Sprüche u. Reden Jesu* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 280–81; Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evang.* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 65–68; B. Weiss, *Quellen d. Synopt. Überlieferung* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 1–75. Weiss puts more into Q than the other writers because he believes it to have been also used by St. Mark.

had any real personal contact with our Lord, and yet he seems to have been well aware of the most distinctive aspect of His moral teaching. He would not have got this knowledge from any quarter so effectively as from Q. These particular features are not nearly so prominent in the Gospel of St. Mark, or in the special matter of St. Luke, or in the Gospel of St. John. St. Paul's day was over before the publication of any of these; but it is within the bounds of possibility that Q was in existence and had come into his hands before he wrote to the Corinthians or the Romans.

We must admit the possibility, but hardly, I think, more. The two places in which St. Paul shows the fullest knowledge of events in the Gospel History, the account of the Last Supper, and the enumeration of the appearances after the Resurrection, are wholly independent of anything in Q, and as it would seem of any extant written Gospel. On the whole it seems more probable that his knowledge was acquired orally; at the same time the coincidences with Q are striking. If St. Paul's knowledge was not derived from Q, then there must have been an independent line of tradition that was confirmatory of it, and that proves the early date of its contents. But these, indeed, have the witness in themselves.

We ask the same kind of question about Q and St. Mark. Was St. Mark acquainted with Q? This has been a point of much controversy among students of the Synoptic Problem. The conclusion that I am led to myself is that St. Mark was acquainted with it, in the sense that he knew of its existence and that at some time in his career he may have seen it; but I do not think that he can have made systematic use of it in the composition of his own Gospel. The first thirteen verses of St. Mark's Gospel are those that most strongly suggest a knowledge of Q. As compared with the narratives in Q these verses have every appearance of being an abridgement, as though the evangelist were hastening on to the point where he could take up the story of his chief authority St. Peter.

In the main I must needs think that the Second Gospel is independent of Q, though this point is contested. But, if that is so, then the two documents St. Mark's Gospel and Q, where they agree, furnish valuable corroboration of each other. In any case they are sufficiently independent to do this. But the agreement between them covers important issues. Both documents imply the working of miracles on a considerable scale. We of course derive our knowledge of the main body of the Gospel miracles from St. Mark: the healing of the Gadarene (Gerasene) and other demoniacs, of the palsied man, of Peter's wife's mother, of the leper, of the withered hand, of more than one blind man, of the issue of blood and Jairus's daughter, the Syrophœnician's daughter and the epileptic boy, also the two miracles of feeding, the stilling of the storm, and the withering of the fig tree. It does not follow that all these miracles are quite on the same footing; but they are so at least as far as external authority is concerned. Q, on the other hand, is not a narrative Gospel, but, as we have seen, mainly a collection of discourses. It did, however, contain at least one narrative section, the healing of the centurion's servant, and perhaps another, the healing of the dumb demoniac (Mt $12^{22}$, Lk $11^{14}$). Besides these, the discourses contain many allusions to miracles, which are all the more convincing because they are indirect and assume the performance of miracles as well known. The Sermon on the Mount contains one such allusion, which in strict chronology probably belongs to a later period and refers to the miracles of disciples and not of the Master: 'Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works?' (Mt $7^{22}$). Our Lord's answer to the disciples of John contains an enumeration of miracles. In more places than one there are allusions to the casting out of demons, and so on.

Similarly as to the Christology. Besides minor points, there are of course in St. Mark the two great explicit passages, the Confession of St. Peter and the acceptance and affirmation of the saying of the high priest. Along with this there is the persistent use of the title Son of Man, about which I shall have more to say in the next lecture. The same use is found not less in Q. And in that document there is the third great passage, 'No one knoweth the Son, save the Father, and' etc., with its context. And here, too, there are a number of minor points like the authoritative 'I say unto you' of the

Sermon on the Mount, the 'greater than Jonah,' 'greater than Solomon,' the Judge who divides the sheep from the goats, and for whom good deeds done to His disciples are an act of homage to Himself. All these things, again, are so much more effective just because they are indirect, because they assume the great affirmation and do not attempt to prove it. We only have to look straight at these two documents, the Gospel of St. Mark and Q, to feel how entirely they presuppose the divinity of our Lord.

Passing on to the peculiar matter of St. Matthew and St. Luke: in the case of the First Gospel this peculiar matter is not all of the same kind. You will be aware that St. Matthew has a number of parables and other discourse matter which is not found in the other Gospels. It is probable that much, or most, of this really comes from Q, and is not found in St. Luke only because that evangelist was pressed for room and was not able to include it. All this matter was in any case quite in harmony with Q, and is probably not inferior in value. Another vein in the First Gospel has every appearance of being later, and as coming under the head of popular embellishment or legend. Such would be the stories at the end of the Gospel about Pilate's wife's dream, about the dead rising from their tombs, and about the bribing of the guard, etc. The first two chapters do not seem quite to come under this head. The contents of these chapters are not quite like the products of popular imagination; and before they found their way into the First Gospel it is not likely that they enjoyed any wide circulation. We cannot ignore the old observation that the story of the Nativity and Infancy is written throughout very much from the point of view of Joseph, just as the first two chapters of St. Luke are written very much from the point of view of Mary. The steady maintenance of this point of view in Mt 1 and 2 is remarkable, and has given rise to the supposition that the substance of these chapters stands in some relation to the so-called *Desposyni* or family of Joseph, who play some part in early Christian history. When I say 'stand in some relation,' the relation need not necessarily be a very close one. I should not like to pledge myself unreservedly to all that we are told in chap. 2, which perhaps more than any other part of the Gospel looks as if it might have been suggested by the Old Testament. At the same time there *is* this curious connexion with Joseph; and, where the general tenor of the chapters is so widely removed from that of the corresponding chapters in St. Luke, the coincidences between the two Gospels on such an important point as the Virgin Birth become all the more noticeable.

Many interesting questions arise as to the special matter of St. Luke, which are still *sub judice*. The most important is whether we are to speak of 'source' or 'sources,' and how far this new information on which St. Luke relies was oral or in writing. I have a strong suspicion myself, which is shared by more than one good writer, such as Feine, who was the first to go into the subject, and both Bernhard and Johannes Weiss, that St. Luke made use of a single writing which not only embraced most of the peculiar matter of his Gospel, but also supplied him with a substantial portion of his material for the Acts. My principal reason for believing this is that there are certain common qualities that run through at least all the peculiar matter of the Gospel. We must leave aside the Acts. To begin with the first two chapters, it seems to me impossible that these can be merely an oral tradition to which shape was first given by St. Luke. There are many things in these chapters that seem to me quite alien from St. Luke. Observe, for instance, the exact knowledge which they display of Jewish custom and the Jewish law, beginning with the description of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and the description of the way in which the former, as belonging to the course of Abijah, had assigned to him by lot the duty of offering incense in the temple. All the details about this are very technical, and they are such as St. Luke, as a Gentile by birth and a disciple of St. Paul, can have known very little about and had little interest in of himself. And the same kind of thing comes up repeatedly in these chapters. We have a number of similar precise details: about the duration of the priest's ministration; about the custom of circumcizing on the eighth day and naming a child at the same time; about the purification of a mother after childbirth and the offering which it was customary for her to bring; about the righteous Symeon who was 'waiting for the consolation of Israel'; about Anna the prophetess who spent her whole time in the temple in fasting and prayer, and who spoke

about the young Child to all who 'waited for the redemption of Jerusalem'; about the visit of Jesus to the Passover at the age of twelve, and how He was missed from the caravan and Joseph and His mother went back to find Him. It would be too much to expect that a writer like St. Luke would carry in his memory all these unfamiliar particulars and set them down so correctly. These are from the main thread of the narrative; the Canticles inserted in it are still more conspicuously Jewish —most of all the *Benedictus*, in which the whole point of view is far more that of Jewish expectancy than of Christian fulfilment. I should not hesitate to call it the most archaic thing in the whole New Testament.

And then, when we come to look into it, we see how the same characteristics come up from time to time in other portions of the peculiar matter. One of the first paragraphs that meet us, Lk $4^{16-30}$, opens with an accurate description of the custom of reading in the Synagogues. The parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus is full of Jewish touches (Abraham's bosom, the great gulf fixed, 'they have Moses and the prophets'). Then there is the miracle on 'the daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound' (Lk $13^{16}$); the stress on almsgiving ($11^{41}$ $12^{33}$); the welcome given to Zacchæus as 'a son of Abraham' (like the daughter of Abraham above); in the account of the Last Supper, the very Jewish reference to the eating of the passover in heaven ($22^{15.16}$); the address to the 'daughters of Jerusalem' in $23^{28}$; the little touch in $23^{56}$ of the women resting on the Sabbath day 'according to the commandment'; in the walk to Emmaus, the question of Cleopas as to the stranger lodging alone among all the pilgrims to Jerusalem ($24^{18}$), which reminds us of the allusion to the caravan in the story at the end of chap. 2. Points like these, or at least most of them, must in all probability be referred to the document and not to the evangelist, because they are not the kind of things that a Gentile like St. Luke would have thought of. Other features which have long been noticed as specially distinctive of this Gospel seem to be really distinctive of this particular document and are found distributed over all parts of it: *e.g.* the peculiar prominence given to women, to widows, to the poor, to sinners, to Samaritans, to prayer, to prophets and prophecy as an existing gift (from Anna the prophetess onwards).



The great contribution which this document (if we may call it so) makes to the history of the public ministry of our Lord is the collection of parables which belong specially to it (the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Rich Man and Lazarus, the Pharisee and the Publican, the Rich Man's address to his soul, the Importunate Widow). But there are also certain miracles which it adds to the common stock; especially the raising of the young man at Nain, the crippled woman, the dropsical man, and the ten lepers. I do not know that there is anything very special in the way of Christological teaching except the account of the supernatural birth in the opening chapters, but all the rest is entirely consistent with this, and entirely consistent with what we have extracted from the other documents. Taking the three Gospels together, in all their elements, the total impression which they convey is essentially harmonious and consistent.

This total impression, I have not any doubt, represents the general attitude and current teaching of the Church in the decade 60–70 A.D. The only question that remains open to us is whether there can have been any great amount of growth and development in the interval between the Crucifixion and (say) the year 60. The greater Epistles of St. Paul fall before that date. And I think we may take them as a guarantee that on the central point of all, the estimate of the Person of Christ, there was no such great development. There is, however, perhaps room for a certain amount of growth and accretion in the narrative. One typical question rather presses upon us. Were there originally two miracles of feeding? Were there originally two miraculous drafts of fishes (Lk 5, Jn 21)? I am far from thinking that there can have been no repetition of similar incidents and sayings in the life of our Lord. Sayings, in particular, may well have been repeated in different contexts and with slightly different applications. And the more ordinary kind of incidents may well have happened more than once. But it is rather a different thing with events so extraordinary in themselves and so marked in their resemblance as these. Of course it is impossible to lay down anything positively and dogmatically. We cannot verify our conclusion either way. But I think that we must leave such points as these with the note of interrogation standing against them. And this note of interro-

gation will, I think, mark the extreme limits of divergence that we ought reasonably to allow for in the history. I cannot dismiss from my mind the possibility that the two narratives of feeding the multitude are different versions of the same event. Our ultimate authority for the duplication is of course St. Mark—there is no duplication either in St. Luke or in St. John. But St. Mark was not himself an eye-witness; different streams of tradition would come to him from different quarters; he was writing far away from the scene of the events in distant Rome; and when St. Peter was gone there may quite well have been no eye-witness at hand to whom he could appeal. Besides, we must not suppose him keenly critical—not so critical even as St. Luke. If the two versions came to him from different quarters and at different times he would not hesitate to set them down side by side as he received them.

This possibility, I think, we must contemplate. And, if so, we cannot forget it as a standard of reference when we have to consider other possibilities.

# Literature.

## *THE LOLLARDS AND THE REFORMATION.*

LOLLARDY AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By James Gairdner, C.B., Hon. LL.D., Edinburgh. (*Macmillan.* Two Vols. 21s. net.)

DR. JAMES GAIRDNER wrote the fourth volume of Stephens' and Hunt's *History of the English Church*, the volume dealing with the sixteenth century, from the accession of Henry VIII. to the death of Mary. In the two volumes which he has now published he has gone over the same ground. But he has gone over it in a different fashion. The earlier book was written to order; this is written to please himself. There is more leisure with it and more latitude. The former volume stated facts; this book gives the atmosphere of the facts—their origin, their history, their effects. Nor is the ground that is covered precisely the same, for now Dr. Gairdner is under no restraint but that of his own desire. And his desire is to write a History of the Reformation in England in order to show that it was not a national movement, although a movement which had gradually been prepared for and which worked itself out along the lines, not of natural evolution, but of particular forces, some good and some not so good.

In the earlier volume Dr. Gairdner was found to be at variance with other historians in many matters, some of them fundamental. He himself was aware of that, and seems to have been astonished that his book was not more severely handled. He repents of none of these differences. On the contrary, one of his purposes in writing the new book is to have full opportunity for defending them. All this makes the volumes somewhat discursive; but the reader for whom they are written will not object to that. Nor will he be offended when he finds that Dr. Gairdner is less interested in events than in the connexion of events. For, as he puts it himself, 'The ancestry and growth of ideas that have revolutionized the world are far more important matters than the reception of a legate or the proclamation of a latter-day crusade.'

In pursuance of this preference, more space has been given to the causes which produced the Reformation in England than to the occurrences which took place as it was accomplished. The first book is wholly occupied with the Lollards. It fills nearly three hundred pages. There is no part of all the work into which Dr. Gairdner has thrown himself with more zest and enjoyment. And just for that reason, perhaps, there is no part that will cause more controversy.

Towards the end of the second volume occurs a chapter on 'The Story of the English Bible.' It is occupied of course with the Bible of Tindale and Coverdale and their immediate friends, and it is more historical than literary. It is a chapter that may have to be consulted by the future historian of the Bible. There are historical questions which it answers, and there are new questions which it raises.

## *MURRAY'S BIBLE DICTIONARY.*

MURRAY'S ILLUSTRATED BIBLE DICTIONARY. Edited by the Rev. William C. Piercy, M.A., Dean and Chaplain of Whitelands College. (*Murray.* 21s. net.)

The prominent features of this Dictionary of the Bible, which the editor draws attention to in his Preface, are its illustrations and its conservatism.

We are not quite sure that so much space should have been set aside for illustrations. Once a surprise and a delight, they are now so common that every teacher or student of the Bible has them at hand. A copy of the Oxford 'Helps,' which may be purchased for a shilling, gives all that are of any use, and a little over. It is chiefly due to the illustrations that, although the book runs to 975 pages, some of the most important subjects receive altogether inadequate treatment. The article on the 'Acts of the Apostles' occupies barely two pages, and gives no proper record of the immense progress that has been made in the study of that book within the last quarter of a century. What, again, can a man do with 'Jesus Christ' in six and a half pages? Yet the whole subject is dealt with in that article. It is useless to look for a separate article under 'Christology' or 'Person of Christ,' or any other title; for the theology receives scant measure throughout. The article on the 'Book of Psalms' is no more than two and a half pages in length; but there is a separate article on the 'Titles' of the Psalms, which is four pages in length. The most favoured topics, so far as we have observed, are the 'Chronology of the Old Testament,' 'Paul,' and 'Sacrifice,' which have each about ten pages allotted to them. But 'Isaiah' is dismissed in two pages, the 'Sermon on the Mount' in rather less than one, and there is no article at all on 'Israel.'

But that is all the fault we mean to find with the book. To its conservatism we have nothing to say. An editor must be allowed to choose his readers as an author does. The editor of this dictionary has chosen those who call themselves conservative. He has not been able to keep the hand of the critic altogether out of his book, but he has taken means to let it be felt as little as possible.

There are apparently three ways of it. For example, the literature given at the end of the article on the Book of Judges, which is written by the Rev. H. Maynard Smith, M.A., Rector of Shelsley-Beauchamp, is divided into three classes, 'Extreme Criticism,' 'Moderate Criticism,' and 'Conservative' (the word 'Criticism' not being added to the last). This classification runs throughout. The authors are chosen and the books are recommended because they are 'conservative.'

But it has its difficulties. The editor must have found himself limited in his choice of men; and it is evident that he gave some of the work into the hands of men whose conservatism was their only fitness for it. But, apart from that, the readers are recommended to prefer to works of undeniable scholarship, other works which are often weak in scholarship and as often out of date. In this article on the Book of Judges the only works mentioned as both sound and scholarly are Bachmann's Commentary, published in 1868, and the English translation of Keil, which appeared in 1862. To understand what that means one has only to think of the work that has been done on the Book of Judges in the last forty years. Besides these, reference is made to two commentaries which are called 'popular'—Farrar and Watson; and two 'for teachers'—Paterson-Smyth and Walpole.

One consequence of the conservatism of the book is that a large number of articles, and some of them of considerable length, have been lifted bodily out of Smith's *Concise Dictionary of the Bible*, which was published by Mr. Murray as long ago as 1865. And this seems to have appeared a natural thing to do, both to editor and to publisher, for there is no remark made upon it in the preface to the volume or elsewhere.

But of course there must be many articles which are not affected by that troublesome thing called 'Criticism.' Going through the book to name some of them, we have been surprised at the difficulty of finding them. But there must be not a few. And some of them are all that can be desired. We wish to mention especially Mr. Turner's article on the 'Text of the New Testament.' Certainly there is 'Criticism' enough in that article, but it is the so-called 'Lower' Criticism, to which there once was as great objection as there now is to the Higher, but the offence of the Lower Criticism has long since passed away.

## *MISSIONS IN INDIA.*

A History of Missions in India. By Julius Richter, D.D. Translated by Sydney H. Moore. (*Oliphant.* 10s. 6d.)

This is the most important contribution to the literature of Missions this season, and it comes appropriately from the great mission publishers, Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Its size and the packed look of its pages may make the lover of mission literature hesitate. But one page of reading will dispel all doubt. It is written with immense erudition but also in a fine flowing style, and the translator has done his part admirably.

There is certainly little of that curious indifferentism which is now supposed to be the very master-mark of the scientific writing of history. Dr. Richter has his convictions on subjects like ritualism and gives free expression to them. He believes indeed that history is not drifting but strenuous work with the oar. And it is his faith in the overruling hand of God that makes him strive to present the History of Missions in India as assisted here and thwarted there by the very missionaries themselves. He cannot be accused of misrepresentation. He is too good a German to manipulate his facts, or omit any of them. And he is entitled to his belief in the form of Church government that is best for the Hindu and most after the mind of Christ.

One chapter is given to the Missions of the Roman Church, and one to the Danish Mission. Then come the chapters (iii., iv., v.) in which the heart of the matter lies, the chapters which describe the progress of Protestant Missions in India during the nineteenth century. The sixth chapter is taken up with the theistic societies. And the seventh is a survey of results.

The translator is a Master in the School for Sons of Missionaries, Blackheath. His purpose in translating this volume is no doubt to furnish teachers with a manual of instruction. He has done so—the best in existence. But he has also furnished us all with a most reliable and enjoyable History of Missions in India.

## *A NEW WORK BY WESTCOTT.*

The Gospel according to St. John. The Greek Text, with Introduction and Notes. By the late B. F. Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. (*Murray*, Two Vols. 24s. net.)

The posthumous publication of Westcott's *Ephesians* was something of a disappointment. But that disappointment must not be allowed to affect the reception of his *Gospel of St. John.*

The commentary has been edited by the Rev. Arthur Westcott, one of the Bishop's sons, who tells the story of its vicissitudes from the first formation of a plan for a tripartite commentary on the Greek text (a plan, as we all know, to be carried out by Lightfoot, Hort, and Westcott) down to the moment of the present publication. The 'tripartite' plan was never carried out, Hort being too fastidious to fulfil his part of it, and Westcott being persuaded to undertake the Fourth Gospel for the *Speaker's Commentary*, which was based on the Authorized Version. Thus the commentary on the Greek text was thrust aside, and although taken up at intervals, the attraction of it still remaining supreme, it was never finished.

How then does it stand with the present commentary? Westcott had annotated the Greek text of chapters iii., iv., vi., vii., viii., ix., x., xi., and xii., with considerable sections of chapters i., xvi., xx. These notes have been used as they were found. For the rest, so far as we can make out, the *Speaker's Commentary* has been followed, from which the Introduction has been taken almost as it stood.

It was Bishop Westcott's purpose to retranslate the Gospel. He did not do that; and so his editor has used the Revised Version, making only such changes therein as his father would certainly have made. The Greek text is that of Westcott and Hort. So far, then, as the editing goes, the only danger has lain in a too scrupulous fidelity to the documents in existence. 'I have carefully refrained,' says Mr. Westcott, 'from making any alterations but such as seemed of absolute necessity.' And, as a consequence, there is occasionally a discrepancy between the translation of the Notes and the Revised Version used as text, which the editor trusts will not prove vexatious.

The two handsome volumes will be placed side by side with the English Commentary, which most of us possess in its separate form. The one will cast light on the other, and both together will cast light on the written Word.

## *MAN AND THE UNIVERSE.*

Man and the Universe. By Oliver Lodge. (*Methuen.* 7s. 6d. net.)

Sir Oliver Lodge has reprinted a series of papers which he contributed to the *Contemporary Review*

and the *Hibbert Journal*, and they have been published under the memorable title of *Man and the Universe*. They are all occupied with the borderland between Religion and Science. For Sir Oliver Lodge, by his frequent contributions and his frequent concessions, has taken that borderland under his special protection, and may fairly claim the title of 'Warden of the Marches.'

His work is always read, for it is always written to be read. 'I have the misfortune,' said a great Dutch scholar lately, 'to have written a book which nobody reads.' He had not written it to be read. There are other reasons for the writing of a book, and some of them may be better reasons. But it is useless complaining that a book is not read which was not written to be read. Sir Oliver Lodge always writes to be read, and he is read widely.

What else, it is not so easy to say. Is it so that there *is* no real borderland between Science and Religion? Do they lie in different planes, one earth (say), and the other air? And is it not possible for any man to make them contiguous countries? It is certain, at any rate, that even Sir Oliver Lodge has great difficulty in getting himself taken seriously. The salutation he receives, however courteously and silently, is 'Science I know, and Religion I know, but who art thou?'

More than that. The more the man of science reads, the more he suspects that Sir Oliver Lodge is simply giving science away for the sake of the reconciliation; and the more the man of religion reads, the more clearly he sees that he is giving religion away. Take the man of religion. Does Sir Oliver Lodge accept the statement that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin? If he does not, there is no reconciliation. The Warden of the Marches is not protecting valuable territory; he is simply riding over waste land. He is simply looking after a waste and dreary wilderness wherein there is no water. And how mocking his reconciliation to a thirsty traveller! 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.' Unto Me, and unto Me only; for the Son of Man came to give His life a ransom.

The scientist, if we may use Mr. Johnston Ross's ugly word, has to do with physical things, with things which he can taste, and see, and smell. The religionist has to do with spiritual things, with things which he cannot taste or touch. What reconciliation is possible? The religionist may be also a man of science, and the scientist may become also a religious man. That is the only reconciliation. There is no reconciliation conceivable between things that cannot even be compared.

## *ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE LAODICEANS.*

St. Paul's Epistle to Colossæ and Laodicea. By the Rev. John Rutherfurd, B.D. (*T. & T. Clark.* 6s. net.)

In Col $4^{16}$ St. Paul writes: 'And when this epistle hath been read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye also read the epistle from Laodicea.' Mr. Rutherfurd asks, 'What was or what is this epistle?' He finds three answers possible. First, it was a letter written by the Laodiceans. But he dismisses that answer. The suppositions involved by it are incredible. Next, it was an epistle written by St. Paul from Laodicea. In that case, it might be 1 Ti., 1 Th., 2 Th., or Gal. But it is probable that every one of these Epistles was written somewhere else. More than that, the Apostle says that the Christians of Laodicea had not seen his face in the flesh. So there remains the third answer, that it was an epistle addressed by St. Paul to the Laodiceans. And after some interesting argument Mr. Rutherfurd comes to the conclusion that it was 'the Epistle to the Ephesians.'

But that is a small part of the book. The main part of it is an exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians and the Epistle to the Ephesians (really the Epistle to the Laodiceans) in order to show their unity of thought and feeling, and even of verbal expression. It is no ordinary commentary, whether in form or in suggestiveness. More certainly than any ordinary commentary it will lead the reader into some apprehension of the things for which he has been apprehended by Christ, and which are revealed in these Epistles more than anywhere else.

## Among the Books of the Month.

Mr. Allenson is doing more at present than any other Protestant publisher for the literature of devotion. And sometimes it is new, and sometimes it is old. The old this month is a translation, by Miss A. W. Marston, of Madame Guyon's

*Spiritual Torrents* (2s. 6d. net). The new consists of (1) *An Introduction to Christian Mysticism*, by Miss Gregory (6d. net); (2) *The Unfolding Life* (2s. 6d. net), a study of development with reference to religious training, by Antoinette Abernethy Lamoreaux; and (3) a selection of *Thoughts Worth Thinking* (1s. net), made by Mr. Allenson himself. Does this not add another to the pleasant company of publishers who are also authors? Looking through these 'thoughts worth thinking,' we came to the thought for October 23rd. It is taken from James Martineau, and the expression is beautiful. But is the thought true?—'If we cannot find God in your house and mine, upon the roadside or the margin of the sea, in the bursting seed or opening flower, in the day duty and night musing, I do not think we should discern him any more on the grass of Eden, or beneath the moonlight of Gethsemane.'

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He is no publisher who cannot find his line. Messrs. A. & C. Black's line we know well. It is the illustrated book of travel. And the travel must not give way to the illustration, or the illustration to the travel. Each is excellent of itself, and each makes the other's excellence greater.

The new books are *Egypt in Asia*, by George Cormack, and *Buried Herculaneum*, by Ethel Ross Barker (7s. 6d. each). What does 'Egypt in Asia' mean? It means 'a plain account of pre-Biblical Syria and Palestine.' Where has Mr. Cormack found it? He gives a bibliography at the end. He has read the popular works, and he has read some, at least, of the unpopular. And he has gone to the excavators also, though he does not seem to be an excavator himself. In short, his book is a reliable résumé of the last five-and-twenty years' spade-and-pen work, and without the illustrations could easily be read, and would be well worth reading. But many of the illustrations are new, and all are beautiful. In them alone there is an education, making the book worth buying.

*Buried Herculaneum* is not a whit less admirably illustrated; and although there is less in the book, it will probably be the more popular of the two. For the subject has a great fascination. The author has addressed herself more directly to scholars than Mr. Cormack has done. Her bibliography is better. Her catalogue of bronzes, marbles, and frescoes may be of service to none but scholars, but it will be of considerable service to them.

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What is a Father? Dr. Adrian Fortescue asks the question in the Preface to his new book. His answer is that a Father must be an *Author*, whose works are still extant; he must be a *Catholic*, who lived in the communion of the Church; he must be a person of eminent *Sanctity* as well as learning (whereby 'Clement of Alexandria and Origen are not strictly fathers, because they are not saints'); and he must enjoy *Antiquity*. And now, further, there are five classes of fathers—the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists and the Great Fathers, the Greek Fathers, the Latin Fathers, and the Eastern Fathers. Dr. Fortescue writes on the Greek Fathers. He outlines their lives, he lists (as the Americans would say) their works, he adds a few bibliographical notes, and he produces a most useful and most unpretending manual. Its title is *The Greek Fathers* (Cath. Truth Soc.).

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*On the Wings of a Wish to the Banks of an Indian River* (C.M.S.; 1s. 6d.). That is the title of a book by E. Mabel F. Major, C.M.S. Missionary in the United Provinces of India from 1896 to 1906. If *Things as They Are in India* had not been before it, it might have made a sensation. For it also brings us right into the heart of Indian family life and lets us see things as they are there.

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Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., has written an essay on the *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Clarendon Press; 16s. net). He modestly calls it 'Notes,' and disclaims 'any form of completeness.' And although his modest description is perfectly accurate, his book will take its place beside those few other books which are absolutely necessary for the study of the Vulgate.

The volume is divided into fifteen chapters. Of these the first eleven are occupied with the text of the Vulgate Gospels—not so much with textual criticism, however, or the collation of manuscripts, as with the history and relationship of the various groups of MSS. The last four chapters are given to a discussion of the Prologues to the Gospels. Some time ago Dom

Chapman made the discovery that the Monarchian Prologues are the work of Priscillian. His discovery has been confirmed by the judgment of scholars. He has accordingly reproduced his argument, making it one of the chapters of the new book; and in the other three chapters of the four he has presented a full discussion of the Prologues—their text and meaning, later manipulations, and their history.

The two parts of the book need not have appeared together. But it is better that they do. For our peculiar English mind prefers a large book to a little one, and has never taken to the German pamphlet.

How would Dom Chapman's restorations differ from the text of Wordsworth and White? His own answer is, 'not substantially.' In some difficult places he thinks the verdict might be altered; in others it might be confirmed by stronger reasons. On the famous *Comma Johanneum* he has nothing new to tell us. He holds that Künstle has made it certain that this verse (1 Jn $5^7$) came from Spain, and that the Spanish Bibles obtained it (probably through Peregrinus) from the Bible of Priscillian; but he cannot agree with Künstle that Priscillian actually interpolated the passage himself; for if he had done so he could not possibly have quoted it in his Apology. 'He must have found it in his Bible, and it must have been one of the frequent Spanish glosses which somehow got into the text.'

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Many have taken in hand to rewrite the Bible, or part of it, for children. Mrs. S. B. Macey has succeeded. Her book, which she calls *In the Beginning* (Sealey Clark; 7s. 6d. net), tells the story of Genesis in such a way that it can be read with understanding, and, of course, without offence, by any ordinary child. But more than that, the Eastern old-world flavour is retained and the imagination is called into exercise, and encouraged to reproduce the picture of a life that was actually lived and a God who was worshipped. The illustrations are in colour, and in keeping.

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Professor Heron of Belfast has written *A Short History of Puritanism* (T. & T. Clark; 1s. net). He has written it to serve as a handbook for Guilds and Bible Classes. He has written it with ample knowledge and deep affection. Ashamed of Puritanism? Then he would be ashamed of Wyclif, of Bacon, of Milton. He believes so heartily in the beauty of Puritanism—yes, in the beauty of it—that he does not need to stretch a statement; he does not need to colour the natural portrait of a single Puritan. The publishers have given the book a strong serviceable binding and published it at a very cheap price.

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Mr. J. Arthur Thomson, Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen, is coming to be known as one of the most distinguished men of science of the present day. More than any one we can think of he seems destined to occupy that commanding place in popular esteem which was once held by Professor Huxley. He has all Huxley's wonderful gift of style. He has more than Huxley's knowledge of nature. And if he does attain to that position, it will be a satisfaction to almost every one now to know that he will use it to strengthen faith in things unseen and eternal.

Professor Thomson was appointed in 1905, by the Trustees of Lake Forest University, to deliver the second series of the famous Bross Lectures, the first series of which, it will be remembered, was delivered by the Principal of the New College in Edinburgh—Dr. Marcus Dods. The volume containing the lectures has now been published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, uniformly with the first series, under the title of *The Bible of Nature* (4s. 6d. net). The volume is stimulating reading. And to the preacher there is more than intellectual stimulus in it; there are facts and aspects of facts which can be made immediate use of, and which will impart variety and freshness to the sermon without for one moment allowing things seen to cast a shadow over things unseen.

There was a time when Harmonies of the Gospel were much in repute. Then, because it was found that on their principles you could harmonize fire and water, they fell utterly into disrepute. Next came the period of the Harmonies of Science and Religion. Their methods are just as elastic and worthless. Professor Thomson has no harmonical devices. He is too loyal to science; we think also he is too loyal to God. And so his chapter on the Descent of Man, in which he discusses the reasons for our repugnance to that

doctrine of science, offends neither by dogmatism nor by disloyalty. It is simply set forth as the way in which a believer in Christ may regard a settled conviction of science.

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Messrs. James Clarke & Co. have a way of publishing their books in bundles. This is the autumn bundle. First, a book at 1s. 6d. net—*Faith and Form*, an attempt at a plain restatement of Christian belief in the light of to-day, by Henry Varley, B.A.

Secondly, two at 2s. net each—*The Purpose of the Cross*, by Berkeley G. Collins, and *The Value of the Old Testament*, by Bernard J. Snell, M.A., B.Sc. The chapter which tests Mr. Collins's *Purpose of the Cross* (for a man may write a great deal on the purpose of the cross and say nothing) is the fourth, on the necessity for the cross. Forgiveness in the New Testament is different from forgiveness in the Old. In the Old Testament forgiveness is of the penitent; in the New it is of the impenitent. It is the forgiveness of grace. Accordingly two things are necessary. First, that such an extraordinary offer should be made credible. The love of God on the cross makes it credible. Next, that God should be seen to be just when He forgives. His justice is seen in what it cost Him to forgive sin. It is seen in the suffering of the cross.

Thirdly, two volumes at 2s. 6d. net each—*Conquering Prayer; or, The Power of Personality*, by L. Swetenham, and *Things most surely Believed*, by J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D. The latter is another volume of Mr. Jones's ever welcome, because ever suggestive, discourses. He is the preacher's preacher of to-day, as much as any man. And it is the preacher that buys volumes of sermons.

In the matter of prayer the question to be discussed is whether prayer should be for things without or things within. Mr. Swetenham says for things within—for the making of character, that a person may become a personality. And he seems to have the Model Prayer with him; for only one of its petitions is for things without, and some good expositors say that even that petition is for things within.

Lastly, four volumes at 3s. 6d. net each.

As the first of the four take another of Dr. George Matheson's precious collections of short devotional papers (the last that we are likely to see) in which the imagination is brought captive to the mind of Christ and in that captivity has liberty and encouragement to spread its wings and rise till it touches heaven's very gate. The title is *Messages of Hope*. Next, as in duty bound, let us take up the latest volume of the veteran and truly great Christian apologist, Mr. J. Brierley—an apologist of worth, just because he has held to his first conviction not to be an apologist, but to write the truth and shame the devil; an apologist the more successful that in all his books he has chosen to write on that which gives the title to this book, *Sidelights on Religion*. For there are always those who fly a direct moral and are caught by a parable.

*The Evolution of Old Testament Religion*, by W. E. Orchard, B.D., will be read with interest by the Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge; for he will find in it the fruits of his own teaching. It may be read with interest by us all; for fidelity to the historical method, of which some of us have been so much afraid, is proved to be fidelity to spiritual religion. And to find the laws of scientific development in the religion of the Old Testament is shown to be the way for us in which the God of both nature and grace is seen creating the world and restoring the sinner. Dr. Skinner trains his students to be scholars; he also teaches them that it is necessary for scholars to be new men in Christ Jesus.

The newest phase of the New Theology is the revolt of Dr. J. Warschauer. Dr. Warschauer has uttered his own special confession of faith in a book to which he gives the title of *Jesus: Seven Questions*. The seven questions are—(1) Son of Man or Son of God? (2) Was He Sinless? (3) Did He work Miracles? (4) Had He power to forgive Sins? (5) Is Belief in Him necessary to Salvation? (6) Did He rise from the Dead? (7) Did He die for us?

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Dr. Ballard has an amazingly prolific pen. And he does well all he does. There is never a volume but has thought in it, plenty of stimulating thought, expressed in vigorous modern language. He has started a series entitled 'The People's Religious Difficulties,' of which Part I. is called *Popular 'Determinism'* (6d. net). And he has written a volume for 'The Methodist Pulpit Library,' entitled *Does it Matter what a Man Believes?* (Culley; 2s. 6d. net).

Mr. Culley has also published a precious little

biography, the biography of *Dr. Sydney Rupert Hodge*, the beloved Physician, as he is not irreverently called (1s. net); and the story of *Benares* (2s. 6d.), that sacred city and citadel of Hinduism which has yet to be captured, not by the British Government, but by Christ. The story is popularly told by the Rev. C. Phillips Cape.

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They do not know the people of Scotland who do not know their folk-lore. There is no pleasanter way of finding an entrance into their folk-lore than through *Folk-Lore in Lowland Scotland*, by Eva Blantyre Simpson (Dent; 3s. 6d. net). It is only an entrance of course. For the folk-lore of Scotland, Lowland or Highland, is a great deep, to be fathomed by none but those who have been born in it. All the rest wonder how it comes to pass that the Scots, the men of hard common sense, are the men with whom the elf and the fairy, sorely pressed in other lands, or even clean banished from them, have ever found a friendly dwelling-place.

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It can no longer be claimed that the Christian apologist is a defender of the indefensible. Professor Peake of the University of Manchester is abreast of modern scholarship. And in his *Christianity, its Nature and its Truth* (Duckworth; 2s. 6d. net), he is loyal to the things which average modern scholarship has caused to be most surely believed among us. Nevertheless his book is an apology for Christianity, and all the great Christian truths are defended in it—the Trinity in Unity, the Supernatural Birth of Jesus, His Resurrection from the Dead, the free Forgiveness of Sin. The first chapter of the book is entitled 'What is Religion?' That the book opens with such a question shows how great is the difference between the old apologist and the new.

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The problem of all problems, in scientific investigation as in practical life, is adaptation. Practical life is a continual effort to adapt one's self to one's environment. Without adaptation, disease and death. Scientific investigation is a continual effort to discover what adaptation does for us and for our offspring. Mr. Gerald Leighton, M.D., F.R.S., is a scientific investigator. In his book on *The Greatest Life* (Duckworth; 5s. net), the latest discovery about adaptation will be found and the latest theory. And he wisely gives most of his book to the effect of adaptation on ourselves, since the average parent in this Christian country is much more concerned for himself than for his offspring.

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Of Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton's books for the month, one, the *St. Ninian Lectures*, has been described already. Let us notice next Dr. Maclaren's new volumes of *Expositions of Holy Scripture*. They expound the Prophets from Ezekiel to Malachi and the first twelve chapters of St. Luke (2 vols., 7s. 6d. each).

Dr. Henry C. Mabie's *How does the Death of Christ save us?* has now been published in this country (2s. 6d. net). It is worth much and costs little, but we need not review it again.

If a preacher would be popular—and some preachers would be that though they were nothing else—the surest road to popularity is to preach to young men. Dr. Ambrose Shepherd preaches to young men, and he is perhaps the most popular preacher in Glasgow at the present moment. He is not an original preacher. He owes debts to other preachers, and sometimes frankly acknowledges them. Thus in his new volume he acknowledges a considerable debt to one of the finest preachers in the north of Scotland, the Rev. Henry Michie of Stonehaven. But a popular preacher is better not to be original—in his matter at least. Dr. Shepherd can preach. His new volume is *Men in the Making* (Hodder & Stoughton; 3s. 6d.).

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In memory of a man whom the Presbyterian Church in Canada and all the world beside delights to honour, the late Principal Caven of Toronto, a volume has been published entitled *Christ's Teaching concerning the Last Things, and other Papers* (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s.). The volume has been edited by the Rev. J. A. Macdonald, who has selected the papers for publication with discrimination as well as affection, and has written a most attractive brief memoir to introduce them.

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The Presbyterians (at least in England) are not as other men are. And how it comes to pass that they are different has been told by the Rev. W. M. Macphail, M.A., in *The Presbyterian Church*, a brief account of its Doctrine, Worship, and Polity (Hodder & Stoughton; 5s.). The account is

almost official, and may be entirely confided in. Nor is it in the least a bigoted account, but, charitable, we might perhaps even say chastened, for accurate scholarship and association with other communities have been a means of grace. Thus one section of the book is entitled 'The New Testament Church substantially Presbyterian.' That word 'substantially' is a truly blessed word. There is a world of promise in it. Now will the Church of England and the rest respond and say 'substantially Episcopalian,' 'substantially Congregational'?

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The new volume of the Century Bible contains *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs* (Jack; 2s. 6d. net). It is edited by Professor G. Currie Martin of Bradford. Professor Martin has had to crush too much of the Bible into his space, but it is good to see that he has done it by selection not by compression. The notes are full enough and often felicitous; only we could have taken more of them.

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*The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (Luzac; 3s. 6d. net) is a book which attracts attention first because it is the work of Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., who has studied Muslim Philosophy under Professor T. W. Arnold, to whom the book is dedicated. But it deserves attention for its own sake. For it is a simple and quite reliable introduction to the study of the Sufis. It is difficult to read the proofs of Muslim or other Arabic works, and a few additions could still be made to the list of errata. But it is a book to be trusted for all that.

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The preacher cannot know everything, but he should know the things that make him a good preacher. These things are chiefly social and ethical at present. Among the rest he should know how to preach effectively on Peace and War and the Politics of Internationality. He should know Professor Dicey's *Law of the Constitution.*

Messrs. Macmillan have published a new edition. It is the seventh. It is revised throughout, and one chapter is entirely rewritten. The rewritten chapter is the most important one for the preacher. It is entitled *Droit Administratif.* For Dr. Dicey has found it necessary to re-examine the French view of administrative law very carefully (far more carefully than he had done before), on account of the necessity, for himself and all of us, of knowing how to encourage in the very best way the *entente cordiale.* The result of his study is disconcerting. He finds a difference in fundamental principles between French and English constitutional government. But the recognition of the difference is the first step towards its removal.

For the rest, let us simply say that Dicey's *Law of the Constitution* is one of the few works that are indispensable to the study of sociology.

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Christina Rossetti has been slower than any of the great poets in reaching public favour. Mr. Melrose has issued a popular selection of her poems. That will do something. Its title is *The Prince's Progress, and other Poems* (2s. net).

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A good suggestion for the text hunter is found in *Questions answered by Christ* (Melrose; 3s. 6d. net). The Rev. John A. Bain, M.A., author of *The New Reformation*, finds thirty-six questions. And no doubt he might have found more, for he omits the first of all, Mary's question to the Boy whom she found among the doctors. Mr. Bain's sermons are very short, but he reaches the salient things in almost every one of them.

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Messrs. Methuen are the publishers of Mysticism. First, this month, there is an addition to the 'Library of Devotion' made by Miss Gregory, and called *Horæ Mysticæ* (2s.). It is a Day Book compiled from the writings of mystics of many nations.

Next there is an Essay in Mystical Theology by the Bishop of Bloemfontein, with the title of *Ara Cœli* (3s. 6d. net). Dr. Chandler recognizes himself as the author of *The Divine Office for Holy Week*, but we remember him best by a most fertile volume on *The Spirit of Man*, a volume which gave promise, of which this mystical book is part of the fulfilment.

Then there is *Companions of the Way* (5s. net), being Selections for Morning and Evening Reading, chosen and arranged by Elizabeth Waterhouse. It is not openly mystical, but if Dr. Chandler's definition of mysticism will stand, it is mystical throughout. For 'mysticism, as I understand it,' says the Bishop of Bloemfontein, 'is the Religion of Experience.' Now every extract in *Companions of the Way* is a fragment of the religion of experience, whether it is an extract from Robert Louis Stevenson or from George Adam Smith.

Mr. W. Shaw Caldecott, who has already written volumes on the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple, has now written a much larger volume on *The Second Temple in Jerusalem* (Murray; 10s. 6d. net). Hitherto Mr. Caldecott's ideas have scarcely had a chance, his theories about the documents being in the way. In this book he pursues his theories about the documents, and they are in the way still. It is probable enough that little serious attention will in consequence be given to his ideas about the history and the structure of Ezekiel's temple, as he likes to call it.

But the loss will be considerable. Let us do our best to prevent it. For Mr. Caldecott has started with the first line of Ezekiel's drawing (he calls Ezekiel the architect of the Second Temple), and has worked patiently through all the literature, making elaborate measurements all the time; and now he presents a mass of information which cannot fail to be of service to every student of the Bible. It needs sifting. It needs verification. It occasionally provokes contradiction. But what Mr. Caldecott has done is on the whole good honest spade-work, and will not require to be done again.

The period bristles with difficulties, few of which have been removed by Mr. Caldecott. Nor can it be said that he has been well advised to write biographies of Ezekiel, Daniel, and others. Not a word should have been spared from the history and the description of the temple.

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*Fact and Faith* puts memorably the purpose which the Principal of the Leeds Clergy School had in the delivery and in the publication of the seven lectures which make up his new volume (Nisbet; 3s. 6d.). For the facts which are presented for faith's acceptance are (1) the Gospels themselves and their Christ; (2) Christ as the Victor over Temptation in Himself and in us, and as the Forgiveness of Sins; (3) Christ our Righteousness; and so on. And in every case Mr. Simpson has shown that the faith that is needed to make them ours does not take from their independence as facts.

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Taking his motto and title from the 16th Psalm, 'Thou wilt show me the path of life,' the Rev. W. M. Macpherson, D.D., has written a volume which he describes as 'Thoughts on Personal Salvation.' Its title is *The Path of Life* (Oliphant; 3s. 6d.). We have not for a very long time read a clearer statement of the way of return to the Father, or indeed a more heart-searching book of evangelical religion. Preachers boast of the simplicity of the gospel. It is almost universally felt to be unintelligible and difficult. The cause is the fragmentary and even contradictory manner of our pulpit presentation of it. When we read a book like this we see that it is indeed simple, and majestic in its simplicity. There could be no better service rendered by any one than would be the gift of this volume to a young man or woman.

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Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier have published another volume of Sermons to Children by the Rev. Charles Jerdan, M.A., LL.B. Its title is *Pastures of Tender Grass* (5s.). Like the others, it is a handsome volume, and since children's sermons must be short, it contains no fewer than sixty-six sermons.

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'His arm is not shortened that it cannot save.' Read the story of *Jerry McAuley*. The best edition has been published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier (3s. 6d. net). A better edition could not be desired. Here is the story in all its dramatic detail, and illustrated throughout by photographs.

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The editor of the *Spectator* appears in a universally pleasing aspect as author of a small volume of selections from the 'Wisdom Literature.' He gives it the title of *The Practical Wisdom of the Bible* (Pitman; 2s. 6d. net). Miss not the Introduction.

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Professor Driver has written an Introduction to Mr. G. H. Box's *Commentary on The Book of Isaiah* (Pitman; 7s. 6d. net), and nothing that could be said would give a better idea of its purpose and accomplishment. Professor Driver divides the features of the book into five classes. We must shorten his description.

Firstly, the translation is largely new, the text being first emended. The textual changes are mentioned in the footnotes. Secondly, the book as a whole and the separate prophecies are articulated into sections, with headings and introductions. Thirdly, the footnotes chiefly explain the textual changes, but they add other explanations sometimes. Fourthly, great pains are taken to describe

the historical occasion of each prophecy. Fifthly, an endeavour has been made to reproduce the rhythmical forms of the original prophecies.

What else need be said? Mr. Box is a scholar. He is a scholar of a moderate critical position. His aim has been to place the Book of Isaiah in the hands of English readers in the form in which modern scholarship understands it.

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In the Introduction to *Sir John Field, K.C.B., Soldier and Evangelist*, a brief memoir by one of his sons, Claud Field (R.T.S.; 5s. net), there is a touching poem which seems to say that the writing of the memoir arises from a desire to make up for lost opportunities of appreciation. It is successful. A soldier of the king, who is also a soldier of the King of kings, is sure to have the enormous advantage over civilian Christians that he is never ashamed of his colours. Mr. Field recognizes this in his father. The road that led to Sir John Field's conversion is traced with interest. But the interest deepens the moment that the conversion has taken place (which is not always the case in biographies), simply because from that moment this soldier serves both Kings with equal fidelity. He became an evangelist publicly and privately. He preached to the poorest natives in a Mohammedan village, and he preached with equal fervour and naturalness to his brother officers; and always, wherever he preached, he preached without offence, beyond the inevitable offence of the cross. For he was always a Christian and a gentleman. Yes, his son has made amends, if amends had really to be made. It is a beautiful tribute of affection, and it will do a world of good.

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Three more volumes have been issued by Messrs. Revell, *The Call of Korea*, by Horace G. Underwood; *The Law of Christian Healing*, by David Bruce Fitzgerald; and *The Coign of Vantage*, by W. T. Herridge (each 2s. 6d. net). *The Call of Korea* belongs to the mission shelf. But it widens its interest by the careful description of the life of the people. *The Law of Christian Healing* calls attention in a sane manner to a subject which has fallen into neglect through the folly of its advocates. *The Coign of Vantage* is a volume of miscellaneous essays, with a pleasant literary finish.

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The Rev. E. H. Archer-Shepherd, M.A., has returned to a manner of handling Scripture which was very popular with our fathers. In *The Ritual of the Tabernacle* (Rivingtons; 3s. 6d. net) he has taken the various parts of the tabernacle separately, and, after describing them in themselves, he has made them the occasion of spiritual teaching. After the interval of a generation spiritualizing may become popular again.

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As the typical preacher of the last generation choose Canon Liddon. As the typical preacher of the present choose the Rev. J. Stuart Holden. He preaches short evangelical sermons, enlivened with anecdote and flavoured with Tennyson and Browning. His new book is *Redeeming Vision* (Scott; 3s. 6d. net).

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A volume of wonderful beauty comes from Messrs. Seeley. It is an edition of *The Confessions of Augustine* (6s. net). The translation is Pusey's. We should have been pleased if a new translation had been made. The way has been prepared for it by the fine scholarly edition of the Latin edited by Professor Gibb and Mr. Montgomery, and recently published by the Cambridge Press. But this edition is not meant for scholars; it is evidently prepared as a Christmas gift, and we do not believe that a more charming gift will be found this Christmas season. The illuminated borders and the miniatures are exquisite, and the binding is in faultless taste.

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Was there ever a month in which were published so many religious biographies? Miss Gaussen's *Percy: Prelate and Poet* (Smith, Elder, & Co.; 10s. 6d. net) might have waited another month, since the author of the 'Reliques' has waited for his biography now so long. But one book on a subject draws attention to another book on that subject; and Bishop Percy may have his best chance in the month of biographies.

Why was the biography of Bishop Percy never written before? The materials are sufficient and the life was eventful. There is even a certain mystery about the circumstances of the life, its literary circumstances too, that makes it catch the ear of the multitude. The mystery concerns the original manuscript which Percy used for his 'Reliques.' It was in its day a miniature battle of Ossian.

Altogether the book is well worth reading, for

the subject is many sided, the scenery of the life is varied, and the skill of the biographer unmistakable. It does not at all take away from Percy's glory—although it rests on the 'Reliques,' that when he was made a bishop he became ashamed of them, and doubted if he had been well advised 'in bestowing any attention on a parcel of old ballads.'

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Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein are the publishers this month of four volumes, each of which is worth the attention of the student of Religion and Ethics.

*Essays on Theosophy*, by I. E. Taylor (2s. 6d. net) contains four short essays—Outlines of Theosophy, the Doctrine of Karma and Reincarnation, Theosophy and Science, Theosophy and the Masses.

*Vergil in the Middle Ages* (7s. 6d.) is an extraordinarily fascinating subject. And this is the best book that has ever been written on it. It is a translation by Mr. E. F. M. Benecke of Professor Comparetti. It is a scholar's translation, done into idiomatic English with the utmost fidelity to the original, a model for all translators. And the book was worth the ability and time that have been given to the translation. If Vergil is a classic, this is a classic on Vergil. There are few subjects that reveal the wonders of the mind of man more wonderfully than the way in which Vergil was used and abused in the Middle Ages. All through, it is a kind of seeking after God—seeking, but so far from finding. It was Professor Robinson Ellis who suggested the translation, and now he introduces it to our notice.

From Religion and Magic pass to a valuable book in the psychological side of philosophy. It is *The Inner Light* (6s.), 'a study of the significance, character and primary content of the religious consciousness.' It has been written by the Rev. Arnold R. Whately, D.D., Incumbent of Herringfleet, Suffolk, and it is introduced by Professor Caldecott. The book should be read along with the Bishop of Bloemfontein's book, for both bring together mysticism and personal religious experience, and so both touch the questions that are at once deepest in interest now and most puzzling to unravel.

The last of the four comes from the University of New York. It is *The Precinct of Religion in the Culture of Humanity*, by Professor Charles Gray Shaw. The title is heavy, but the book is not. Professor Shaw makes it his business to address the learned, and to address the unlearned also. As for the title, it might well have been simply 'An Introduction to the Study of Religion,' for that describes the book. There are four parts of it. The first part is on the Essence of Religion, the second on the Character of Religion, the third on the Reality of Religion, and the fourth on the Religious World-Order. This is the topic of topics in the advanced thought of America. There is none like it. All the world will soon be absorbed in it.

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How little did Dean Fremantle foresee the result of his hurried suggestion that belief in the Virgin Birth might be left an open question. The literature that has grown up around that open question is enormous in bulk, and it is still being added to. The latest addition is a thorough investigation (albeit openly in the interests of orthodoxy) of the whole of the Scripture evidence by the Rev. T. J. Thorburn, LL.D. (S.P.C.K.; 2s. 6d.)

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The 'Early Britain' series of the S.P.C.K. welcomes *Scandinavian Britain*, by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. (3s. 6d.). Three short introductory chapters were written by Professor York Powell, and it says much for Mr. Collingwood's skill that when he follows Powell at page 43 the interest does not lessen. It is a more agreeable study, the study of Scandinavian Britain, than is generally known. But it must be studied. Even in this introduction the author makes no attempt to serve his matter up for the indifferent.

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To Lord Beaconsfield's *Men of Light and Leading*, Mr. Edward Augustus George would add *Men of Latitude*. He has written brief biographies of John Hales, William Chillingworth, Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, Henry More, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne, and Richard Baxter; and he has called his book, *Seventeenth Century Men of Latitude* (Fisher Unwin; 3s. 6d. net). He calls the men, further, 'Forerunners of the New Theology.' And therein lies the meaning of the book. For Mr. George is a student of the seventeenth century and an admirer of Mr. Campbell of the twentieth, and he uses his historical knowledge to plead the cause of his friend. The publisher has done well, enriching the book with good engravings.

Terrible is the face of Nietzsche as it looks away from us when we open *The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche* (Unwin; 7s. 6d. net) at its title-page. What a fascination it carries. The book, written by Mr. Henry L. Mencken, is a commentary on it, that and nothing more. Nietzsche is still little more than a name to most of us. We lose not much by our ignorance. For once it may indeed be folly to be wise. But if some knowledge of Nietzsche, of himself and of his thinking, has become necessary, this is the book to find it in. Mr. Mencken has schooled himself into something like sympathy with this strangely isolated being, into something like comprehension of his way of looking at life. And he has certainly sufficient knowledge to enlighten our ignorance as to what Nietzsche actually said and why he was led to say it. For once we think the study of this book about a man's writings is better than the study of the writings themselves. If we have strength to bear it, the study of Mencken may do us much good. It will certainly compel us to consider whether we are living by our beliefs or merely repeating them after some one else.

Messrs. Washbourne have now published the second volume of the Rev. Charles Hart's *Manual of Bible History* (2s. 6d. net). It covers the New Testament. Mr. Hart has found room for some appendixes on the Books, the Evangelists, the Canon, the Jewish Sects, and the Roman Chronology.

To the number of lectureships already established another has been added. It is the Moorhouse Lectureship, created in memory of Bishop Moorhouse, once of Melbourne, afterwards of Manchester. It is an annual lectureship, and the volume of lectures must be published.

The second volume has been issued. Its title is *Democracy and Character* (Williams & Norgate; 5s.); its author the Rev. Reginald Stephen, M.A., Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne. It is not so difficult to read as the first volume was. It is less philosophical; the lecturer has a more practical way of looking out upon the world. He believes in Democracy—government of the people by the people,—as is most proper in an Australian. He believes that it is the nurse of independence and other blessings, and the only road in these latter days to the attainment of character.

# The Development of Christ's Doctrine during His Earthly Ministry.

By the Rev. R. M. Lithgow, Lisbon.

That logical development of doctrine which the parables yield when studied in their historical sequence, confirmed as this is by its accordance with the normal course of man's spiritual experience, naturally raises the question as to whether a like development does not characterize Christ's teachings generally. In view of the great work which our Lord was on earth to do, we cannot doubt that for it there was a divine plan, and that the development of this was revealed in the events of His incarnation. Such a development seems necessary in order to any just and reasonable conception of that redemptive work which Christ accomplished on man's behalf.

This thought of a developing purpose in Christ's life on earth is, however, quite apart from any more or less obvious development of the doctrine expressed in our Lord's discourses. We may conceive of the former as outside of the personal consciousness of Jesus, but cannot so think of the latter. Still there is a link which connects the two in this matter of consciousness. For experience develops character, the root of which is the will, and here the self-conscious element is reached. While, however, man's experience in this life brings a growing knowledge alike of good and evil, Christ's could be but a growing acquaintance with that evil which was so foreign and abhorrent to His holy nature. This saddening experience it was which tried and surprised Him, while marking as it did the path by which He stooped to conquer. It does not seem unnatural that a growing knowledge even of this sort should have as its result an ever-deepening impression of the

depravity of sin, and developing conception of the work of man's salvation. And with this granted, some development in the mental standpoint and teaching of Jesus is conceivable enough, for it is scriptural teaching that He grew, alike in stature and in wisdom.

But apart from the difficulty of associating development at all with the holy nature and unique experience of the God-Man, it is no easy matter to trace the true course of development in this case, in view of the perplexing material with which we have to work. We have already found reason to regard Matthew's record of the parables as the historical one, and in comparison with it to accept Luke's arrangement of them as that of the literary artist. This clue might aid us in our present study had we but these two Gospels to deal with. But John's Gospel, which we have hitherto had no occasion to refer to, cannot in this instance be overlooked. And with this third witness brought in, we are forced to some judgment as to how we must discriminate between the three.

In some respects we need have no difficulty in doing so. Matthew's predominant standpoint we have seen to be that of the Jewish moralist, while Luke's constant concern is to extol grace, and John's purpose is clearly declared to be the manifestation of our Lord's divinity. Now even in the case of but ordinarily endowed mortals, it is possible to find those who present to their several acquaintances distinctly varied aspects of their character. How differently one reveals himself to the spiritual sympathizer, to the genial companion, and to the cold business associate. Why to each one of these the same man seems a totally different person. And this consideration will, we think, best enable us to appreciate the several aspects of Christ's life and teachings presented to us in the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John.

Luke we shall have least occasion to consult because he reports so little of Christ's discourses unrecorded by Matthew, whose historic record of Christ's words is also so much more valuable for our present purpose than Luke's artistic work. Luke, however, alone gives us Christ's earliest recorded utterance in the answer to His parents in the temple, 'Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?' It finds its echo in Matthew's record of Christ's answer to the Baptist in the Jordan, 'It becometh us to fulfil every religious duty.' And the note is confirmed in the terse quotations hurled by Christ at the Tempter, 'Man shall not live by bread alone'; 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God.'

It was doubtless the surrounding lack of that fulfilment of duty which the youthful Jesus found so becoming, and of that godly devotion, already a passion with Him, which moved Jesus to preach, saying, 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand,' and with rare discernment to choose from among His companions those best fitted to become fishers of men. It is in His calling of these disciples that we first reach a point of absolute concurrence in the records of all the four evangelists. And that at this early stage is of prime importance. For the Messiah here revealed is one conscious of a holy mission and with distinct confidence in Himself as the Captain of this enterprise. The authoritative 'Follow me' addressed by Jesus to these Galilean fishermen at the very outset of His ministry must dispel any doubts as to Christ's early consciousness of the work He was called on to do. While Luke and John throw most light on the manner in which the men thus called regarded Jesus, all four evangelists alike tell of the promptness with which this call was obeyed.

What we thus learn is of great value in aiding us to appreciate the glimpses which John affords us into that year of preliminary work, in Judea and elsewhere, about which the Synoptists are entirely silent. For the words spoken by Christ at the Cana wedding feast, as also His conversations with Nicodemus and the woman of Samaria, give much more effect to the full apprehension of His mission than Matthew's more gradual unfolding of this would lead us to expect. It helps us to appreciate that intimacy with Christ which the sympathetic nature of John clearly gained him, to note that the more important disclosures of the Master's mind here are made to individuals. In this connexion it is noteworthy that Christ's more public utterances of this time, reported by John as the outcome of His cure of the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, are in comparison with Christ's conversational remarks distinctly restrained. In them, indeed, His divinity is declared and maintained, and the momentous issues of His quickening work represented, but that lifting up of the Son of Man spoken of to

Nicodemus is not here referred to. We are all quite familiar with the frequent fact of men, whose full public programme is not yet published, giving many a hint of this in their private and friendly conversations. And it is just this kind of self-revelation which John's intimacy with Jesus has enabled him to preserve for us from the personal interviews of Christ's earlier ministry.

Our view of the implications of Christ's call to His earliest disciples, and of the Johannine contribution to our knowledge of Christ's early work and thought, makes us even less concerned to explain that opening discourse in Nazareth which appears as a frontispiece to Luke's record of Christ's miracles and teaching. As a gracious exposition of that mission to which Christ felt called, it would naturally have its special attractions for the third evangelist. In view of the liberties taken by Luke in regard to the arrangement of his material, there is, however, no absolute need to regard this discourse as preceding the Galilean ministry.

It is with this ministry that Matthew begins that record of the sayings and discourses of our Lord which is the special feature of his Gospel. In the fore-front of this record stands the Sermon on the Mount. Its teachings may be regarded as the natural outcome of that religious enthusiasm and devotion to duty which we have seen Jesus express as a boy in the temple, at His baptism in the Jordan, and when tempted in the desert. The fresh scriptural note which dominates it all is that of *filial* devotion to God. The refrain of all its precepts is 'Glorify your Father which is in heaven.' No section of the whole discourse lacks the expression of this thought. It inspires the passive dispositions commended in the opening Beatitudes, whose possessors shall be called sons of God. It is stated as the object of that more active aspect of virtue symbolized by the salt and the lit lamp. It is given as the reason why the righteousness of Christ's followers must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, attain even to the love of their enemies, and aim at no less perfection than that of the Father above. It is because done before their Father, who seeth in secret, that all advertisement is out of place in almsgiving, fasting, and prayer. It is because He knoweth their needs and taketh thought for His children, that they should, like the birds He feedeth, divest themselves of earthly cares, in order to seek His kingdom, to serve its interests, and to secure its heavenly treasures. And it is because the doing of the Father's will means everything for loving children, that His golden rule should regulate their conduct, and their chief concern be to build on the sure foundation, and keep the narrow way that leadeth unto life.

It is the Fatherhood of God which is the basal thought of this discourse, and this we have seen to have its place in Christ's first reported utterance and in His early Parable of the Lost Son. Nor is the great distinction of the good and bad, set before us in that initial group of parables of which this forms a part, overlooked in this Sermon on the Mount. The thought, indeed, is implied all throughout, besides coming to clear statement in the sapid and the savourless salts, the displayed and the concealed lamps, man's two possible masters, the broad and the narrow ways, the good and the corrupt trees, and the builders on the rock and on the sand. There is then quite a clear echo of Christ's first parables in this His first public discourse.

In view of the fact that the prayer and growth parables follow those of the great distinction, it is interesting to discover that Matthew's Gospel gives us immediately after its report of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, its first record of supplications made to Him, these procuring for their offerers restoration to health, deliverance from danger, recovery of sight, a recall to life, the expulsion of devils, and the forgiveness of sins. This last case alone has to do with any development of doctrine in Christ's utterances. It is that of the palsied man let down by his friends from the roof, in healing whom our Lord first proclaimed in words His power to forgive sins, adding, later on the same day, the statement, 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners,' and making use to John's disciples, who then visited Him, of the figure of the new wine in the old skins. Here then in forgiveness, granted to that faith which had been evoked and commended by Christ as essential to all the cures He effected, the presence of the germinating and growing life depicted in the leaven, mustard seed, and growing corn may be recognized. And naturally now in view of a promising harvest, the Twelve are sent forth with the good seed to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, encouraged by the assurance that it is the very Spirit of the Father which speaketh in them.

What they have freely received they are freely to give.

It is in the charge given to those thus sent forth that we first find Christ referring to those conditions and responsibilities of grace which form the subject of His third group of parables. As taught in the story of the Unmerciful Servant, this passing on of the grace received is one of these conditions. But in the injunctions of Christ's charge, calling for a confession of Him before men, and for a taking up of the cross by His disciples, we find this point further emphasized. And is not Dives suggested by the words, 'He that findeth his life shall lose it'; and the Good Samaritan by these, 'Whosoever shall give to drink to one of these little ones shall in no wise lose his reward'? But, indeed, the strain of the whole charge has as its two leading notes, the parting with all, required in order to the purchase of the pearl of price, and the joy of him who found the hidden treasure. 'Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. But fear not, for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be made known. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, but he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.'

Apart from that parallel with the course of Christ's parabolic teaching which we have thus far been tracing in Matthew's account of our Lord's public sayings and discourses, there is a development of the more personal element in Christ's doctrine which must be taken note of at the point we have reached. This amounts to a growing insistence on the majesty and importance of His claims to personal homage and obedience. We best can note the movement of it in Christ's three distinct calls. (1) 'Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.' Here the summons is to mere discipleship and imitation, and that with a stated human reference, to secure adherents to Christ's cause. (2) 'Every one who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven.' Here the call is to the acceptance of Christ's cross; in other words, to such identification with Him as must entail persecution. But in the reward held forth, the ultimate object of the call is presented as a future and heavenly one. There is present hatred and suffering, but an eternal reward. (3) The third call is 'Come unto me all ye who labour,' as to Him who alone knows, and can reveal the Father. Here the reference, although immediate, is entirely spiritual, the call securing, to those accepting it, present rest and tranquillity, through the assurance thus conferred of the divine compassion and support.

But these three successive calls are not the only marks of this development. The first call is contemporaneous with Christ's intimation that the kingdom of God is at hand. The second succeeds the announcement that 'the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins,' and forms part of Christ's charge to those whom He is sending forth with the Spirit of the Father speaking in them. The third call again finds its place in the midst of still more notable proclamations of Christ's divine authority and power. It follows the denunciation of direful woes against the cities unaffected by Christ's preaching, and is immediately followed by such statements as these, 'One greater than the temple is here'; 'The Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath'; 'If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you.' And here, indeed, Christ's claim of divine authority reaches its climax, and there abides. Peter, indeed, has still to make his momentous confession, and the transfiguration to put its seal on that, but as manifesting and announcing the divine majesty and authority of Christ, the kingdom has truly come.

And with this movement completed, a no less important one begins to take its place. Christ's manifest majesty is the necessary pedestal for His recognized humiliation. And so it is only now, and that in obscure fashion at first, that our Lord begins to make intimation of the decease which He must accomplish at Jerusalem. It is that same twelfth chapter of Matthew's Gospel which, after proclaiming that the kingdom has come, proceeds to record Christ's first intimation of His passion, in the sign of the prophet Jonah. 'For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.'

And now at this point we find the first instalment of our Lord's parables recorded by Matthew, in the seven brought together in the thirteenth chapter of his Gospel. These, with their Lucan parallels, giving us the parables of the great distinction, of growth and prayer, and of the

conditions of grace, sum up in this form Christ's doctrine as hitherto declared. It is notable that they do not go beyond this, even leaving for a later point that Parable of the Unmerciful Servant with its first clear parabolic reference to grace.

The intervening chapters, which carry us to the close of Christ's work in Galilee, tell of that feeding of the five thousand and Christ's after appearance on the water, which are the events with which John takes up again his record of our Lord's life and teaching. They record, too, Peter's confession of Christ's divinity, and the transfiguration of our Lord. And besides, they give us two very distinct intimations made by Christ to the disciples of His need to go to Jerusalem, and there suffer many things, and be killed, and on the third day be raised up.

John's contribution to our knowledge of the Galilean ministry includes his report of Christ's sermon on the bread of life, Peter's recognition of his Lord's utterances as words of life, and the important intimation that, with the changed prospect which Christ's prediction of His passion created, many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him. The doctrinal crisis then was marked by this outer one in the fortunes of the apostolic band.

With the departure from Galilee there is a marked alteration of features in the work, and of tone in the talk and teachings of Christ. The cheerful and commanding note is replaced by a sad and deepeningly solemn one. This is noticeable alike in all the four Gospel narratives. Luke relieves the sombreness of the change by shortening his narrative of the after period, while John enswathes its sad experiences in a halo of the most divinely exalted and profoundly gracious discourse.

Mark says that during this time Christ began to speak in parables, and, in keeping with this, Matthew henceforth interweaves the parabolic teaching with his record of Christ's more direct sayings and addresses. In his Gospel there are two phases of the doctrinal development leading up to the passion of our Lord. The first is coloured by the thought of the divine claims and the difficulty of their fulfilment. The childlike disposition alone meets the needs of the case, and of such is the kingdom of God. On the other hand, how hardly shall they that have riches enter that heavenly realm, which demands of its subjects not only obedience to the divine commands, but the cultivation, too, of the self-denying and gracious disposition. The Parable of the Labourers, told at this point, serves at once to declare the claims of God's grace, and to disclose how human perversity can find in grace itself an excuse for declining compliance with them.

Suitably with this first parable on the responsibilities of divine grace, Christ's sufferings to procure it are kept in evidence, by a further intimation of His about what awaits Him in Jerusalem. The doctrine of the cross already referred to in Galilee as an essential condition of Christian discipleship, is now advanced a stage by being set forth as the way to all eminence and dominion in the kingdom. In connexion with this, the object of Christ's coming passion is now declared to be the giving of His life as a ransom for many.

Following our Lord's reference here to the cup which He must drink, we find Christ in His cure of Bartimæus, moved with that same compassion of the fellow-sufferer, which, as one sharing their hunger, had affected Him in providing for the five thousand. We next read of Christ weeping over Jerusalem as He draws nigh to the city, and discover Him in such peril of His life when there, as obliges Him each night to leave it for the Mount of Olives. John tells us that the Jews cast stones at, and Luke that they sought to lay hands on, Him.

From the time of His arrival at Jerusalem, notwithstanding the triumphal Hosanna entry and its accompanying purging of the temple, that authority which we have seen Christ claim and exercise in Galilee was rudely questioned. In answer to this treatment, Christ, in order to expose and reprove the hypocritical devotion and practical non-recognition of Jehovah by His covenanted people, as also to set forth the debts of loving loyalty and faithful stewardship which the divine grace lays on all His followers, delivered the parables of the Two Sons, and of the Husbandmen.

The last phase of doctrinal development in Matthew's record of Christ's teachings is associated with the three parables of judgment, which with the discourses relating to the second advent, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the final judgment, give so solemn a character to the chapters of this Gospel which precede its account

of our Lord's passion. These parables of the Wedding Feast and Robe, the Bridesmaids, and the Talents, have as their distinctive features a further reaching reference to doom than we find in any other of the Matthean parables. Here, in the first and last of these three parables (and only besides in Mt $8^{12}$), is the outer darkness mentioned, while the admonitory context gives to the exclusion of the foolish virgins from the bridal feast quite as tragic and impressive a note. It is indeed only in Luke's parable of Dives and Lazarus that we find any equally solemn picture of the issues of sin and grace.

As regards the dominant feature of this, the closing chapter of our Lord's public ministry, we find all the four evangelists at one. The note of prediction is common to the discourses alike of the Synoptists and of the Fourth Gospel. The miracle of the period too, unlike all Christ's others, is one of judgment, the blasting of the leafy but unfruitful fig-tree. As at its opening scene in the call of His disciples, and at the crisis of Christ's ministry ere leaving Galilee, its four recorders are again brought together in pealing forth its final solemn note.

The doctrine of the cross alone awaits its further development, and divine fulfilment. The former, as Dr. Bruce points out in his *Training of the Twelve*, has its two last lessons taught, in the anointing of Christ by Mary of Bethany, and in Christ's institution of the Lord's Supper. Mary's magnificent gift eloquently declares that love demands and delights in heroic self-sacrifice, while in the sacrament which commemorates Christ's dying love, there is shown what the cross, as borne by Him, has purchased for His people, in the way of assured pardon and favour, and of spiritual nourishment.

Matthew records for us the stern and solemn truths of Christ's predictive utterances, while Luke, in the parables with the same reference reported by him, seeks to gild the dark cloud with a lining of grace. It is the beloved disciple, however, who is privileged to afford us that comforting aspect of the predictive doctrine which our Lord imparted to His own. 'I do not leave you comfortless. I come to you, and go to prepare a place for you, that where I am ye may be also.' There is here the full anticipation of that divine triumph with the suitable pæan of which Matthew closes his Gospel. 'All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and disciple all the nations. And lo, I am with you alway.'

It remains but to sum up the results of our present study. With Matthew as our guide to the historical and logical development of Christ's doctrinal utterances, having found him such to that of the parabolic teaching, we can note an according progress between the general and parabolic doctrine of our Lord. The Sermon on the Mount furnishes an equivalent to the initial parables relating to the great distinction of good or bad, lost or found. Matthew's eighth and ninth chapters illustrate and confirm the parables on prayer and growth. His next nine chapters, like the next group of parables, relate to grace and its conditions. Thereafter the parables are interwoven with the events and concurrent direct teaching of the later ministry of Christ. Here again, however, the divine claims, and eternal issues of sin and grace, with which these parables in succession deal, give the notes severally of the next three and again succeeding three chapters of Matthew's Gospel. Nor have our conclusions brought us into any serious or irreconcilable conflict with the records of the other three evangelists.

# Recent Foreign Theology.

## Varia.

J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen.

The great success that attended the publication of Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des Alten Test.* in 1890–94 led to the issue of a second edition in 1896, and it is extremely gratifying to note that a third edition is now in course of publication. The work is being published in parts [five have reached us], at intervals of about five weeks, and the final issue is expected in the spring of 1910. The cost per part is (to subscribers) fixed at the very moderate figure of M.0.80. A new feature of the present edition, which cannot fail to add materially to its value, is the introduction of explanatory footnotes.

The same publishers have commenced the issue

of an important work, entitled *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, which will appear in monthly parts, at a cost (to subscribers) of M.1 per part. The work will probably run to four or five volumes, each containing about 1000 double-column pages, and will be completed, if possible, before the end of the year 1911. The scope of the work will best be understood from the following scheme of the topics to be handled:—

I. Old Testament (everything relating to the literature of Israel, her history, and the history of her religion): editor, Professor Gunkel.
II. New Testament (its literature, geography, chronology, etc.; and a full treatment of primitive Christianity): editor, Professor Heitmüller.
III. Church History and History of Dogma, Symbolics: editor, Professor Köhler.
IV. Systematic Theology: editor, Professor Troeltsch.
V. Ethics: editor, Professor Scheel.
VI. Apologetics: editor, Professor Wobbermin.
VII. Practical Theology: editor, Professor Baumgarten.
VIII. Education: editor, Dr. Schiele.
IX. Art: editor, Professor Neumann.
X. Music: editor, Professor Weber.
XI. Non-Christian Religions: editors, Professor Gunkel and Dr. Schiele.
XII. Sociology: editor, Dr. Siebeck.
XIII. Church Law and Polity: editor, Professor Schian.
XIV. Religion at the Present Day: editor, Professor Baumgarten.
XV. German Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century: editor, Dr. Mulert.

The first part, which lies before us, contains, in addition to smaller articles, the following: A and Ω, Aachen, Aaron, Abälard, Abba, Abbreviaturen, Abendländische Kirche, Abendmahl (i. in N.T.; ii. dogmengeschichtlich; iii. dogmatisch; iv. liturgisch; v. rechtlich), Abendmahlsbulle, Abendmahlserschleichung, Aberciusinschrift, Aberglaube.

We shall follow with interest the appearance of the various parts.

Under the competent editorship of Professor Bertholet of Basel there has just appeared a volume of 400 pages, which will be warmly welcomed by students of comparative religion. It is entitled *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (price M.6.60). The interest of the subject and the aims and method of the present work are described by the editor in a preface which is itself a contribution to the subject. Then follow a series of religions, with appropriate introductions, and with translations of copious selected passages from their sacred books. Those selections are made not on the principle of choosing what is 'beautiful,' but solely with a view to presenting what is truly characteristic of each religion. We have: I. The Religion of the Ancient Chinese, by Professor Grube of Berlin (pp. 1–69). II. The Religions of India: (A) Vedism and Brahmanism, by Professor Geldner of Marburg (pp. 70–213); (B) Buddhism, by Professor Winternitz of Prag (pp. 214–322). III. Zoroastrianism (the Avesta), by Professor Geldner of Marburg (pp. 323–360). IV. Islam, by Professor A. Mez of Basel (pp. 361–380). An excellent index of 20 pages concludes the volume, which has our heartiest wishes for its success.

We are glad to note the issue of a sixth edition of Cornill's *Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des A.T.* (price M.5). We need not repeat here what we have said in favour of this work on the occasion of the appearance of earlier editions.

Professor Beer of Strassburg has added another to the useful series of translations of Mishnic tractates by his version of the important tractate *Shabbath* (price M.3.20).

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Alfred Töpelmann (J. Ricker), Giessen.

In spite of the labours of men like Grimm and Cremer, all New Testament scholars are aware of the need of a new Greek Lexicon for its study. The materials for the composition of such a work have been largely increased by the discoveries of papyri, etc., in recent years. This need will be partially met by Dr. Preuschen's new work entitled *Vollständiges Griechisches-deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T. und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, of which the first part has just appeared (price M.1.80), extending from α—ἀργυροκόπος. The whole is expected to be completed in seven parts, costing subscribers about M.13. The Lexicon takes account not only of N.T. words, but of those found in the Apostolic Fathers and in the extra-canonical Gospels. The citation of passages is based on Moulton-Geden's Concordance and (for the text) on Nestle's edition of the Greek N.T., but with account taken of variants in other critical editions. It seems rather a pity that more copious and more *direct* use is not made of the testimony of the papyri.

Since our last notice of Professor Morris Jastrow's great work, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Parts 11 and 12 have appeared, both of which are wholly occupied with 'Vorzeichen und Deutungslehre.' The second volume must now be nearing completion.

Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen (Glasgow: F. Bauermeister).

In 1896 Meyer's commentary on the Book of Revelation (by Düsterdieck) was completely revised by Professor Bousset of Göttingen, who produced what was really a new work, enriched by his special knowledge in the sphere of apocalyptic. The same author has now given us a revised edition of his own work, nominally the sixth edition of the commentary. All N.T. students will welcome the latest contribution of such an acknowledged expert to the interpretation of an interesting book which has suffered so much at the hands of earlier commentators (price M.8).

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J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

The literature dealing with the religion of Babylonia and Assyria has been enriched by Dr. Otto Weber's *Die Litteratur der Babylonier und Assyrer* (price M.4.20). In his introduction the author discusses the scope and contents of Assyro-Babylonian literature, the 'Sumerian' question, the invention and history of the cuneiform script, etc., and then proceeds to deal with the various branches of the extant literature (creation and other myths, incantation formulæ, omens, psalms and hymns, the historical inscriptions, letters, scientific texts, popular literature), of which copious examples are cited. The work cannot fail to prove of value.

Professor Strack of Berlin needs no introduction to readers of The Expository Times. He has rendered eminent service to all interested in the study of Judaism, and no pen has been more potent than his in dispelling the ghastly 'blood superstition,' and in warring against 'Anti-Semitism' (on which, by the way, he contributes a weighty article to vol. i. of Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*). We have just received the fourth edition of his valuable *Einleitung in den Talmud* (price M.3.20). This is virtually a new book, having been subjected by its author to a thorough revision, so as to place the Bible student in the most favourable position for learning what the Talmud is and what it contains. It may safely be said that a work like the present is indispensable for the proper understanding alike of the O.T. and the N.T. It will prove of immense service to missionaries to the Jews, and to all who are interested in the Jewish question, which is now a burning one, not only on the Continent, but in Great Britain and America.

Recent Works by Professor König of Bonn.

(1) *Talmud und Neues Testament* (Edw. Runge, Berlin; price 60 pf.), one of the well-known 'Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen.' After a summary account of the history and contents of the Talmud, Dr. König proceeds to contrast its standpoint with that of the N.T., especially in regard to the attitude to the Law and the Prophets, the character of its miracles, its conception of the Kingdom of God, and its ethical principles. His task is well accomplished, and he says much that may be commended to the attention of superficial critics who disparage the 'originality' of the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount.

(2) *Die Poesie des Alten Testaments* (Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig; price M.1, bound M.1.25) is a very interesting contribution to the subject of Hebrew poetry. Not only does the author present a clear view of what poetry really means, but he offers a welcome clue through the labyrinth of schemes of Hebrew 'metre,' and illustrates in copious detail the various species (epic-lyric, epic-didactic, pure didactic, pure lyric) of poetical compositions to be found in the Old Testament. We must refer readers to the last chapter of the book for a very satisfactory discussion of the much controverted question of the existence of the drama among the Hebrews.

(3) *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes bis auf Jesus Christus* (H. Wollerman, Braunschweig und Leipzig; price M.4.80). This book ought to appeal to many readers. Its subject, the Kingdom of God, has been handled by many, but is of perennial interest. Defining the Kingdom of God as 'that community by citizenship in which man who has strayed from God attains again to peace with Him,' Dr. König traces the growth of the conception and the development of the kingdom from the first down to its perfect realization in the Person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. His book is, in one sense, a history of Israel or of Israel's religion, but it is differentiated from other histories by the central theme that dominates it. Three stages in the unfolding of the doctrine of the kingdom are distinguished: (1) the patriarchal period, (2) from Moses to Malachi, (3) the prophetless period. This last, which has only within recent years had justice done to it, is handled with very great care, and the real background of the N.T. is clearly presented to us. Throughout the book, Professor König shows himself thoroughly at home

in all recent discoveries and discussions, and speaks more than one enlightening word on controverted points, but he never forgets the main interest, which is the religious one, and he never abandons the use of popular language. We earnestly trust that this valuable work will be widely read. Its 330 pages contain a rich mine of spiritual instruction.

(4) *Hebräische Grammatik fur den Unterricht, mit Übüngstücken und Wörterverzeichnissen* (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig; price, bound, M.3.60). There is one department of knowledge in which by universal confession Professor König is unrivalled. In anything relating to the Hebrew language he calls no man master. It is now nearly twenty years since his *Hebrew Syntax* put the cope-stone on that enduring monument he reared for himself in his colossal work, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache.* Such a competent judge as the late Professor Carl Siegfried pronounced that no one had ever approached the subject of Hebrew syntax with such a combination of the needful qualities, or treated it with such success, and declared that for all time to come 'this inexhaustible mine' would continue to yield new and valuable results 'alike for the language and the exegesis of the O.T.' Similarly, Dr. Nowack characterizes the *Lehrgebäude* as 'a product of extraordinary labour and all-embracing scholarship.' In our own country the highest testimony to it has been borne by Professor Driver and other authorities, and no better certificate of its worth could be adduced than the fact that it is cited many hundreds of times in the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon.* Instead of any description of the *Hebrew Grammar* before us, we have thought it better to mention the considerations that will rouse the interest of readers and stimulate them to make acquaintance, in this readily accessible form, with the system of one who is *facile princeps* in this domain. J. A. SELBIE.

*Aberdeen.*

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF DEUTERONOMY.

DEUTERONOMY xxxii. 11, 12.

**'As an eagle that stirreth up her nest,**
**That fluttereth over her young,**
**He spread abroad his wings, he took them,**
**He bare them on his pinions:**
**The Lord alone did lead him,**
**And there was no strange god with him.'—R.V.**

### EXPOSITION.

**'An eagle.'**—The eagle has in English poetry such noble associations that the substitution of 'vulture' may seem a degradation of the figure which the Hebrew poet employs; but Tristram's argument that *nésher* is not the eagle, but the griffon-vulture, seems irresistible; so that though *eagle* may be excusably retained in a popular version, it is a rendering without any pretensions to scientific exactness.—DRIVER.

**'As an eagle that stirreth up her nest . . . he spread abroad his wings, he took them, he bare them on his pinions.'**—The figure of Ex $19^4$ is here developed, so as to illustrate Jehovah's paternal affection. Shown in *training Israel to independence*: as the bird stirs up its nest, with the object of encouraging its young ones to flight, but at the same time hovers over them so as to be at hand to support them on its wings, in case their strength fails and they are in danger of falling, so Jehovah (the figure of the bird being still retained) spread out His wings, and bare Israel upon them, until its powers were matured, and the nation was able to support itself alone.—DRIVER.

**'The Lord alone did lead him.'**—All the hardship and the toil were of God's appointment to drive His beloved people upwards and onwards. Whatever they might think or believe now, it was Yahweh alone, without companion or ally, who had done this for them, borne them up through it, and bestowed upon them all the luxury of the goodly land once promised to their fathers. Even from the rocks He had given them honey, and the rocky soil had produced the olive tree. They had, too, all the luxuries of a pastoral people in abundance, and the wheat and foaming wine which were the finest products of agriculture.—HARPER.

**'And there was no strange god with him.'**—No 'foreign god' helped Yahweh in His fatherly task (Hos $13^4$ R.V. marg., Is $43^{12}$); why then, it is implied, should 'foreign gods' share in Israel's regard?—ROBINSON.

### THE SERMON.

#### God's Education of His Children.

*By the Rev. G. T. Purves, D.D., LL.D.*

If it be true that God is educating His children, He must accommodate His disclosures of truth to their capacities. This throws light on the slowness with which revelation itself was given to the world. This idea of patient training is expressed in the

text. The passage is part of the magnificent song which Moses addressed to the people of Israel before he left them. He was the under teacher himself, so he knew how Jehovah had found them lost and degraded by bondage, and how He had instructed them, and protected them, and forgiven them—correcting their faults and developing their powers.

The figure of the text—that of an eagle teaching her young to fly—is a striking one. The eagle's object is to train the powers of her young and to protect them from peril. In like manner God's twofold purpose in educating His people is their development and their protection.

In the first place, God seeks by His treatment of us on earth to develop our spiritual powers. It is unnecessary to say that, even before the Divine Master can begin the education of the soul, there must be implanted in it the germ of spiritual life. You cannot train a dead vine, or educate an imbecile. But if life, however weak, be present, there is evidence of God's desire to develop our powers. It appears, first of all, in His recognition of our individual *freedom*. Though sensible that our freedom is limited in various ways, we are still conscious of being free. We know that we act upon motives, that we are governed by truth, that we grow in intelligence, and that we make discoveries. So God treats us as intelligent beings to be persuaded and convinced. He reveals His will, little by little. And we grow into a knowledge of it by its growing into us.

Consider also how God holds us *accountable* for our conduct. This implies freedom and intelligence, for a soulless animal could be neither rewarded nor punished. Christ is to pass judgment on our lives, and He will take everything into consideration—it will be a fair judgment. This responsibility to God for our actions is a great developing force and makes for a noble life.

In this connexion notice that God requires personal *work* of some kind from everybody. The command to work was not given after, but before, the Fall. God does not need labourers in His vineyard, but He invites us to be co-workers with Himself. The work calls out our faculties, develops our patience and endurance, and matures us.

The troubles and *suffering* which God permits to befall us, are also part of our training. There is a strength won from suffering, a wisdom from failures, and a spiritual vigour from losses which could not be otherwise attained. Was not the Lord Himself perfected by suffering?

We now understand the first half of the picture—the eagle forcing her young to fly—that is the compulsion to flight, the necessity of development. Now follows the emblem of protection—'fluttereth over her young.' Life is not all a hard education. God is always near in all the fulness of His personal love, to sympathize and uphold; and whatever trial His people have to meet they can testify that He has been their refuge and their strength.

Shall we not put ourselves under a Master in the art of living—One who will both protect and develop us till we mount up with wings as eagles?

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### Taught by the Eagle.

*By the Rev. D. D. F. Macdonald, M.A.*

The words of the text are taken from the death-song of Moses. Because they are among his last words, they make the greater impression upon us. Why should this be? Chiefly because we believe that there is the deepest meaning crowded into a man's last words. When the darkness is falling, a tremendous force is lent the simplest saying. The late Dr. Adam, for example, of the High School, Edinburgh, was heard to murmur when dying, 'Go home, boys—it is growing dark.' If we attach such importance to the last sayings of humbler men, how much more will we attach to those of the outstandingly great in their generation, of the Master Spirit of the Old Testament himself?

Looking back over his long life he seems to have made the discovery that there was a golden thread of Divine purpose running through his experiences. In order that the people may understand God's attitude towards him and towards them he uses the illustration of the eagle. 'As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth with her wings over her young . . . So the Lord alone did lead him.' Two things are taken for granted here—that God is our Father, and that the powers by which we serve Him are slumbering within us. We cannot apply the illustration to ourselves unless we first acknowledge that we are the children of God. It is the eaglets that the eagle trains, it is not the offspring of any other bird. If we have acknowledged God as our

Father in an intimately spiritual way, then all the teaching and comfort of this illustration belongs to us.

(1) *The Educative Method.* If we are the children of God we must expect to be trained by Him. He has two methods. The first is the educative method. The eagle swoops round and round the nest encouraging her offspring to follow her example. What is the spiritual application of this? Surely, that Jesus Christ came into the world and was tempted in all points like as we are in order that we might follow His example.

(2) *The Prohibitive Method.* If the reverential spirit in a man refuse to be quickened, then God has recourse to His second method. To see what this is let us look at the illustration. The eaglets are still shivering in the nest. Suddenly the eagle swoops upon them and scatters the sticks, and perforce they have to use their wings. This is God's method with us. If we will not learn in prosperity, He must teach us by adversity and bereavement.

But what if we refuse to be trained either by imitation or prohibition? There is no compulsion, and the only course left to the Almighty love is to leave us alone.

> Mine held them once, but flung away
> Those keys that might have open thrown
> The golden sluices of the day.
> I clutch the keys of darkness now!
> I hear the reapers singing go
> Into God's harvest—I that might
> With them have chosen—here below
> Grope shuddering at the gate of night.

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## Illustrations.

**'Cloud-wings—the eagle.'**—One day, when I came to the little thicket on the cliff, I found that one eaglet was gone. The other stood on the edge of the nest. Presently the mother eagle came swiftly up from the valley, and there was food in her talons. She came to the edge of the nest, hovered over it a moment, then went slowly down to the valley, taking the food with her, telling the little one in her own way to come and he should have it. But he was afraid.

In a little while she came back again, this time without food, and tried every way to induce the little one to leave the nest. She succeeded at last, when with a desperate effort he sprang upward and flapped to the ledge above; then after surveying the world gravely from his new place, he flapped back to the nest.

Suddenly, as if discouraged, she rose well above him. I held my breath for I knew what was coming. The little fellow stood on the edge of the nest, looking down at the plunge which he dared not take. There was a sharp cry from behind, which made him alert, tense as a watch-spring. The next instant the mother eagle had swooped, striking the nest at his feet, sending his support of twigs and himself with them out into the air together. He was afloat now, and flapped lustily for life. Over him, under him, beside him hovered the mother on tireless wings, calling softly that she was there. But the awful fear of the depths and the lance tops of the spruces was upon the little one; his flapping grew more wild: he fell faster and faster. Suddenly—more in fright, it seemed to me, than because he had spent his strength—he lost his balance and tipped head downward in the air. Then like a flash the old mother eagle shot under him. He righted himself, rested an instant, found his head; then she dropped like a shot from under him, leaving him to come down on his own wings. It was all the work of an instant before I lost them among the trees far below. And when I found them again with my glass, the eaglet was in the top of a great pine, and the mother was feeding him.—From *Fowls of the Air*, by William M. J. Long.

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**'As an eagle that stirreth up her nest.'**—To the majority of her readers, the news of the death of Allen Raine will come with painful unexpectedness. That she took to literature at all was due to the trials of her life. Her husband, a banker, became afflicted in a way that made it impossible for him to follow his business; he had to be cared for. She tried her pen, and almost from the start secured success. Her first encouragement came from Eisteddvod, the winning of the prize at Carnarvon in 1894 for a story dealing with Welsh life.

But the best story she ever wrote is her own life. When calamity overtook her home, she ventured all in a daring attempt. It might be said of Allen Raine that God drove her out of her position of comparative comfort that she might exercise a power that had lain dormant. She must have found out that God when He seemed to be cruel, like the mother eagle breaking up her nest, was in reality most kind, for her last words as she entered the valley were, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.'

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**'The Lord did lead him.'**—I do not think that we practise this simple resignation often enough. It is astonishing how the act of placing our own will in unison with the Divine will restores our tranquillity. It was only a short time ago that I was walking alone among the fields and villages. It was one of those languid days in early spring when frame and mind alike seem unstrung and listless. The orchards were white with flowers, and the hedges were breaking into fresh green. I had just returned to my work after a brief and delightful holiday. I was overshadowed with the vague depression that the resumption of work tends to bring to anxious minds. I entered a little ancient church that stood open. It was full of sunlight and had been tenderly decked with flowers. If I had been glad at heart it would have seemed a sweet place full of peace and beautiful mysteries. But it had no voice. I was overshadowed too by a sad anxiety about one whom I loved, who was acting perversely and unworthily. There came into my mind a sudden and gracious thought to commit

myself to the heart of God; not to disguise my weakness and anxiety; not to ask that the load should be lightened, but that I might endure His will to the uttermost. In a moment came the strength that I sought; no lightening of the load, but a deeper serenity and a desire to bear it faithfully. The very fragrance of the flowers seemed to mingle like sweet incense with my vow. The walls whispered patience and hope. I do not know where the peace that then settled upon me came from, but not it seemed out of the slender resources of my own vexed spirit.—A. C. Benson, *From a College Window*, pp. 165–166.

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This religion that we have is not a religion of weakness, but a religion of strength. If there is anything that can make one strong it is this religion that Christ has given to us. Does it not give us the strength that comes from the sense of overruling care? Not only does the Bible assert that our lives are precious in the sight of God, but the poets have taken up the theme and woven it into immortal verse. Before I was able to understand the beauty of it, my father used to have me read to him Bryant's poem, 'The Ode to the Water-Fowl,' and if you have not read it I would ask you to read it when you go home. The poet takes the course of the water-fowl, north and south, to its home, and follows it through all its wanderings, and in conclusion he says:

> He who from zone to zone
> Guides through the endless way thy certain flight,
> In the long way that I must tread alone,
> Will lead my steps aright.

William Jennings Bryan.

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# Christmas and New Year Books.

### Blackie.

Were we asked to describe the appearance, style, and tone of Messrs. Blackie's books by a single word, we should apply the adjective 'robust' to them, for their tone is thoroughly healthy, their style strong and pure, and their bindings and general appearance attractive and durable. Picking the books up at random, we come first upon *How Canada was Won* (6s.), by Captain F. S. Brereton, upon whom the mantle of Henty seems to have fallen. Indeed, for thrilling adventures well told and sound military knowledge, he surpasses Henty, and in versatility he runs him close. In view of the recent tercentenary celebrations in Quebec, he has been most happy in his choice of a subject for his latest book.

*The White Trail* (6s.), by Alex. Macdonald, is a story of the early days of Klondike, and it is rendered more interesting by the fact that it is founded upon actual experience. Mr. Macdonald celebrated his nineteenth birthday on the summit of the Chilcoot Pass while bound for Klondike at the first of the 'rush,' and was present in Dawson City at the great 'starve out' in the winter of 1897.

It is just two years since Messrs. Blackie discovered Mr. Macdonald. This year they have discovered another gifted writer of boys' stories in Mr. T. T. Jeans. The title of his first book is *Mr. Midshipman Glover, R.N.* (5s.), a stirring tale of the Royal Navy of to-day. As Mr. Jeans is himself a Staff Surgeon in the navy, and as he has had assistance from several Gunnery, Torpedo, and Engineer Lieutenants, we may be sure that all the technical details are correct, and that the book will yield information as well as entertainment.

*For the Sake of his Chum*, by Walter Rhoades (3s. 6d.), is a good healthy school story. Jimmy Karslake's chum Lorden obtained a dishonourable revenge over a Mr. Webber who had thrashed him. Jimmy in shielding him was suspected of having done the underhand trick himself, and was boycotted by the whole school. But we must not tell the story.

At last we have a girls' story—*Cousin Sara* (6s.), by Rosa Mulholland. Four books for boys and only one for girls—truly a forcible argument for the suffrage. But let us bide our time. Next year, or the one after, we may have to review four books for girls and one book for boys.

This is the fifth year of issue of *Blackie's Children's Annual*, and its circulation has deservedly increased so rapidly that this year the publishers have been able to add a number of new attractions, making it a most wonderful three and sixpenny worth. It is bound in five or six bright colours, has a fascinating picture of Santa Claus on the frontispiece, contains about 150 pictures, 50 of which are coloured, numbers of stories and poems by the best known children's writers, and a simple little play suitable for the children to act. It is quite our favourite annual for young children.

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### Nisbet.

The author of 'Dorrincourt' and 'Expelled' has chosen quite a new line for his latest book, *That Master of Ours* (5s.).

It is a stirring tale of a hundred years ago, well written, and with a healthy religious atmosphere. We can recommend it.

*A Plucky School Girl* (3s. 6d.), by Dorothea Moore, supplies a real want. It is a girls' school story, written evidently by one who is no outsider. It is full of incident, the spirit is good, and the writing fresh and vivacious.

And now we have a small book which will captivate the hearts of the younger children. It is written by the author of 'Little Black Mingo,' and is a companion volume to that one. Its title is *The Story of Little Black Quasha* (1s. 6d.). The pages are small and the type is large, so that there is not much reading, and opposite to every page of reading is a full-page coloured picture. These pictures are drawn with broad free lines, and not too minutely, and the facial expressions are excellent. It will prove a cherished possession to the little ones who are fortunate enough to get it as a Christmas present.

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LONGMANS.

How very successful Mr. Andrew Lang's series of Fairy Books has been is shown by the scarcity of some of the earlier volumes, and the constant demand for them. For many years Mr. Lang has added a new volume to the series every Christmas, but this year he has substituted a book of true stories, making it uniform with the Fairy Books. Its title is *The Book of Princes and Princesses*, and its authoress Mrs. Lang. In his introduction, Mr. Lang says: 'All the stories about Princes and Princesses in this book are true stories, and were written by Mrs. Lang out of old books of history. There are some children who make life difficult by saying that they do not like true stories about real people who lived long ago.' We feel sure that Mr. Lang need have no fears as to the success of his book, for it will overcome the prejudices of the most fastidious of children. The piquant titles of the stories—'Mi Reina,' 'Une Reine Malheureuse'—and the novelty of the incidents, as well as the inimitable way in which they are told, will captivate every heart.

The publishers have done their part in making the volume attractive, and the illustrations, by Mr. Henry Ford, are a marvel of artistic colouring.

*Little Miss Quixote* (5s.) is a prettily told story of an imaginative little girl, marred, we think, by its introduction, which contains the account of the tragic love story and marriage of her mother, and which hardly appeals to the same readers as the rest of the book. The authors are Robert Haymes and Dorothy Rose.

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THE PILGRIM PRESS.

Two charming girls' stories—they are by Miss Evelyn Everett-Green—have just been published by Mr. Melrose. The amount of fiction which Miss Green turns out in the course of a year and the high standard of it are remarkable. The larger volume, *Hilary Quest* (5s.), is bound in blue and gold, in the square style that makes it uniform with so many of the authoress's other books. The plot, which is well conceived, turns on a case of mistaken identity. Owing to the active ministrations of the twins, a pair of lovable pickles, the book ends happily with the ringing of marriage bells. *Step-Sister Stella* (3s. 6d.) is an equally pleasing story of home life. Both books can be put into the hands of a girl with the utmost confidence.

*Young England* (5s.) is getting older every year, but it is quite as young as ever. It is both old and young, for there is not a story in it that the father might not enjoy as well as the son, and there is not a joke that the whole family circle might not enjoy. Of the short stories we would single out 'The Pony Express,' which happily occurs near the beginning, and 'The Camel,' which as happily comes in at the end. The illustrations are not always illustrative. The artist seems to have gone out on his own account, and made up his mind that there cannot be too much bloodcurdling in a boy's book of stories.

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A. & C. BLACK.

Messrs. Black are issuing rapidly their series of travel books for the children, 'Peeps at Many Lands.' Sixteen volumes are now ready. These promise to be as popular with the little ones as Black's 'Colour Books' are with their parents. Each volume is bound in large square octavo, in clear type, with twelve coloured illustrations, and is very light to handle. They are brightly written, and convey much useful geographical information under the pleasant guise of story books. *Switzerland*, which is daintily bound in pale blue, is written by John Finnemore. It needs no other recommendation to boys. The author of *Egypt* is Mr. R. Talbot Kelly, who has his information at first hand, for he is Commander of the Medjidieh. The price of the volumes is 1s. 6d. net each.

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RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

The Religious Tract Society takes a good place with its selection of children's books. For the little ones they have two annuals, *Our Little Dots* (1s. 6d.) and *The Child's Companion* (1s. 6d.), a new feature of which is the colouring of the illustrations. There are about a hundred of these in each volume, and all are in the softest shades of brown and red.

We hear very often of Pleasant Sunday Afternoons for men, and Pleasant Sunday Afternoons for women, but what of Pleasant Sunday Afternoons for the children? It is to make Sunday afternoon pleasant to them that the Religious Tract Society has published a new edition of the old favourite *Line upon Line*. This book, which is here issued in two parts at 1s. each, and its companion volume, *The Peep of Day*, never lose the children's affection, for they possess the subtle something which captivates the child mind.

*Me and Nobbles* is the name of Amy Le Feuvre's latest story. 'Me' is Bobby, a little boy of eight, and 'Nobbles' is a walking-stick with a wonderful ivory head, with round eyes, a smiling mouth, two very big ears, and a little red cap on its head. Nobbles is Bobby's faithful companion, to whom he reveals all his secrets. The story is told with the authoress's own light but incisive touch.

These books are for the children. But the Religious Tract Society has also catered for the older boys and girls—for the boys in *The Goldsmith of Chepe*, by Tom Bevan (3s. 6d.), and for the girls in *Big Game* (3s. 6d.). The latter is a bright story from the pen of Mrs. Vaizey. It is sure to be popular.

### Jack.

The daintiest series of books we have seen this season is 'Grandmother's Favourites,' issued by Messrs. Jack. Two of the volumes are lying in front of us now—Mrs. Sherwood's *Fairchild Family*, which is retold in simple language by Jeanie Lang, and Maria Edgeworth's *The Birthday Present*. The latter is specially charming. It is retold by Olive Allen, who has much of Mrs. Ewing's grace and beauty in language. In her introduction she says: 'Little spoiled child, I have rewritten three of Maria Edgeworth's tales for you. The long words and sentences that your grandmother stumbled over have been made simple and easy. I have painted bright pictures of the quaint little masters and misses—all to please you; and, instead of the dingy old cover, here is one gay with purple and gold. But the morals are there just the same as when your grandmother read them, and, after all, I don't think a moral or two will do you any harm.' We heartily agree with Miss Allen, and we hope that these old-fashioned tales will be read by many new-fashioned children this Christmas. The price of the volumes is only 2s. net.

### Sunday School Union.

The sub-title of *The Hills of Hauraki*, namely, 'The Unequal Yoke,' discloses the purpose of the book and the trend of the plot. The whole story is intended to be a commentary on the words, 'Can two walk together except they be agreed?' Personally we feel that the wife-beating and other incidents of a like character are so exaggerated that they do not make the impression on the mind of the reader which the author desires. The style, too, is rather loose. The author of the book is Susie Mactier, and the price 2s.

This is the seventy-fifth year of issue of *The Child's Own Magazine* (1s.), a fact which speaks for its excellence. It is attractive this year, with a coloured print of B. Cobbe's painting, 'Trespassers,' as the frontispiece, a brightly written serial, numbers of short stories, interesting articles, and poems. And its programme for 1909 is equally attractive.

### Methodist Publishing House.

Mr. Culley has sent a very varied assortment of books. Among them is Mr. Mark Guy Pearse's latest story, *The Prophet's Raven* (2s.), and we shall look at it first. In our opinion it is decidedly stronger than 'Bridgetstow.' One gets a very clear impression from it of the life of a village in Cornwall—especially of its religious life, which, it seems, can not be supported with less than one church and at least three chapels. There are flashes of humour in the book, and there is deep insight. Let us quote from the sermon of an old local preacher in the Wesleyan Chapel. His text was, 'I have commanded the ravens to feed thee.' 'Well, the Lord told 'Lijah for to go up and hide hisself by the brook Kedron, and 'Lijah, like a good soldier, said, "But, Lord, what about the commissariat department?" . . . And so there's folks that think that preachin' and prophesyin' isn't nothin' but singin' and prayin' and usin' fine language. Aw, my friends, back of that too, same as everything else, is the commissariat department.'

*Gone: No Address* (2s.) is a temperance story. Its author is Mrs. Drummond, the Press-President of the British Women's Temperance Association. It is written and published at this time in order that it may rouse temperance workers to 'greater efforts to kindle a national agitation in favour of the beneficent bill, long waited for, ardently desired, and now at last before Parliament.'

*Ray* is a public school story with an unexceptionable tone. Its motto is 'We only possess character: all things else possess us.' Its author, Mr. J. Williams Butcher, is already known by his 'Brigade Talks,' and this story will add to his reputation.

Then Mr. Culley has provided two small books for the little ones. *The Magic Nine-Pin*, by Kathleen Harke, is bound in crimson and gold, and is the very thing for week days; while *Samuel*, by Kate T. Sizer, is bound in peacock blue, and is the very thing for Sunday. The price is 1s. 6d. net each.

### Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

> What is it, in truth, that you fly at?
> One
> Idea that, starlike over, lures him on
> To its exclusive purpose.

These words might well have been applied to the publications of the S.P.C.K. for many years. The purpose was to promote *Christian* knowledge. It was a good purpose, and the books were always welcome. This year the purpose unfortunately seems to be to promote *historical* knowledge, and that department is already filled, and well filled. We confess to a sense of disappointment with three of the books in front of us, *Dame Joan of Pevensey* (1s. 6d.), by the Rev. E. E. Crake; *Blown out to Sea* (3s. 6d.), by W. C. Metcalfe; and *Rolf the Rebel* (2s.), by Bessie Marchant. They are carefully written historical tales, the first of the year 1390, the other two of later periods. But we miss the earnest religious spirit in them which used to characterize the books of the S.P.C.K.

*Between Two Crusades* (2s. 6d.) is a bright story of 1187 A.D., and its scene is laid in Palestine. Its author is Gertrude Hollis. Of the five volumes we should recommend *The House with Dragon Gates* (2s. 6d.), by Edith E. Cowper. It is an extremely pleasant story, with a plot both graceful and unexpected. It is well illustrated in colours by Harold Piffard.

### Seeley.

Messrs. Seeley are the publishers of *A Pair of Originals*, by Miss Evelyn Everett-Green (2s. 6d.), and *Heroines of Missionary Adventure*, by Canon E. C. Dawson (5s.). The books are as different as books could be. Miss Green never did a lighter, lovelier bit of work than the delineation of those two mischievous but innocent little men who came down from their London home to astonish a peaceful countryside. Their adventure with the gipsy baby twins is told inimitably.

Canon Dawson's *Missionary Heroines* take life seriously. There is adventure enough, but it is not side-splitting adventure. From first to last it is patient continuance in well-doing. Too painful sometimes—but it is strange if we cannot bear to read what they were compelled to suffer. There has been a heroine for every land, and some lands have been blest with two. The illustrations are artistic in the right sense of the word, they illustrate the book.

# Contributions and Comments.

## Matthew xii. 19—Isaiah xlii. 2.

Heb. לא יצעק ולא ישא.
LXX. οὐ κεκράξεται οὐδὲ ἀνήσει.
Mt. οὐκ ἐρίσει οὐδὲ κραυγάσει.
Syr. ܠܐ ܢܨܚ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬ.

In his interesting note in the November number of The Expository Times, Dr. Nestle argues—

(1) That Matthew's *ἐρίσει* corresponds to the Hebrew ישא because *κραυγάσει* must be equated with יצעק.

(2) That it presupposes an Aramaic rendering of ישא, viz. יריב, because this verb in Syriac means usually 'strepuit,' 'perstrepuit,' 'tumultuatus,' 'vociferatus est,' and might be rendered by a Greek translator 'strive,' which would not be suggested by ישא.

(3) 'That between the Hebrew prophet and our Greek first Gospel an Aramaic Gospel stands in the middle.'

I wish to be allowed to point out that the third proposition is far too sweeping, and that it will wholly mislead students unacquainted with Aramaic. Further, that the first two arguments rest upon very uncertain evidence.

Let us assume, in the first place, that Dr. Nestle is right in saying that Matthew's *ἐρίσει* presupposes an Aramaic word in between it and the Hebrew. Does it follow that 'between the Hebrew prophet and our Greek first Gospel an Aramaic Gospel stands in the middle'? Certainly not. The only logical inference is that 'between this quotation as it stands in our first Gospel and the Hebrew prophet an *Aramaic rendering of this verse of the prophet* stands in the middle.'

The situation may be described as follows: The Greek editor of our Gospel may (1) have translated from a complete Aramaic Gospel, or (2) he may not have had an Aramaic Gospel before him, but may have got this quotation from (*a*) a catena of Old Testament passages translated into Aramaic, or (*b*) such a catena already translated from the Aramaic into Greek.

The arguments against the theory that he was translating from an Aramaic Gospel cannot be recapitulated here. For the theory that Matthew was using a collection of Testimonia, see Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 125, 126. That such a collection of Old Testament quotations lay before our first evangelist in Greek rather than in Hebrew or Aramaic seems to be supported by the fact that he certainly used one Greek source, viz. the second Gospel, and by the fact that St. Mark before him seems to have been acquainted with Is $42^1$ in the Greek form used by St. Matthew (cf. Mk $1^{11}$ with Mt $12^{17}$). If Dr. Nestle is right in supposing that *ἐρίσει* presupposes an Aramaic word, this fact is quite adequately accounted for by the supposition that the passage of Isaiah in which it stands had been translated into Aramaic for Palestinian Christians, and was borrowed either directly from Aramaic oral tradition, or from a written Aramaic list of such passages, and translated by our evangelist for the purpose of his Gospel, or that the list in which it occurred had been already translated into Greek before he used it.

In the second place, Dr. Nestle's first two arguments seem to be precarious.

(1) The Hebrew ישא has presented difficulties both to ancient translators and to modern editors. The LXX has *ἀνήσει*, and adopts a similar rendering in Gn $18^{24}$, Jos $24^{19}$, Is $1^{14}$ $2^9$ $46^4$.

The Syro-Hexaplar text rendered by ܢܫܬ, meaning 'to vociferate,' and so the Peshitto. Symmachus has *ἐξαπατηθήσεται*. Cheyne, Marti, and others think it necessary to emend into ישאג.

Now Matthew has in the place corresponding to ישא *κραυγάσει*. There seems to be no reason why *κραυγάσει* should not be the rendering of a translator from the Hebrew who supposed that with ישא the noun קולו must be supplied, or of one who was translating an intermediate Aramaic translation which had some word equivalent to 'cry,' as, *e.g.*, the יכלי of the Targum. The Syriac Peshitto took the same meaning of the word ישא as the Syro-Hexaplar text, and translated by ܢܫܬ = 'cry out,' and the Sinaitic Syriac of Matthew has either translated *κραυγάσει* independently by ܢܫܬ, or has assimilated to the Peshitto of Isaiah.

(2) This leaves *ἐρίσει* in Mt. as the equivalent of יצעק. And it must be admitted that no explanation of such a rendering has yet been found. This lends some plausibility to Dr. Nestle's view of an

inversion of clauses, so that κραυγάσει would correspond to יצעק and ἐρίσει, through an intermediate Aramaic נריב, to ישא. The chief difficulty here is the fact that the root ריב = to 'cry out' and so 'engage in strife,' seems to be peculiar to Syriac, and not to occur in Aramaic. Dr. Nestle gives no occurrence of the word in this sense in Aramaic, and it does not occur in Levy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, nor in the *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, nor in Dalman's *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.*

Until evidence of its occurrence in Aramaic (other than Syriac) in the double sense of 'cry out' and 'strive' can be given, it would seem to be safer to suppose that Matthew's clauses are in the order of the Hebrew, and that ἐρίσει is a rendering *ad sensum* of יצעק, or of an intermediate Aramaic translation.

That Matthew's rendering of these verses presupposes an Aramaic intermediate translation may perhaps also be suggested by (1) ἀπαγγελεῖ. Heb. has יוציא but Targ. יגלי. ἀπαγγελεῖ is nearer to this than to יוציא.

(2) ἐκβάλῃ. Heb. has יוציא again, but Targ. יפיק. Here again Matthew's rendering is nearer to the Aramaic than to the Hebrew.

In conclusion, Dr. Nestle's reference to Nu $17^1$ is probably a misprint for Nu $14^1$.

W. C. Allen.

*Egerton Hall, Holly Bank, Carlton Road, Manchester.*

## Merenptah and the Exodus.

### I.

In his quotation from the stele of the fifth year of Merenptah, to which you draw attention in the October number of The Expository Times, Professor Eerdmans either quotes too little or too much; for he quotes just enough of the inscription to be most misleading. 'Askalon is led away; Gezer is taken; Yenuam is brought to nought; Israel is devastated, they do not have crops; Kharu has become as a widow by Egypt.' With this quotation before you, it is only natural for you to add: 'What has Askalon and Gezer to do with Goshen? And then Kharu is Palestine—of that there is no doubt.'

There need be no doubt, of course. Only Professor Eerdmans has omitted 'Libya' from the list of countries afflicted by Merenptah's army; and that makes all the difference. The Egyptians from Thebes swept the whole coast-line round the south-east corner of the Mediterranean, and this naturally includes Goshen and the Delta. The special mention of 'Kharu' (Palestine) is partly due to the intended pun on Khr ('a widow').

I think nearly all eminent Egyptologists, from Manetho to Flinders Petrie, have identified Amenophis or Merenptah with the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and the identification seems likely to stand. As I am replying to Professor Eerdmans in *The Expositor*, I need not trespass on your space now; but perhaps I may be allowed a line in which to offer a suggested explanation of the sign of the leprous hand in Ex $4^6$.

In Josephus (*Apion.* i. 26) we may read Manetho's account of the Exodus, or expulsion of the Hebrews from Egypt. In speaking of the Hebrews, Manetho consistently calls them 'lepers.' Doubtless this is a mere term of reproachful insult, but apparently it is much older than Manetho himself. Probably it goes back to the days of the Nineteenth Dynasty and the Oppression, and the term 'leper' or 'leprous' was the insult hurled by true Egyptians in the teeth of the alien settlers and all who seemed to sympathize with them. Hence Moses' mission is revealed by the sign of the leprous hand.

D. R. Fotheringham.

*London.*

### II.

In regard to your notes on Merenptah as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, may I venture the following by way of suggestion?

1. According to the stele, Israel had perished. The determinative is that of a people, and not of a land. Let us say that the Israelites had escaped and passed into the wilderness, where there was insufficient sustenance for such a multitude. Without troubling to follow, Pharaoh simply put down his pickets to see that they did not return, so that they were left either to die of starvation or come back and be killed.

2. According to Flinders Petrie that part is incapable of supporting more than 5000 people, for which reason he tries to prove, according to the Biblical narrative, that it was only about 5000 that escaped from Egypt.

3. The story in the Book of Exodus so far agrees with Merenptah's stele and Flinders Petrie by con-

fessing that the Israelites could not have lived but for the intervention of God by means of the manna.

I think it is very remarkable how these three tend to combine, though approaching the subject from three such opposite standpoints. The stele is not of final decipherment, but, if this interpretation is right, the matter of the crops is simplified.

WM. FISHER.

*Norwood, S.E.*

# In the Study.

**The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.**

The reviews of the first volume of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS have been most satisfactory. To one only would we refer. And that because it is the least likely to have been seen. It is the review in *The Jewish Chronicle*. It has been written by Mr. Israel Abrahams, Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge. The review is searching, many articles being subjected to a minute examination. This is the conclusion:

> **'The first volume of Dr. Hastings's new Encyclopædia removes all doubts as to the value of the enterprise. A certain amount of anticipatory fear was inevitable. Dr. Hastings seemed to have formed a planless plan; to have resolved on throwing together into one heap all sorts and conditions of heterogeneous materials. But the actual result entirely allays these misgivings. The whole volume is relevant to its subject, and the whole volume is from beginning to end written with uniform ability. Never before has there been an encyclopædic work in which so high a level of excellence has been so generally maintained. Encyclopædias are usually the most unequal books published; good and bad rub shoulders in them. But here all is not only good; it is of the very best.**

**Ian Maclaren.**

The best biography is the biography which makes a man known to the world as his intimates knew him. It is neither appreciation nor depreciation. It is history. It is a moment of history, caught up into a single life with its gives and takes. That is the biography which Dr. Robertson Nicoll has written of Dr. John Watson. Its simple title is *Ian Maclaren*. It is published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton (6s.).

**And who is my neighbour?**

The scribe who asked the question was 'willing to justify himself.' That is to say (for the verb *to will* has lost half the force it had when Tindale made the translation), he was anxious to assure his own conscience that he did love his neighbour as himself, in accordance with the commandment. He kept the first commandment. He loved his God with all his heart. He had no question of conscience about that. But since it is easier to satisfy our conscience that we love God, whom we have not seen, than that we love our neighbour, whom we see (and evidently do not love) every day, the scribe, anxious to satisfy his conscience and gain the good opinion of Jesus also, asked, 'And who is my neighbour?'

Why had he any doubt about it? Professor Clark Murray tells us why. His translators had put him wrong.

The commandment is found in Lv $19^{18}$. There the Hebrew for 'neighbour' (רֵעַ) carries no suggestion of proximity. It is a person with whom one has dealings of any kind. But the Septuagint translators rendered it by ὁ πλησίον, 'one that is near.' And so the scribe was misled. The only near persons who could be meant were Jews, including perhaps Galileans, though they were just far enough away. The Samaritans, who were nearer than the Galileans, were out of the question.

And our translators have misled us. For 'neighbour' also signifies nearness. It follows the wrong Greek instead of the right Hebrew. It is true that only the first part of the word is *nigh* or 'near,' the second is *boor*, 'dweller' 'farmer,' which is the very same word as Boer; but the Boers are far away, and for other reasons have for some time been out of the question.

This note is taken from Professor Clark Murray's *Handbook of Christian Ethics* (6s. net) just published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

### Possession.

*On the Coromandel Coast* (Smith, Elder, & Co.; 10s. 6d. net), by Mrs. F. E. Penny, is a true traveller's tale. Mrs. Penny has seen, and tells what she has seen. She seems to have no axe to grind, neither the missionary nor the anti-missionary axe. She tells what she has seen, and also what she has heard. Among the rest she tells some stories of possession. The cases lose somewhat by being heard, not seen. But the evidence is certainly very circumstantial. *On the Coromandel Coast* is undoubtedly a book worth reading. It is written for, and will be read by, the reader of books of travel that are books of travel and nothing more. But the student of religion will read it for what it says about possession and the like.

'A native clergyman who was born a Christian, his father being a native clergyman also, told me the story of the wife of a schoolmaster who occupied a small house near his church. She was a famine orphan from one of the orphanages, a good quiet girl before, and for some time after, her marriage. She lived with her husband like any other native woman, cooking his food and keeping the house.

'One day after sunset she went to draw water at a well, which was near a tree inhabited by a devil. From that hour she was possessed, and it was supposed that she must inadvertently have gone too near the tree. Her husband, who was much attached to her, was greatly distressed. He tried to beat the devil out of her. He was advised to take her to the General Hospital, and he did so. The devil never manifested himself before the European medical men, and after a few days she was discharged as having no ailment. The moment she set foot inside her own house she was seized by the demon and thrown into violent convulsions. She cried out in different languages. She sang songs in unknown tongues. One of the songs she sang was in the language of the Koravans, the bird-catchers, a people she was not known to have seen or spoken with. She had the gift of second sight. A man passed on the road: "Aha," she cried, "you beat your wife last night; you beat her cruelly." He slunk away like a whipped hound, for she spoke the truth.

'The young woman was eventually cured by a Mohammedan hakim, who wove spells and wrote them on thin slips of paper. The slips were soaked in water and swallowed by the patient.

### Phillips Brooks' Note-Book.

Phillips Brooks was a fine subject for a biography. He was genuine and he was picturesque. He found an ideal biographer in the late Professor Alexander V. G. Allen. Two volumes with the title of *The Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks* were published in 1900. The biography was most successful. But there were thousands, who would profit by knowing what manner of man Phillips Brooks was, who had neither time to read nor money to buy a biography on such a scale. To meet their necessity and to let this good man, though he has been dead fifteen years, speak still to a world that still needs his speech, an abridgment of the large biography was prepared by the original biographer. And just as we hear in this country of Professor Allen's death, it is published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. The title, to distinguish it from the other, is simply *Phillips Brooks* (10s. 6d. net).

It has not been properly described as an abridgment. For abridgments are unreadable. This book is eminently readable. Much of it has been rewritten, and the many omissions are unfelt. The time is passing, but it is pretty certain to find a good sale yet.

One of Phillips Brooks' gifts was the ability to use a note-book. It is a rare gift. Here are a few extracts from it:

'The Jesuit ordering pictures from France to use in the Huron Mission wants many souls in perdition (*âmes damnées*) in various styles; of souls in bliss (*âmes bienheureuses*) he thinks that one will be enough. (Parkman's *Jesuits in North America*, p. 133).'

'A curious argument of the Indians, who believed in the truth as powerful, but drew the inference, not that they had better submit to it, but that it would be better for them not to hear it. (Parkman, *Ib.* p. 135).'

'"You do good to your friends," said Le Jeune to an Algonquin chief, "and burn your enemies. God does the same."'

'It is a strange thing to say, but when the number of any public body exceeds that of forty or fifty, the whole assembly has an element of joyous childhood in it, and each member revives at times the glad mischievous nature of his schoolboy days.'

'There are some diseases for which Lacordaire

says (he is speaking of morbid solitude) there are but two remedies, Death and God.'

'That nameless gift which misfortune adds to the greatest virtues. (*Bossuet.*)'

**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. James Collett, Birmingham, to whom a copy of Dykes's *The Christian Minister* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for January must be received by the 1st of December. The text is Dt $33^{25}$.

The Great Text for February is Dt $33^{27}$—

> The eternal God is thy dwelling-place,
> And underneath are the everlasting arms.

A copy of Dykes's *The Christian Minister* or any volume of 'The Scholar as Preacher' Series will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for March is Dt $34^{5.6}$—'So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' A copy of Barton's *Ecclesiastes* or Chadwick's *Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for April is Rev $1^{5.6}$—'Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood; and he made us to be a kingdom, to be priests unto his God and Father; to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.' A copy of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* or Rutherfurd's *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for May is Rev $1^{10}$—'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.' A copy of Clark Murray's *Handbook of Christian Ethics*, or of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature*, will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

**Books Wanted and Offered.**

Books wanted to buy, and books offered for sale, will be inserted free, but the Editor will exercise his judgment as to their insertion. A stamp for re-posting must be sent with every offer to buy or sell. All correspondence must be direct to the Editor's address, St. Cyrus, Montrose, Scotland, not to the publishing offices.

BOOKS WANTED.

Plummer's Baedae Opera (Clar. Press).
*Journal of Philology*, No. 10.
*Mind*, in volumes, bound or unbound.
Cambridge Modern History, vol. vi.
Sacred Books of the East, vol. xix. or vol. xxxiv. (IX.)

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Risen Master (Latham).
Fourth Gospel (Scott).
Johannine Vocabulary (Abbott).
Johannine Grammar (Abbott). (X.)

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*Expository Times*, vols. i., ii., iii., iv. (XI.)

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Salmond's Christian Doctrine of Immortality, and Charles's Doctrine of a Future Life. (XII.)

BOOKS OFFERED.

Expositor's Bible — Chronicles, Ezra to Esther, Psalms (vol. iii.), Isaiah (2 vols.), Ezekiel, 3s. 6d. each, or £1 for whole (carriage paid). (H)

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Motley's Dutch Republic (Strahan's ed.), 2 vols., good copy, 8s.

The following works by J. B. Mozley: University Sermons, Lectures and other Theological Papers; Lectures on the Old Testament, Predestination, Baptismal Regeneration, all large type editions, 4s. each; and Miracles, 3rd ed., crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. (I)

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Mahaffy's Empire of the Ptolemies (uncut, pub. 12s. 6d., 1895), for 6s.

*Journal of Theological Studies*, No. 30 (Jan. 1907), pub. 3s. 6d. net, for 1s.

Mrs. Bishop (Miss Bird's), Korea, best ed., 2 vols., 1898, 7s. (pub. 24s.).

Dean Church's Beginnings of the Middle Ages; More Letters of Edward Fitzgerald; Henry James' Partial Portraits; Hutton's Theological Essays—4 vols. of the Eversley Series, 2s. 6d. each (pub. 4s. net), or 8s. 6d. for the four. (J)

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*Expositor*, Jan. 1904–Oct. 1908; Expositor's Bible—Matthew, Luke, Exodus, Judges, Jeremiah; *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, vol. iii., each for one-third price. (K)

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

No formal review of the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics has been given in The Expository Times. It will, therefore, not be out of place if something is said about the reviews which have appeared in other periodicals. The reviews have been favourable, more uniformly favourable and more highly favourable than in the case of the *Dictionary of the Bible* or of the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. But there have been some unfavourable comments. And we shall not consider the one without considering the other.

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There are two things, however, upon which the reviewers are unanimous and emphatic. The first thing is the necessity for an encyclopædia of the kind. Let us begin with the *Athenæum*. The review will be found in the issue for December 5, 1908. The reviewer speaks of the need which has arisen 'to compare our own religious ideas with the forms of thought underlying various other creeds, and in like manner to inquire how far the outward expression of the religious faith prevalent, under varying aspects, among the Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and Slavonic races, tallies with, or differs from, the ceremonies observed among races, mainly holding religious doctrines of another kind.' And then he says: 'The study of comparative religion has been taken up seriously, *and the interest in it is likely to increase as time goes on.*'

'That there is a growing demand for such an extensive work of reference,' says the *Methodist Recorder*, 'is certain. Knowledge of the religions of the world has increased at a rate so rapid as to baffle even specialists, and the science of Comparative Religion has come among us to stay and to influence religious thought in a thousand incalculable ways. Without such a dictionary of reference as this, how can ordinary students work to any purpose? With it we may look for a marked development of knowledge in the wide field covered by its learned and informing articles.' The writer of the review in the *Methodist Recorder* is Professor W. T. Davison of Richmond.

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Turning to one of the dailies, we find the *Glasgow Herald*, in a review marked by great ability, showing with absolute clearness the necessity for such a work of reference in our day. 'Through the enormous advance that has been made in recent years in the study of religion as a fact of human consciousness, and of the various religions of the world in the past and in the present as evolutions of that universal fact, a vast but unorganized body of knowledge has rapidly accumulated. The significance of this new knowledge for every intelligent and thoughtful mind, but especially for the Christian student, it is impossible to overestimate. Nothing is more certain than that the study of comparative religion has worked

with something like revolutionary effect upon our conceptions of Christianity, and that in the light of the new discipline the Christian Church will be compelled to reconsider its attitude to the ethnic religions and even to revise some of its most cherished doctrines.'

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Nor is it religion only that needs such a work of reference. 'The study of religious origins,' says the reviewer in the *Glasgow Herald*, 'is inextricably interwoven with the study of the evolution of ethics, while ethics no less than religion requires to be treated anew on encyclopædic lines. A new psychology has taken the place of the old, and biology has made good its right to be taken into account in any attempt to analyse the data of moral experience. Nor can ethics be studied now apart from sociology, nor sociology apart from economics.'

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In like manner the reviewer in the *Athenæum* says: 'No one will deny that, from our modern point of view at any rate, ethics is closely bound up with religion; some will even say that it is the essential part of it. And as philosophy is on one side connected with ethics, and on the other with such a decidedly religious problem as a view of the universe and man's position in it, it is clear that the three topics must go together, as being in many directions indissolubly interwoven and complementing each other, where they seem less closely united.'

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That is one thing, then, upon which the reviewers are agreed—the need of a great work of reference on Religion and Ethics. The other thing is the general fitness of this Encyclopædia to meet that need. If there were a reviewer of a contrary opinion we should quote him. So far as we have yet seen there is none.

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Few of the reviews will carry more weight than that in the *Athenæum*, and in truth few of the reviews are more weighty. After a searching examination of the volume, and after making interesting notes on some of the articles, to which we shall afterwards refer, the reviewer concludes in this way: 'The general result of our examination enables us to say that the editor has risen to the height of his great undertaking. The work deserves the fullest and best encouragement which the world of readers and investigators can give it.' 'The range of subjects and the thoroughness of their treatment,' says the *Christian World*, 'are both extraordinary. Nothing produced in this country at any rate, and we know of nothing similar in Germany, for even the Hauck-Herzog *Real-Encyklopädie* has a much narrower outlook, can compare with the new undertaking as planned and thus far carried out.' 'It may be said at once,' says Dr. D. W. Forrest, in the *Scottish Review*, 'that Dr. Hastings promises to achieve a remarkable success in realizing his comprehensive conception.'

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The first review of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS that was published appeared in the *British Weekly*. It is no secret that it was written by Dr. Robertson Nicoll. Indeed, his hand cannot be mistaken. Nor can he be imitated in his gift of going through a book rapidly, even a large book like this, and discovering its weakness and its strength. He did discover some weak spots in the Encyclopædia, and we shall refer to them. But to the work as a whole he gave the highest praise. Again, we think we can detect the hand that wrote the very competent review in the *Aberdeen Free Press*. 'Taking the volume as a whole,' says the reviewer, 'and looking at its contents, we congratulate all concerned on the conspicuous success which has crowned their efforts. The Encyclopædia will take a foremost place, if not the first place, among many similar enterprises in our own country, in America, in France, or in Germany.' The *Methodist Times* says that 'the Encyclopædia appears likely to take its place among the great achievements of the twentieth century.' The review in the *British Friend* is signed. It is signed by Professor A. S. Peake of Manchester. 'The work,' says Professor

Peake, 'certainly takes rank as one of the most important literary enterprises of our time, and no one who is interested in Anthropology, in Comparative Religion, in Ethics, or in Biblical and Christian Theology can safely neglect it.'

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But now let us come to details, and consider some criticisms. The reviewer in the *British Weekly* is appreciative, as we have said. Nevertheless he has somewhat against us. He considers the space occupied by the article on the 'Amana Community' excessive. He points out, however, that, as mentioned in the preface, the 'Communistic Societies of America' will be described in a single article, and that this Community has been chosen for fuller treatment as an example, a method which is to be followed with other communities, castes, and orders. The *Athenæum* reviewer is also struck by the length of that article. 'As, however, it is a community,' he says, 'which aims at reviving primitive Christian life under modern conditions, the subject is more important than it might seem at a first glance.'

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One article, and one only, has been spoken of as unsatisfactory. It is the article on 'Apologetics.' Dr. Robertson Nicoll was again the first to refer to it. His criticism had been foreseen by the editors, and could have been prevented. But it seemed to them that an article on Apologetics, as it could not possibly be made exhaustive of its subject—for to write exhaustively on Apologetics is to write exhaustively on Christianity—should carry out the practical purpose of mapping out the field and directing attention to the most accessible literature. This is exactly the view that is taken of the article by the reviewer in the *Church Times*. His words are: 'One subject of great importance—Apologetics—is treated from the practical rather than the historical point of view, and a synopsis of arguments in defence of the faith is inserted, with the design of meeting present-day objections.'

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Reference is made in the *Baptist Times* to the extreme brevity of the article on 'Animism.' Mr. Abrahams, in the *Jewish Chronicle*, also speaks of it as 'short but first-rate.' The writer of the article is Count Goblet D'Alviella of Brussels. It would have been possible for him, under the title Animism, to write a book something like Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, but in an encyclopædia, in which every topic embraced under the title 'Animism' must come up for separate treatment, that would not have been wise. Count D'Alviella has given an account of the meaning of the term, its origin and its history, with a list of the most important works of reference, and then he has given cross-references to the titles under which each topic embraced by it will be found treated.

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Now it is a great satisfaction that in a volume of this size, the work of so many different authors, those are the only articles to which exception has been taken. Others have been singled out for particular commendation. First of all that on 'Aristotle,' by Professor Jackson, which the *British Weekly* and the *Athenæum* both call 'masterly'; the *Scottish Review*, 'a model of succinct statement'; and the *Record*, 'an exhaustive monograph which leaves nothing to be desired'; while the *Outlook* describes its author as 'the greatest student of Aristotelianism in this country.'

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Next comes the article on the 'Ancient Arabs.' 'One article,' says the *Aberdeen Free Press*, 'we have read with great delight. To it we shall recur again and again. Indeed, we might say the same regarding many articles, but in connection with the article on the Ancient Arabs we say it with emphasis.' And in the *Methodist Recorder* Professor Davison speaks of Professor Nöldeke's article on the Ancient Arabs as 'a masterly summary which perhaps no one else could have written.'

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Other articles which have received special commendation are 'Altruism,' by Principal Iverach; 'Agnosticism,' by Principal Garvie; 'Alexandrine Theology,' by Professor Inge; and 'Antiochene Theology,' by Dr. Srawley. The *Scottish Review*

and the *Belfast News Letter* both mention Professor M'Giffert's 'Apostolic Age.' The *Guardian* singles out 'Apollinarism,' by Dr. Adrian Fortescue, and in doing so welcomes 'the association of Roman Catholic scholars with Anglicans and Presbyterians.' 'It is good,' says the editor, 'that the articles in an encyclopædia should be written from various points of view, and Dr. Hastings has been exceptionally fortunate in having obtained the assistance of men of all schools.'

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The annual volume of the *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* for 1907 to 1908 has now been issued (Williams & Norgate; 10s. 6d. net). It is the eighth volume of the new series, and it contains the papers read before the Society during its twenty-ninth session. One of these papers was 'An Inductive Inquiry into the Reality and Value of the Religious Sentiment.' The paper was read by Professor Caldecott.

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Professor Caldecott based his 'inquiry' upon a volume of autobiographies. The autobiographies are of thirty-four of Wesley's early Methodist Preachers. They were collected by T. Jackson, and published by John Mason, 14 City Road, London, in 1846.

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The number is not large to found an inductive inquiry on. But Dr. Caldecott thinks that 'psychological inquiry to-day needs quality rather than quantity in its data.' And they are well distributed. Ten belonged to Yorkshire, four to other northern counties of England, three to London or its neighbourhood, four to the midlands, three to the south-west, three to Cornwall, two to Wales, three to Scotland, and two to Ireland. They are also well distributed among the trades and professions. Nineteen belonged to the employer class, all in a small way of business; amongst the others were a printer, three weavers, a china factory worker, a mason, a carpenter, a baker, a miner, an agricultural labourer, and two private soldiers (in Flanders campaigns).

Now we need not take offence at Professor Caldecott for making these early Methodist Preachers the subject of a psychological inquiry. They make themselves the subject. That is the meaning of their autobiographies. Our only occasion of offence would be if we found that he assumed that their religious experience was due to the circumstances of their upbringing or to the state of their health. Dr. Caldecott does no such thing. He says it is not his business to discuss the 'objective validity' of their beliefs, and perhaps it is not. But he uses not a word that would throw doubt on the reality and religious value of the beliefs themselves. He even opens his inquiry by stating that 'these young men' were *not* of ill-balanced nervous systems. 'They all lived vigorously, and most of them continued laborious pursuits until advanced old age.'

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Well, the first thing that Professor Caldecott discovers in the thirty-four autobiographies is that each of the preachers brings his whole self into view. Each of them sets himself before himself for judgment. He asks of himself, 'What am I worth in totality, integrally?' And in each case the answer is the same. They are worth nothing. They make their examinations independently. They come to the same conclusion. They are all worthless.

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So unanimous is this experience that it seems as if it were a necessary step in all real apprehension of religion. Newman says it is so. 'Self-knowledge is the root of all real religious knowledge'—these are Newman's words. But what is the occasion of it? On that also the testimony of these young men is unanimous and unmistakable. Each of them passes the judgment of worthlessness on himself 'by reference to the thought of an Omniscient Being before whom he conceives himself as standing.'

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How does this judgment of themselves affect them? The result is misery. When the self is thus touched at the core, the emotion which arises at

once dominates the situation. The misery evoked is new in intensity, and perhaps also in quality. It bites into the mind. The distress is exquisite; no other emotion can countervail it; consolation is unattainable—'I must seek (relief) till I find it, or die in the search,' says one.

Now this intense distress is not due to the fear of punishment. Punishment is almost invited. It is the only reward they have merited, and it cannot be too severe. They are such offenders that nothing can be more just than that they should be counted reprobate and cast off for ever. 'I wish I were dead; if God pleases to save me, it is His infinite mercy; if He damns my soul, be it so: He is righteous and just.'

But they are not content to remain in this state of poignant misery. They take steps for its removal. The first step is an effort at self-vindication. The 'man that is in them' tries to rise against this overwhelming sense of worthlessness. But it is in vain. In every instance the effort at the rehabilitation of themselves is a failure. Nor are they more successful when they turn to amusement, to the pleasures of social intercourse, to the discharge of their duties in life. The emotion of the distress which occupies them rises still above all distractions. It occupies them everywhere. They cannot escape from it.

They escape from it at last. They all escape in one way. Again the unanimity of the experience is as surprising to the inductive inquirer as the experience was surprising to the men themselves. They escape from it, in Professor Caldecott's language, 'by making a transfer.' 'They abandon self-regard altogether, and decide to entrust their case wholly into the hands of Him before whom they conceive themselves to stand condemned.'

And this decision is arrived at 'when there comes into their experience a feeling that there is directed towards them a love which will—for a reason they assign—so countervail the judgment of condemnation as to replace it and become the dominant attitude towards them.' Professor Caldecott does not say how they arrive at this belief. Perhaps they do not say in their autobiographies. Perhaps they did not know. But he says that, however arrived at, the belief in such a love does actually awaken in them a responsive love which explodes the emotional situation by its powerful energy; and dispossessing, for the moment at least, all other emotions of their influence. 'Overwhelmed with the presence of God,' is the expression of a Scotchman after a resistance unusually prolonged, and at the outset of a fifty years' ministry. 'My heart with a kind, sweet struggle melted into the hands of God,' says, not a mediæval Spaniard, but a Yorkshire clothier of the eighteenth century.

Many of the traditional judgments about Israel have had to be modified or abandoned. It was once believed that no other nation practised circumcision. It was once claimed that no other nation had received the gift of prophecy. We know now that the practice of the rite of circumcision is spread over the face of the earth. And Professor Maspero has just been telling us that Egyptians had their prophets as well as the Jews.

The claim to prophecy, however, as a force in the life of Israel, has not to be abandoned. The Egyptians had their prophets. But what were they? In the thirty-first chapter of his most recent volume, a volume which has been admirably translated into English by Elizabeth Lee, and published under the title of *New Light on Ancient Egypt* (Fisher Unwin; 12s. 6d. net), Professor Maspero gives an account of an Egyptian Book of Prophecies.

Like the Hebrews, says Professor Maspero, the Egyptians had their holy prophets, whose predictions, circulated from mouth to mouth, were then

written down, and copied through long ages in fragments more or less changed from the original, and, lastly, became classical texts, read and commented on in the schools. And he describes one of them. It fills one of the papyri sold by Anastasi to the Leyden Museum. It was paraphrased in German by Lauth more than thirty years ago, and expounded in French by Maspero himself. Yet its significance was missed. And now Dr. H. O. Lange has taken it in hand. It is but a fragment, and Lange has 'plenty to do to explain the detail'; but enough is decipherable and deciphered to enable us to form our own judgment of the value of prophecy in Egypt.

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The name of the prophet is Apouî. In the beginning of his book he no doubt told whether he was a prophet by profession, or had been called to the office unexpectedly, and even against his will. But the beginning of his book is gone and we may never know. As the book now begins, he stands before Pharaoh. He prophesies disaster. The disaster seems to be due to the weakness or worthlessness of the Pharaoh himself. For in the end he prophesies a triumphant return of prosperity under a sovereign raised up by God who will suddenly appear and become a true shepherd to his people. But to whatever it is due, it is dreadful enough in its severity and it spares neither high nor low.

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Family ties will be broken. Society will be overturned. Dejection will lay hold of all the people. 'It is in vain that the Nile will overflow, the fields will no longer be cultivated by its aid; each man will say, "What is the use of it? Do we not know what is going to happen to the land?" The barbarians of the desert will profit by the general weakness to invade the rich black earth they have so long desired. They will massacre the brave people who resist them. And the slaves, being no more in bondage, will supplant their masters. "They will hang gold, lapis-lazuli, silver, malachite, cornelian round the necks of their wives, while princesses will be thrown into the streets, and high-born dames will say, "If only we had something to eat!"'

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The description seems graphic enough. But Professor Maspero has no great opinion of its sincerity. The prophecy 'is in a very elaborate style. Alliteration abounds, and every sentence moves to a fairly regular rhythm. In more than one case I should even say that there were assonances, if our ignorance of the exact pronunciation did not compel me to step warily. It is certain that the brilliancy of expression, and the sonority of the elocution, concealed the poverty and the banality of the matter from the auditors.' And what Professor Maspero (who has read his Amos and Isaiah) wonders at most is that the inspiration of the prophet is all so commonplace. He cannot understand what were the qualities that justified his success.

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But is it not worth something that in the picture of the restoration the dominating figure is that of the 'good shepherd'? It is true that the good shepherd is no more than an idealized portrait of the Pharaoh. And to the Egyptian the ideal Pharaoh was the king who provided him with delicate fare, fine clothes, precious jewels, a house cool in summer and warm in winter, a garden with an artificial lake in which he might breathe 'the soft wind of the north,' songs, dances, a harem, and above all, no work to do, or at least as little as possible. It is true that the king predicted by the Egyptian prophet will ensure his subjects this lazy sensual existence until the day comes when death exiles them to Osiris. Yet is it nothing that the prophet sees the need of a king to ensure this, and that he calls him the 'good shepherd of his people'?

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Messrs. A. & C. Black have published a translation, made by Mr. Maurice Canney, of Professor Schmiedel's book on *The Johannine Writings* (3s. 6d. net). It is the translation of three books, not of one. In the German they make Parts 8, 10,

and 12 of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*. Professor Schmiedel has made additions to these for the English edition. And now the hope is that this volume 'will serve as an introduction, and in some respects as a supplement, to Professor Schmiedel's famous Encyclopædia articles.'

Professor Schmiedel's manner is not unknown. We find an excellent example of it in the discussion of the day of Jesus' death.

'Was Jesus' trial possible on the feast-day?' That is the first sentence. 'It would seem not.' That is the second. And then Professor Schmiedel proceeds to say that, that being so, it looks as if John were right and the Synoptics wrong. It looks as if the Synoptics had made the Last Supper a Passover by mistake and John had written afterwards to correct them.

But is that possible? It is quite possible to Dr. Schmiedel's mind that the Synoptists made a mistake. But that John corrected them—that is not possible. For Professor Schmiedel has found John wrong everywhere else, and he is not going to find him right here. 'Consider,' he says, 'what this means. Hitherto, as compared with the Synoptics, the Fourth Gospel has always proved less correct, and often quite untrustworthy. Is this discovery to be all at once reversed?'

Accordingly Professor Schmiedel sets out to prove that the Synoptics may be right, but that here also the Fourth Gospel is certainly wrong. How may the Synoptics be right? It is possible that the trial before Pilate did take place, as the Synoptics say, on the day of the feast. But it was not a trial. The Jews had by this time lost the power of life or death. Jesus must in the end be sent to Pilate. Why then should the Council be at the trouble to condemn Him? 'We may well believe that the High Council had shrewdness enough to hit upon the expedient' of simply declaring that no judicial court would be held, and that only a charge would be prepared to bring before Pilate.

On the approach of the Congress of Religions in Oxford, Professor Driver and Professor Sanday preached in the Cathedral of Christ Church. Their sermons have been published by Messrs. Longmans, under the title of *Christianity and other Religions* (1s. 6d. net). The volume contains two sermons by Professor Sanday, and one by Professor Driver.

Professor Driver found his text in Malachi. The words are: 'For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering, saith the LORD of hosts' (Mal $1^{11}$). After reviewing the circumstances which led to the utterance, Professor Driver turned to the words themselves and asked what was the meaning of them.

He called the passage a remarkable one. For it seems to say that the sacrifices which the heathen offer to their gods and goddesses are acceptable to God. It seems to say that, if they are offered in sincerity, they are more acceptable to Him than the insincere offerings of Israelites. And more even than that, it seems to say that when 'the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone,' his worship is worship of the LORD, simply because it is worship in sincerity, though not in truth.

The prophecy seems to mean that. It does mean that. The words and their meaning are unmistakable. We are wont to quote the words of St. Peter, 'In every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him' (Ac $10^{35}$), as the very utmost stretch of broad Christianity. Professor Driver says that Malachi goes beyond St. Peter.

Then Dr. Driver recalls a passage which is rarely

used in this reference. It is a passage in Deuteronomy ($4^{19}$). 'The writer of Deuteronomy, in warning the Israelite against idolatry, bids him take heed "lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve them, which the LORD thy God hath divided (*i.e.* allotted) to all the peoples under the whole heaven."' And this passage is more surprising than the other. For it says that Jehovah has assigned the heathen their gods, just as He chose Israel for His own peculiar possession. 'The God of Israel is supreme: He assigns to every nation its objects of worship; and the veneration of the heavenly bodies—which was widely diffused in antiquity—by nations other than Israel, forms part of His providential order of the world.'

# The Bearing of Criticism upon the Gospel History.

By the Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford.

II.

The controversy on the Fourth Gospel is very obstinately conducted, more obstinately than any other in the whole field of New Testament Criticism. If we date from the appearance of Bretschneider's *Probabilia* in 1820, it has been going on now for nearly ninety years; and yet the two sides confront each other as stubbornly as ever; neither will give way. Attack and defence are evenly balanced; a convinced book on one side is followed by a convinced book on the other.

I have specimens of both classes before me at this moment. The massive commentary of Dr. Theodor Zahn came out at the beginning of last year, and is a worthy monument of one of the most learned men of our time. By the side of this the Dean of Westminster's three Advent Lectures, published under the title *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel*, will naturally seem slight, but the value of the little book must not be estimated by its size. Like everything the Dean writes, it is based upon close and careful first-hand study; and it has modified more than one current view in a sense of which future discussions ought to take note. Still more recently there is another excellent *Introduction to the N.T.*, by Professor Fritz Barth of Berne, which upholds the traditional view. And a volume of Baird Lectures on the treatment of the Gospels by Eusebius (*The Four Gospels in the Earliest Church History*, 1908), by Professor T. Nicol of Aberdeen, does the same.

On the other side I may mention two English books and two German, the latter both commentaries. Mr. Ernest F. Scott's *The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology*, and Professor Burkitt's *Gospel History and its Transmission*, both appeared in 1906, and are both adverse on the point that is most important for our present purpose, the historical value to be attached to the Gospel. Of the commentaries, one is by a young theologian W. Heitmüller of Göttingen, and forms part of a series edited by Johannes Weiss. The object of this series is popular, but the commentary on St. John is a competent piece of work characteristic of the school from which it proceeds. And the same may be said even more strongly of the commentary by Walter Bauer, which takes the place of an older work by H. J. Holtzmann: it is extremely close, exact, and conscientious.

We might place perhaps in an intermediate class books like Dr. Edwin A. Abbott's *Johannine Vocabulary* (1905) and *Johannine Grammar* (1906), which are admirable collections of materials that do not as such point to a particular conclusion, or the very candid little book by Mr. H. L. Jackson (1906), in which the balancing of arguments seems to be more important than the final construction put upon them; and, lastly, two delicately discriminating papers by Dr. Lock in *The Interpreter* for July, 1907, and *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1908.

I cannot, indeed, help making a certain allowance for 'the personal equation' in some of the works that I have quoted on the negative side. Professor Burkitt is always bright and always frank, and he tells us without any reserve what he does not like in the Fourth Gospel. But it seems to me (if I may put it so) that he has taken hold of the Gospel by the wrong end. The controversy with the Jews in chap. 8, has made an impression upon him which he seems unable to shake off. I wonder if it would help him to consider, on the hypothesis that the Gospel is really the work of an eye-witness if not of an Apostle, that if so, the author must have himself seen the Master whom he so deeply reverenced and loved nailed to the cross; he must have himself seen the faces of those who wagged their heads and reviled Him (Mk $15^{29}$). We might well believe that they would haunt him for the rest of his life in his dreams, and come back to him whenever he thought of anything specially diabolical. Would it be surprising, if to such a one the debates which Jesus must have had with the Jews were reproduced in an unsympathetic form? The 'son of thunder' may well have had two sides to his nature, an ardent love on the one hand, and an ardent hate on the other. For the rest, I cannot but think it specially important that Professor Burkitt and the Dean of Westminster should be read side by side.

In Mr. Scott, too, there is a personal equation. Nothing can be more delightful than his exposition when he is in sympathy with his subject. But he is deeply imbued with Ritschlianism, and he is a modernist and a liberal; and he cannot forgive the evangelist for not being all these things like himself. If we could suppose that, instead of being always prepared with a scolding wherever the poor man shows signs of lapsing into metaphysics or 'ecclesiasticism,' he had asked himself whether after all there was not some excuse for both—whether the metaphysics of the day did not furnish a means of bringing home to the most educated and thoughtful of contemporaries the highest and the deepest import of the faith which he held; and whether there may not be a time when it is well that the gaze should be turned inwards upon the society to which it is a privilege to belong as well as outwards upon the wide world—if we could imagine Mr. Scott's book reconstructed on these lines, would it not have gained something in the process, and not lost? And would not the writer's admirable gifts have been seen to better advantage?

The two German commentators both repeat the usual shibboleths of their school; but they both sometimes get into difficulties and perplexities. When Heitmüller comes to $21^{24}$, he says that in this verse 'the beloved disciple is indicated as author of the Gospel, but in v.[23] his death is implied. The author cannot well have certified his own death. But that vv.[24f.] should be separated from what precedes as an addition, cannot be made probable.' In other words, the writer contradicts himself directly in consecutive verses. Whether he wrote *bonâ fide* or not, and whether he confused, or wished to identify, John the Presbyter with John the Apostle, Heitmüller cannot say. Bauer begins by saying that a writing could not well have a stronger self-authentication than is contained in $21^{24}$, but he ends by saying that this very self-authentication becomes a self-contradiction and a ground of suspicion ('so wird dieses letzte "Selbstzeugnis" zum Selbstwiderspruch und zur Selbstverdächtigung'). These are the sort of things that, I confess, stick in my throat. It is not a question of orthodoxy or of heterodoxy, but of the plainest common sense. Do rational beings contradict themselves in this way? But indeed, in the case of Heitmüller, I find my own literary canons almost inverted, *e.g.* on p. 185; what are mountains for him become molehills for me, and my molehills are his mountains.

I am aware that on this question of the interpretation of John $21^{24}$ I have used some strong language, for which I think that Mr. H. L. Jackson intended quietly to rebuke me. I said *a propos* of this passage (*Fourth Gospel*, p. 81), 'I hope that a time may come when it will be considered as wrong to libel the dead as it is to libel the living.' I would not repeat exactly those words, but I am not sorry that I wrote them. I think that a protest, and a strong protest, was needed. But the reason why I would not repeat them is, because I see that Mr. Jackson and others regard it as possible to treat the verse as coming under the head of ordinary pseudepigraphy. I should not of course think it any libel to say that an author assumed a *nom de plume*. For instance, in 2 Es $14^{38\text{-}48}$, when

Ezra says that he dictated ninety-four books of mysteries to five men in forty days, the fiction is evident, and harmless because evident. But it is another thing to make such a statement as that at the end of the Gospel. A statement like this, if not true, is deliberately false; and, if it is false, then I should say that the writer stamped himself as dishonest and insincere. I may be wrong; but that is my view.

Of all the literature that I have ever read on the Fourth Gospel, nothing has gone so far to reconcile me to the possibility that a large part of the Gospel may be in the last resort allegory rather than history, as the two papers of Dr. Lock's to which I have referred above. Dr. Lock does not sum up in this sense himself, and I am glad that he does not; but I have never seen that alternative stated so persuasively. There are, however, one or two points which I do not think that Dr. Lock has discussed, but which go to confirm me in the view that I have always hitherto held. One, and by no means the weakest, is the verse $21^{24}$, that I have just been considering. This is the most explicit of all the passages which imply that the author of the Gospel was an eye-witness, and wrote as an eye-witness. Other passages, like $19^{35}$, are ambiguous, and might mean, not that the author was himself an eye-witness, but that he derived his knowledge of this particular incident from an eye-witness. There is no ambiguity in the verse in which those who publish the Gospel are speaking. And my reason for not liking to explain this as part of the language of pseudonymity is the seriousness and directness with which the statement is made, and the way in which it falls in with so much besides in the Gospel. The idea of 'bearing witness' is, as Dr. Westcott showed years ago, one of the leading ideas of the whole book. The witness is doubtless to the truth which the Gospel was written to prove, viz. 'that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.' It branches off into many forms. The Baptist bears witness; the Scriptures bear witness; Jesus Himself bears witness, both by His words and by His works; the Father in heaven bears witness. It is a great array of testimony. But to what is all this testimony directed? What was it, and what does it mean? Surely it is the testimony of fact to fact.

I am well aware how much the notion of allegory has been gaining ground of late. Loisy, Heitmüller, Mr. Scott, Professor Burkitt, all fall back upon it. They maintain that the author was indifferent to historical reality, and interested only in the spiritual significance of the things that he related. Some of them, strangely enough, emphasize at the same time the anti-Docetic object of the Gospel—the purpose in the mind of the writer to refute the notion that the Divine Being, who to all appearance walked the earth as man, was a phantom only and not real flesh and blood. The writer of the Gospel is supposed to aim at refuting this. But what sort of refutation would his Gospel be, if it were itself nothing more than a string of allegories? Of what avail would it be to cast out phantom by phantom? For my part I can only take the opening words of the First Epistle of St. John in their most literal sense, and see in them the substance of the Gospel; it is an appeal to what the writer had himself seen and heard and to that which his own hands had handled. I can only endorse the verdict of the Dean of Westminster: 'It is to my mind impossible to doubt that the evangelist of the Fourth Gospel intended the scenes which he described to be accepted as real occurrences; it is impossible to believe that he knew them all the while to be the outcome of his imagination' (*Historical Character*, etc., p. 9).

The criticism of the Fourth Gospel has an important bearing on the Deity of our Lord, because it may be said to have that question for its special theme ('These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God'). At the same time I need hardly say that the fourth evangelist does not in the least put his teaching in the form of a question. It has in some respects become a question for us at the present day, but it was no question for him. He held his belief with the utmost tenacity, and he wrote out of the fulness of his heart to commend it to others. He writes with authority, with conscious authority; he knows in what he has believed, and he wishes to give others the benefit of his own experience—especially other Christians, to deepen and confirm their faith, but also all who are ready to become Christians, who have the open mind to receive the gift that God has vouchsafed to them.

Let us consider exactly what the Fourth Gospel does contribute. I do not think that it adds

anything altogether new. The fundamental truths were already there in the Synoptic Gospels and in St. Paul. Even the doctrine of the Logos is set forth in the Epistle to the Colossians—all but the name. And there are approximations towards it in the earlier Epistles: *e.g.* where it is said that Christ 'was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification, and redemption' (1 Co $1^{30}$); and again where it is said, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself' (2 Co $5^{19}$); and again the great saying, 'the Word was made flesh' is really anticipated where it is said that our Lord Jesus Christ, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor (2 Co $8^{9}$); or that He 'emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men' (Phil $2^{7}$); or that God sent His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh (Ro $8^{3}$). And if the Fourth Gospel insists that 'Jesus is the Christ of God,' the other Gospels insist no less strongly that He is the Christ (the Messiah), the Son of Mān, which, as we shall see, is a more significant name of the Messiah. Everything is contained potentially in that word, which is a Jewish title, but with a universal meaning; the Messiah is at once Son of Man and Son of God. It may be said, with truth, that the Fourth Gospel is only the working out in full detail of that great passage which no doubt ultimately comes from Q: 'No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him' (Mt $12^{27}$, Lk $12^{32}$). The evangelist does develop this idea of the mutual relationship of the Father and the Son in full detail and in many different contexts. It is just this which imparts to the Gospel what the critics call its monotony. It is true that the evangelist does, as it were, turn round the idea this way and that and looks at it in varied lights, as one might turn about a gem and catch the light on each of its many facets. In that sense there is perhaps a certain monotony; and the Fourth Gospel does no doubt dwell on the idea as the other Gospels had not dwelt upon it. That is just, as we have seen, its special purpose. To that extent we may allow that it differs from the Synoptics; and we may be glad that it does so.

If we ask, then, what the criticism of the Fourth Gospel amounts to, what precisely is at stake in it, I suppose we should say something like this. The main question is: Have we before us in this special presentation of the Divinity of our Lord a first-hand impression or a second-hand impression? Does the Gospel come to us from the first generation of Christians, or from the second generation? Is this doctrine in organic connexion with the rest of primitive Christianity, or is it detachable from it? It would be far too much to say that the doctrine stands or falls with the Fourth Gospel, because, as I have just been saying, we already have it in the Synoptic Gospels and in St. Paul. But, on the traditional view, the Fourth Gospel strongly reinforces these authorities, whereas, on the other view, it does not so much reinforce as echo them. In any case, the Fourth Gospel is what it is, and it states the doctrine as it does state it; but to us it comes with a different degree of impressiveness and weight according to what we believe to be its origin. Perhaps, in putting the matter thus, I ought to speak specially for myself; that is the way in which the question presents itself to me. It does not do so to every one. It can hardly, for instance, present itself as I have described to Mr. Ernest F. Scott, who may be said to magnify the teaching of the Gospel, though he rejects its Apostolic and first century origin. At the same time I doubt if he would have criticised the Gospel quite so freely in some ways if he had held a different view of its origin.

For many critics, especially on the Continent, rejection of the Fourth Gospel is part of a general movement or tendency to lower the standard (if I may so describe it) of the belief in our Lord's Divinity. Or this may be not quite the right way to put it. The tendency is really part of what is called Modernism, or at least of the more extreme form of Modernism. It goes along, in most cases though not in all, with a disinclination to use the ancient language of the Creeds. Some conspicuous representatives of Modernism in the Church of Rome, *e.g.* Abbé Loisy, while denying the Apostolic authorship and to a great extent the historical character of the Fourth Gospel, nevertheless profess their full adhesion to the Creeds. This attitude, I suppose, is more common in the Church of Rome than it is elsewhere; and, following the lead of the Modernists in the Church of Rome, I believe that it is also beginning to have some place among ourselves. But the movement took its rise in Protestant circles in Germany; and I believe that I am right in saying

that among these, as a rule, it goes along with a certain reluctance to adopt the language of the Creed. I must not, however, exaggerate the significance of this reluctance. It would be too much to say that it amounts to a positive denial of the Divinity of our Lord. The German writers whom I have in my mind do not express themselves quite unambiguously on this head. Not from any want of honesty—for no one could be more honest—but rather because they are so honest that they scruple to say a syllable more than they are sure that they really mean. And then they do not like sharp and strong definitions; and still less the definitions of a bygone age, which aimed at being sharp and strong. Their intellectual honesty is such that it prevents them from making allowance in their own favour on the score of history. Their sense of continuity in the history of the Church, and their desire to keep up this continuity in their own persons, is apt to be weak. They have not, like so many Englishmen, a strong sense of loyalty to the Church. They accept the communion in which they were born, and they do not desire to change it. But at the same time their real interests are far more in the twentieth century than in any of the preceding centuries. They want, before all things, to unify their whole body of thought. That is a motive that is apt to be weak with us where loyalty to the Church is strong. We are not, very many of us, passionately bent on harmonizing our whole body of thought; by which I mean, making it strictly coherent and consistent—in other words, reducing it all to a strictly twentieth-century standard. The German's great passion is for Science: *die Wissenschaft* is for him a goddess who must be obeyed at all costs; no other loyalty can be allowed to clash with that. This is the grand side of the German attitude; and we English must learn to do justice to it. We must not expect all the world to have precisely the same kind of loyalty that we have ourselves. The great problem for us is to adjust and harmonize our different loyalties, to bring our loyalty to truth, and science into line with our loyalty to faith and devotion. 'These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.' At the present moment, and in the frame of mind in which English people now are, that I think should be our guiding motto.

We ought distinctly to recognize that that section of German opinion of which I have been speaking—and it should be remembered that it is a large section, embracing more particularly the majority of the theological professoriate in the Universities — if it uses somewhat ambiguous language, does not do so at least from any wanton disloyalty, does not do so from timidity or even from want of clearness of thought (though there is perhaps a certain element of this), but before all things from sheer intellectual honesty, from an honesty which will not even allow itself to seem clearer in mind than it is. Therefore I would say that, if those who belong to this section of opinion use language that is lower than we are in the habit of using ourselves, we should hesitate a great deal, and study this language very carefully and sympathetically, before we describe it as amounting to a denial of the Divinity of our Lord. It is not intended to do this, even though there does go with it a somewhat brusque repudiation of some of the language of the Creeds and ancient standards of the Church. The formula that is most in favour with this party in Germany, and that would unite the greatest number of suffrages is the formula expressed in that phrase of St. Paul's which I have quoted, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself.' 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself': almost all Protestant Germany would agree in that; it is its positive way of confessing its belief in the deity of our Lord. If a good many would refuse to say more than this, they would also refuse to say less. Let us respect them as sincere and straightforward men, and give them full credit for all that their formula means, for all that degree of communion with ourselves that it means. We must be very careful not to disparage it as meaning less than it does.

The whole Christian world—not we alone, or the Germans alone, or Protestants alone, but the whole Christian world has before it at the present time one vast problem, the problem (if I may so describe it) of finding the common term, or I should say the full dimensions of the common term, between the ancient and the modern (τὸ παλαιόν and τὸ νέον). We must not be content with anything less than what I have called the full dimensions of the common term between these two ways of looking at things. We must face the full difficulty of the task, and gird ourselves to discharge it as best we may. Also we must be on our guard against supposing that it is finished

before it is. It is a long way from being finished as yet; we must make up our minds to that. At the same time it will not matter so much being short of our goal, so long as we know that we are short of it, and do not pretend to be further on than we are.

The difference between ancient and modern is at its greatest in regard to the Supernatural. I must try to state this in such a way as to do justice to the attitude at once of the ancient mind and of the modern. That is the point at which the problem becomes most pressing. Many look at the question only from what we may call the ancient side, the Gospels taken just as they stand; and then no difficulty arises. Others look at it wholly from the modern side, the side of modern presuppositions; and then they too arrive at a clear, but really narrow and inadequate conclusion. The problem is to hold the balance evenly between the two sides, and do justice alike to both.

I start from the fact, which appears to me to be as certain as anything in history, that extraordinary phenomena happened in connexion with the life of Christ and the ministry of His Apostles, and happened on a large scale. The most decisive witness on this head is St. Paul, who speaks not only from his own experience, but from that of his immediate contemporaries and associates. If we try to place ourselves by the side of St. Paul and to look out on the world with his eyes, we shall realize that he was conscious of the presence and working of great forces, forces hitherto without exact precedent or parallel, both within himself and outside himself. He is conscious that he does not stand alone, but that he is included in a vast movement, a movement in many respects *sui generis*, a movement essentially spiritual and not material, and yet one that in spite of its apparent external insignificance, he feels is destined to change the course of the world. In himself and among his own surroundings this movement is at its height; it is sweeping on with full current. But that is not the beginning of it. Rather, it points back to its own beginning. These forces of which the Apostle is conscious had their rise, as he knows and the whole Church knows, in the life and work of Christ, which set the train in motion. This initial force was inevitably the greatest and weightiest of all. It was marked off sharply from all that had gone before it. It had a kind of preliminary in the call of John the Baptist; and yet the ministry of John was different in kind. John had done no miracle; but he had foretold that his Successor would be mightier than he, and that prophecy had come true. The life and work of Christ were attended with miracle; they expressed themselves through miracle.

The inference backwards that we draw from the writings of St. Paul is abundantly confirmed by every document that criticism can distinguish bearing upon the Life of Christ. We cannot help seeing that not only St. Paul and the authors of these documents, named or unnamed, but the whole body of Christian opinion at the time agreed in assuming, not merely that extraordinary things happened in connexion with the Person of Jesus, but that His Person was itself extraordinary and transcendent, something beyond the measures of common humanity. The Early Church, practically with one consent, drew the conclusion for which it claimed to have the express testimony of Christ Himself, that He was nothing less than God (predicate), or Son of God. The opinion of the time favoured the view that there could be such a thing as a direct Divine manifestation upon earth, and the great body of Christians believed that they had been the recipients of such a manifestation.

This is broadly the ancient view. And the evidence for it is so widespread and so consistent, in its central part (the Epistles of St. Paul) so fresh from the very heart of the events, and in its more peripheral part (the Gospels) to a large extent so beyond the reach of invention, that we cannot do otherwise than accept it as substantially true.

But then comes in the modern way of looking at things. And here we are so imbued with the idea of science and with the scientific recognition of natural law, that the extraordinary element in what has just been described challenges us and rouses a feeling of incredulity and opposition. In its more extreme form this temper refuses to listen to the historical evidence, and practically rejects it without examination.

We are confronted with a double problem, as to the supernatural Person and as to the supernatural Work.

As to the Person, philosophy comes in to help us a little. There is increasing willingness to accept the philosophical as well as theological doctrine of Divine Immanence or Indwelling. Modern opinion is more and more inclined to think of God as immanent in the world and in the

heart of man. But if there is such real immanence of God, or the Spirit of God, in humanity, which up to a certain point is a matter of experience as well as of speculation, then it becomes less difficult to conceive of a supreme manifestation of God in human form. There is at least no essential incompatibility between the Divine and the human. I would not say that the analogy is by any means complete, but it is sound as far as it goes. It should at least prevent us from turning a deaf ear to historical reasoning, which apart from prejudice would be conclusive.

But then comes in the smaller difficulty of Miracle. We may believe in the regularity of nature, and yet not be ourselves absolutely precluded from believing at the same time in events, historically well attested, which seem perhaps at first sight to infringe upon that regularity. We must recognize a certain difference between the ancient conception and the modern. I think we must be prepared for some modification in our way of defining the supernatural. To the ancients, when once the Divine factor was introduced, anything and everything became credible. This was only natural, because the field of that which is regular was so much smaller than it is now, and the field of that which was mysterious and unaccountable was so much larger. It was an easier thing to take refuge in mystery than it can be now that so much that used to be mysterious has been reduced to law. At present our conviction of the regularity of nature is so strong that we believe in it even where we cannot trace it by sight and experiment.

This change of attitude inevitably affects our conception of the supernatural. We are ready enough to believe in the supernatural. We are probably more ready than ever to believe in the supremacy of Spirit. And we have perhaps a higher conception than ever of the power of the spiritual to influence the material. But we are reluctant to think of even this influence as exercised otherwise than by law. I may say summarily, that the *super*natural is not for us the same thing as the arbitrary or *un*natural.

This is a principle that some of us at least would bring with us to the interpretation of miracle. But that is just the most delicate point in the whole inquiry. And there is still a great deal that we must be content not to know.

There is a further element in the question of the supernatural that a Christian cannot help considering. We have before us not only the narrative of the Gospels, which has come down to us, as we may say roughly, from a period of some thirty to fifty years after the events, but also the later summarized expression which the same events have received in the Creeds. We may always remember that the expression is summarized—that it represents the condensed substance of narratives that we still have with us. It is always fair to go back from a summary to the full text summarized; the interpretation that we put upon this full text may also be put upon its abridgement. But the summaries in the Creeds have a further significance for us. They belong to the history of God's Church as it was evolved under His good providence. We have to think of them in that light; we have to think of them as embodying the principle of continuity as He has willed that it should be embodied. This, I think, quite apart from any question of legal obligation, would make us very unwilling to deny what He has thus willed to have affirmed. We shall be rather stimulated in the effort to find out what is the permanent truth that God intended to be conveyed, the real link in the chain that binds together the centuries.

Another still more searching question may be asked: What warrant have we for supposing that the Creeds express the substantial truth as to the Person of our Lord? The progress of recent critical inquiry has, I think, tended strongly to confirm the fundamental truth of the Creeds. At the same time I believe that it has also tended to put a rather different construction upon the life of our Lord from that which most of us have been in the habit of putting upon it.

I should explain that on the first point that I am going to submit to you I shall be speaking rather for myself than for any general consensus of scholars. In my own recent work it has been impressed upon me that we have been in the habit of saying too much about the *claim* of our Lord to be Divine, and about the acceptance or rejection of that claim. Not that this language is altogether wrong, but I think that it has had greater emphasis laid upon it than it ought to have. When we study the Gospels in detail I believe that we shall be surprised to see how little there is of the nature of a claim, and especially of a claim as to His own Person. The most significant incident in this respect—indeed, the climax of the Synoptic

narratives, though in the fundamental Gospel of St. Mark its character as a climax is somewhat disguised—is the Confession of St. Peter. And yet even in this how little there is that we should call exactly 'a claim.' It is a question which receives a particular reply; and that reply, which might be called the affirming of a claim, is warmly commended; but that is all. If there is a claim, it is not put forward by our Lord Himself; the most that He can be said to do is to elicit the affirmation. The other salient passage of the kind is the answer of our Lord to the high priest's interrogatory at His trial (Mk $14^{62}$, and parallels). But that, too, is a response; our Lord does not take the initiative, but only assents to the question of another. In the Fourth Gospel there is more language that might be described as amounting to a claim: as, for instance, where our Lord says, 'I and the Father are one' (Jn $10^{30}$), though He also says, in the same simple undemonstrative way, 'The Father is greater than I' (Jn $14^{28}$). But even in the Fourth Gospel our Lord does not go about publicly proclaiming Himself as the Messiah and calling upon all men to receive Him as the Messiah. Even in the Fourth Gospel it is implied that up to the very last our Lord's language about Himself had not been altogether clear and unambiguous. The Jews are represented as coming round Him at His last visit to Jerusalem and saying, 'How long dost thou hold us in suspense? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly' (Jn $10^{24}$). And a little earlier, at the Feast of Tabernacles in chap. 7, the people are represented as groping about more or less in the dark and speculating who our Lord really was, as they could not have done if He had made a public claim.

The question is perhaps, after all, rather one of words, though this is just a case in which it seems specially desirable that our use of words should be accurate and well considered; because, as I have said, the broad construction that we put upon our Lord's life and ministry seems to depend upon it. I should not describe our Lord as exactly making a claim; at the same time I should be far from implying that our Lord Himself had any doubt, or that His disciples from St. Peter's confession onwards really had any doubt, who He was. He knew, in the human sense of knowing, *i.e.* as the Incarnate Son He knew at least from His Baptism, and His disciples also ended by knowing, that He was the Messiah, the Son of Man and the Son of God. This is the point that the progress of criticism has made clearer and more certain.[1] We have been passing through a period in which each of these fundamental and significant titles has been challenged in its turn. And I think I may say that at the present moment each one has been corroborated and verified as it had not been before. The latest discussion has been about what I believe we may call our Lord's own favourite title, the Son of Man. I have given a brief sketch of the history of the controversy in my book *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, published in 1907. A fuller account may be seen in Dr. Driver's article 'Son of Man' in Hastings' *Dictionary*. This article was written when the controversy was at its height; it may now be said to have worked itself out, or at least to have entered upon its last phase. At first the use of the title by our Lord was questioned altogether (by Lietzmann and Wellhausen) on linguistic grounds, because it was held that in the Aramaic spoken in the time of our Lord, the phrase 'son of man' 'the son of man' meant, or had come to mean nothing more than 'man' 'the man,' and at first it was not seen what such a name applied to our Lord could mean. But by degrees it became clear, first, that in any case our Lord really did use the title; it is too deeply embedded in the Synoptic tradition to be eliminated. Secondly, it became clear that it had a place not only in the Gospels, but in other apocalyptic writings of the time (*e.g.* in the Book of Enoch and in 4 Ezra). The earliest instance in which the phrase occurs is in Dn $7^{13}$, and until a short time ago, it was assumed that this was not only the first example of its use, but the first occasion on which it was used, and that all later usage starts from this and points back to it. What I have called the latest phase of the question dates from a very able book *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, by Dr. Hugo Gressmann, (Göttingen, 1905), or rather, perhaps, more strictly from an article by Gunkel in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* for 1899. Gressmann's point, which he has developed with much force, is that the instances given do not represent the whole use, and that the passage in the Book of Daniel does not represent the first use of the phrase, but that all the instances together are really 'only fragments of a much

[1] See especially H. J. Holtzmann, *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu* (Tübingen, 1907).

richer and more comprehensive tradition'; in other words, that the phrase was a more or less standing term in the apocalyptic literature of the time, and that it is really an abbreviation of a longer phrase, such as 'the first man,' 'the original man,' 'the heavenly man,' 'the man in the clouds,' and the like, just as 'the day,' or 'that day,' stood for 'the day of the Lord' or 'the day of judgement,' etc. This is the point at which the question stands at the present time; and, whatever the ultimate result, Gressmann's treatment of it is in any case, as I have said, very able, and I think I may add that it has much in it that is attractive. With the question as to the origin of the idea I do not think that we need greatly concern ourselves. Gressmann would seek the origin outside Israel. If it were so, that would not matter. It would not be the first time, or the last, that Biblical religion has been enriched from some external source.

For us, it is more interesting and more important to note that, if this theory is true, then the conception of the Messiah and the conception of the Son of Man, though associated, will be independent of each other in their origin and parallel in their development. In any case they will have coalesced, and coalesced perhaps before either conception was taken to Himself by our Lord. I mean that the Messiah was also thought of under the title, and with the functions, of the Son of Man. The most prominent function of the Son of Man in the similitudes in the Book of Enoch is judgement; and the Messiah also was to act as judge. We can see thus how the coalescence of the two ideas would be quite easy and natural. I cannot doubt for a moment—and I do not think that it can be doubted; those who doubt it are becoming fewer every day—that our Lord thought of Himself as both Messiah and Son of Man. As Messiah, He was to be a descendant of David and to reign over His regenerate people upon earth; as Son of Man, He was to rule and judge the nations from heaven. Both conceptions were originally eschatological; they are part of the broad doctrine and programme of the last things. But when we have said that, we have by no means as yet determined their ultimate meaning.

This, again, raises a great problem. I believe that our Lord used a great deal of eschatological language; that His language was, generally speaking, more eschatological in its origin than I at one time supposed. But does it follow that eschatology exhausted the meaning of this language? that its fulfilment was bound to be exclusively eschatological? I do not think it does follow. This is the answer that I am inclined to give to a question that has been exercising me for some time.

There are three great terms that stand out boldly in our Lord's active ministry, the terms Messiah, Son of Man, Kingdom of God, or of Heaven. All three are in their origin eschatological. But I should be prepared to say of all three, that their fulfilment is not—or has not as yet been—eschatological. If, or in so far as, it has been eschatological, we should have to widen the meaning of the word to such an extent that it ceased to come within the scope of what we commonly understand by eschatology.

Some one may ask, How can this be possible? I reply that it is involved in the mysterious depths of the word 'meaning.' I had something to say in my last book on this subject, and I believe that it holds the solution of more questions than one. We ask what is the meaning of these three eschatological expressions? Before we can answer that question, we must first know *whose* meaning, and *for whom*. We are primarily concerned with our Lord's meaning, and with His meaning for His contemporaries and disciples. We take these latter first. What He wished them to understand would be naturally what He Himself meant. At the same time, we must recognize that He may have known all along that they were incapable of understanding His full meaning. He will have been content that they should understand as much as they could. But we may be very sure that, whatever they might have understood, they, in fact, came short of it. We may strongly suspect that they made the meaning of the words more eschatological than it really was—His Jewish contemporaries for the most part entirely so, His own disciples at least partially so. Neither, we may be sure, entered into the full length, and depth, and breadth, and height of what our Lord really meant by the three expressions Himself.

When we approach His own meaning, we approach a great mystery. We can only guess at His real meaning; and, what is more, even if we guess right, we shall not know that we are right. All that we can be confident about is that our guess has certain elements of rightness.

One of these elements of rightness, I believe, is

—and it is an immense comfort and assurance to us in these days of uncertainty that it should be—that the meaning which our Lord's contemporaries and His disciples and He Himself read into those three expressions was in any case (as we should put it) strongly supernatural. The Messiah was a supernatural Being; the Son of Man was a supernatural Being; the Kingdom of God was to be supernaturally brought about. The meaning of the Kingdom of God was utterly supernatural; it was God Himself at work and reigning in the hearts of men. The upshot of this, as you will not fail to see, is that the Divinity of our Lord is absolutely assured. At least the only alternative is that He and His disciples, and those of His contemporaries who believed, were themselves, one and all, mistaken; that they just made a colossal blunder, and nothing else. The history of the world ever since is enough to refute this. The greatest movement in all history cannot be based on a colossal blunder. It does not need a Daniel come to judgement to tell us that. We may then, I think, with clear minds settle down to the assured belief, that our Lord was Himself really supernatural, and that His kingdom has also been in its essence supernatural.

I don't know what you will think; perhaps I am too sanguine; but I cannot help at the least dreaming that, in laying down these propositions, we have really disposed of a difficulty that I confess has somewhat puzzled me, and that I daresay may have puzzled some of you. The three terms of which we have been speaking are, as we have seen in their origin, eschatological. And our Lord employed them more or less eschatologically. That is to say, he at least sometimes threw His comments upon them into the form of prediction. The Messiah would come, the Son of Man would come with the clouds, the Kingdom of God would also come, before the generation then living had passed away. But, in the purely eschatological sense, these predictions do not appear to have come true. What are we to say to that? The first thing that I think we ought to do is to remove the restriction. The ideas in question are in their origin eschatological; but I must repeat that it does not follow that the ideas as employed by our Lord are only eschatological. On the contrary, I think we can see, if we look at the Gospels as a whole, that on His lips they are something more than that. I have said somewhere—it does not matter where, because I have no doubt that others have said it often enough before, though I have seen it quoted as from me—that our Lord rarely took up a Jewish idea without recasting it in a form of His own. I believe that has happened to each of these ideas. Our Lord Himself certainly did not think of His Messiahship as the Jews of His day thought of their Messiah. No Jew ever dreamt of applying to the Messiah such a prophecy as that, 'My servant shall not strive nor cry.' The Son of Man is an apocalyptic title; but no apocalyptist ever thought of writing, 'The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.' The Kingdom of God belongs to the category of the 'last things'; but no one ever compared it to a seed growing secretly, or to leaven hid in three measures of meal, or to a merchant seeking goodly pearls. When we study, not a section here and a section there, but the Gospels as a whole, I think we shall see that, while our Lord does use eschatological language, He uses it not alone and as though it were the be-all and end-all of His teaching. It is really only an incident—perhaps a considerable incident, but yet not more than an incident—in a great body of teaching. Perhaps the evangelists have made it stand out rather more sharply than they ought. But in any case we may be sure that it must take its colour from the whole of its context. Take, for instance, the title Son of Man. It is impossible not to see that our Lord's use of this title was something far richer and far deeper, far more subtle and comprehensive, than ever occurred to the writer of the Book of Enoch or of 4 Ezra. I believe that our Lord (if we may so say) got at His use of the phrase (I am speaking for the moment of the human processes of His human mind) by meditating upon the Old Testament. I believe that He meditated upon every passage, Aramaic or Hebrew, in which the phrase occurs, but especially, perhaps, on Dn 7 and Ps 8. He meditated on passages like these; and He thought over His own mission as it lay mapped out before Him in His own mind and in His understanding of the Father's will. And then He blended the two conceptions together, and used the phrase in that wonderfully flexible way in which we find it used to express the resultant idea. I imagine that He treated the conception of the kingdom in precisely the same manner. The parables and

other sayings show us that for Him it meant something a great deal larger than an item of eschatology.

Not from the Gospels only do we draw these conclusions. The Epistles, especially the Pauline and Johannine Epistles, tell the same story. It is most instructive to observe what happened in the case of St. Paul. He too began by interpreting the kingdom eschatologically. He interpreted it after the manner of His contemporaries, and after the manner in which He supposed that it had been intended by our Lord. He treated it as a prediction, and an eschatological prediction, the fulfilment of which was near at hand. As late as the Epistle to the Philippians ($4^5$) he still wrote, 'The Lord is at hand.' But in the meantime he too had begun to seek for a deeper interpretation. The eschatological expectation of St. Paul is much the strongest in the earliest Epistles (1 and 2 Th, 1 Co). By the time that he came to write the Epistle to the Romans, he had already learnt to say, 'The kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost' (Ro $14^{17}$), *i.e.* a present frame of mind and present blessedness. In the same Epistle St. Paul expounds at length that widespread work of the Holy Spirit through which Christians became more than conquerors, and by virtue of which, prosecuting itself throughout the ages, in the language of another Epistle, God was to become 'all in all.'

We are therefore, I think, justified in saying that the coming of the Kingdom of God really dates from Pentecost and is not yet complete. And when we say this, we also say that our Lord's prediction has not returned to Him void, but is in process of fulfilment. It is not yet wholly fulfilled. There yet remains, we know not how much, to come. We know not what the end of all things may be. But we are sure that it will be the realized kingdom of our God and of His Christ.

# Recent Foreign Theology.

## Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.[1]

It is easy and not unusual to exaggerate the dependence of faith in Christ's divinity on the Fourth Gospel, and to minimize the witness of the Synoptics. We are very far from being as much shut up to the first source of evidence as is often said. If the Johannine teaching were wanting, the figure of Christ in the Synoptics, rising, as it does, so much above the human measure, would be an enigma difficult to explain, but assuredly that figure could not be explained on merely human lines. John's witness is explicit, that of the other Gospels implied, and therefore less easy to appreciate. John supplements the work of his predecessors.

The present treatise is a brief but very effective discussion of the witness of the earlier Gospels. The exhibition of the makeshifts to which opposing interpreters are driven is not the least effective part of the argument. An insuperable difficulty in their way is the claim of Christ in the Synoptics to be Judge of all. Every possible device is resorted to in order to parry the inference—denial that Christ makes the claim, reduction of its meaning, refusal to explain it at all, putting it down to excited imagination and feeling in Christ, or to a special original endowment by God not further explicable. His claim to Messiahship and references to His Second Coming are treated in a similar way. But the chief discussion turns on the claim to be Judge, because it is seen that this is incompatible with the thoroughly humanitarian view 'without reserve' which is strenuously maintained by many writers, who yet ascribe to Christ a unique position of a remarkable kind. But on the merely human view, what was there to suggest to the disciples, who are the supposed interpolators, this galaxy of attributes belonging of right to God alone? To say nothing of their Jewish conceptions of God, their powers of invention and creative imagination must have been great indeed. The diluted interpretations given are too ingenious to be credible. If Jesus by the claims in question simply meant that He was a new prophet, and was to exert some undefined critical influence on man's destiny, and to be a witness for His own people,

[1] *Das göttliche Selbstbewusstsein Jesu nach dem Zeugniss der Synoptiker.* Von Past. Lic. th. Joh. Steinbeck. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. Mk. 1.25.

that His cause was finally to triumph, His language effectually concealed His meaning. The charge of arbitrary, unwarranted interpretation made against the older faith recoils on those who make it. Professor Ihmels writes: 'Either with Scripture and the Church we must teach that God becomes man, or hold that man can become God. The first position is freely discredited as mythological, to us the other position seems much better to deserve such a predicate. The latter will be impossible for any one who is penetrated by the sense of the infinite fully set up between the creature and God in Holy Scripture, especially in the O.T.' One writer, from the narrative of the Baptism, throws reflexions even on the sinlessness of Jesus. Another writes a book with the title '*War Jesus Ekstatiker?*' Even Dr. Kaftan ascribes to Jesus a delegated or acquired Deity. Dr. Seeberg also, in his *Fundamental Truths*, declares for the incarnation of God's impersonal will, not God's personal Son.

The principal argument, developed at length from the Synoptics, is based not on single characteristics, but on the picture of Jesus Christ as a whole. The author well states that Christ's miracles and teaching, His Messianic claim, His placing Himself above temple and law and prophet, and other like features, while they strongly support the main proof, are not that proof. The supreme proof lies in His entire bearing and position as living in conscious, perfect unity with the Father, His absolute holiness, His claim as universal Judge, Head of God's kingdom, and Saviour of lost man. In the parables the Son stands over against the prophets as servants. He is the Bridegroom of the Church, a familiar O.T. description of God's relation to His people. His work of forgiveness and salvation is inseparably linked with His death. The Resurrection, which He expects and foretells, confirms all these claims and attributes. All this and much more is woven in the treatise into a strong, compact argument from Synoptic sources for the incarnation. Difficulties based on the Baptism of Jesus and the case of the Young Ruler are fully considered. The Virgin Birth also is discussed. 'Jesus assumes functions which pertain only to God, and which, therefore, reveal the man, who appears as receiving them, as standing in God's place.'

J. S. BANKS.

*Leeds.*

## Patrology.[1]

IN the year 1883 it was suggested to Professor Bardenhewer, of Munich, by Herder the publisher, that he should prepare a new edition of Alzog's *Manual of Patrology*. Being unable at the time to accept what he calls the flattering offer, he allowed it to pass to another, and the new edition of Alzog was issued in 1888. But the subject had caught hold of his mind, and in 1894 Professor Bardenhewer published his *Patrologie*, through the same publishers, but an entirely independent work. The book was well received. In 1901 it was issued in a second edition, reduced in size but increased in value, having been thoroughly revised throughout. That second edition has now been translated by the Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America.

The translation is satisfactory. Dr. Shahan has rendered the German into good English idiom, and being a scholar, and in particular a Church History scholar, he has been able to steer clear of the traps which a mere translator so inevitably falls into. He has even given some special attention to bibliography, and has added a few useful items throughout.

As regards the book itself it is enough to say that it is quite indispensable for the study of Early Church Literature. Dr. Bardenhewer's only serious competitor for convenience and accuracy is Gustav Krüger of Giessen, whose *History of Early Christian Literature* has also been translated into English by an American scholar. But Krüger's arrangement makes him more difficult to use. And besides, he stops at the end of the third century, while Bardenhewer goes on to the close of the Patristic Age.

## A Survey.

IN the December number we called attention to the first *Lieferung* of the great work, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr). The second and third *Lieferungen* have now reached us. The most important articles these contain are the following: Aberglaube im

[1] *Patrology: The Lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church.* By Otto Bardenhewer, D.D. Translated by T. J. Shahan, D.D. (Herder. 10s.)

Neuen Testament, Abessinien-Æthiopien in der Kirchengeschichte, Abgaben (kirchliche), Abgar, Abgrund, Abraham (by Gunkel), Abrenuntiation, Absolute, Absolutheit des Christentums, Ackerbau in Palästina (by Benzinger, with illustrations), Adalbert, Adaldag, Adiaphora, Adiaphoristischer Streit, Adonis, Adoration, Adventisten, Ægypten (i. Geschichte; ii. Religion, with illustrations; iii. Ægypten und das A.T.; iv. Ægyptens Einfluss auf Israel [all by Ranke]; v. Kirchengeschichte [by Windisch], Aemter Christi (by Troeltsch), Æthiopien im Altertum, Africa, Agende, Agrapha, Agrargeschichte (i. Altertum [by Max Weber]; ii. Mittelalter und Neuzeit [by Gothein: a very elaborate and careful article]), Agrarpolitik.

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Preuschen's *Gr.-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T.*, etc., which was noticed in last December's issue, is progressing steadily, and the publisher (Alfred Töpelmann of Giessen) expects all the parts to be issued before the close of the present year. To obviate misconception, and in answer to certain criticisms, the second *Lieferung* contains a note emphasizing the fact that the work is practical in its aim, being intended not so much for experts as for ordinary students of the Greek N.T., especially working clergymen. From this point of view, we have no hesitation in saying that it will fulfil its purpose.

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A real service to students of early Christian literature has been rendered by Dr. J. M. Heer in his *Die Versio Latina des Barnabasbriefes, und ihr Verhältnis zur altlat. Bibel, erstmals untersucht; nebst Ausgabe und Glossar des Gr. und Lat. Textes* (B. Herder, Freiburg i. Br.; price M.7). The book had its origin in a desire to trace the relation of the Latin version of the so-called Epistle of Barnabas to the Old Latin versions of the Bible, and this is the ruling motive of the author still, although, as will be seen shortly, he goes considerably beyond this in the scope of his work. The Latin version of chaps. 1–17 of the Epistle has been preserved in the Codex Corbeiensis, in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. Through an arrangement between that Library and the Grand Ducal Government of Baden, Dr. Heer has had the unusual advantage of constant access to the MS., it having been deposited for the time in the Grand Ducal Library of Carlsruhe. The first section of Dr. Heer's *Prolegomena* gives a short history of the MS., and a detailed account of its palæographic characteristics. In the next section he seeks to trace the relation between the Latin version of the Epistle and the Canon of the N.T. He believes that in the early Church the Epistle never enjoyed in *Latin*-speaking countries the position even of an ecclesiastical writing of the second rank, not to speak of its being regarded as canonical. The very liberties taken by the translator are enough to prove this. The translator, while not doubting that the Epistle was an authentic work of Barnabas, intended his work merely for *private* reading, not for use in church services. Our author then proceeds to establish his view of the position of the Latin version of the Epistle as a witness to an Old Latin translation of the Scriptures, and examines very carefully the questions of date, provenance, and authorship. He concludes that the author, whose personality remains obscure, probably belonged to Africa, basing this inference on his agreement with Tertullian, Cyprian, and other Africans, in the form of his Scripture citations. The date will be prior to Cyprian and (on account of the author's acquaintance with Theodotion's version of Daniel) after Tertullian. Whether we have before us a Montanist work remains uncertain. Then follows a long examination of the text of the Epistle. This is followed by a reproduction, with one page in facsimile, of the text of the Codex Corbeiensis; and then comes a critical text of both the Greek and the Latin, with the usual *apparatus*. The value of Dr. Heer's important book is increased by the two glossaries, Greek-Latin and Latin-Greek, which will prove of considerable service to students of Patristic literature.

J. A. Selbie.

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# Professor Albin van Hoonacker.

By Edgar de Knevett, Brussels.

The appearance of van Hoonacker's *Les Douze Petits Prophètes traduits et commentés* is an event which affects a far wider circle than the Roman Catholic students for whom it is primarily intended. To readers of The Expository Times especially Dr. van Hoonacker is no stranger.[1] His studies in the chronology of the post-exilic period alone have made him one of the few (alas, of the very few) Roman Catholics whose labours are taken into consideration by Biblical scholars all over the world.

His life has been one long devotion to study and teaching. Born at Bruges in 1857, and educated mostly there and at Louvain, he was at first drawn to scholastic philosophy and theology. When a theological student, he buried himself in the ponderous tomes of Suarez, with the result that in 1886 a treatise, *De Creatione ex Nihilo*, won him the Doctorate of Theology. Few persons would consider these labours a very promising training for Biblical criticism, but a chance circumstance suddenly threw the Louvain theologian into Biblical studies, and with so great a success did he prosecute them that, two years later, he published a short dissertation on the connexion of the first four chapters of Deuteronomy with the rest of the book. This attracted great attention: Driver, for instance, devotes to its arguments several pages of his Commentary on Deuteronomy. Thenceforth the young scholar's career was marvellously rapid. By the year 1890 he had not only been appointed Professor of Hebrew and Assyriology and of Old Testament Criticism in his Alma Mater, but he had published another small work which immediately placed him in the front rank of Biblical critics. Happening to read through the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, he acquired the conviction that Ezra's expedition (Ezr 7–10) took place after, and not, according to the usual belief, before Nehemiah's mission. Otherwise, he argued, Ezra would have done everything in Jerusalem, and there would have been nothing left for Nehemiah to perform. Van Hoonacker imagined that he was not alone in this opinion, but what was his astonishment when he turned up the commentaries! A renewed examination only served to confirm him in his conclusions, and even a prolonged holiday judiciously advised by his superiors was unable to shake them. His little book, with the significant title, *Néhémie et Esdras: Nouvelle Hypothèse sur la Chronologie de l'Epoque de la Restauration*, was the starting-point of a lengthy discussion, in which the leading critics of the day took part. The strength of his arguments may be judged from the fact that no less redoubtable a critic than Kuenen undertook to demolish them. In no way daunted, van Hoonacker replied in 1891 with his *Néhémie en l'an 20 d'Artaxerxès I Esdras en l'an 7 d'Artaxerxès II*, but his Dutch opponent died just before its publication. The controversy was continued by Kuenen's successor, Kosters, but it was greatly shorn of its interest by Kosters' granting the main point of the argument, the anteriority of Nehemiah. Perhaps those who would like a concise and accessible *exposé* of van Hoonacker's arguments may be referred to his article in the *Revue Biblique* for April 1901, in which, with relentless logic, he advances nineteen solid reasons in proof of his hypothesis. In connexion with this subject, it must have been a gratification for him to find, in the recently discovered Elephantine papyri published by Sachau, a confirmation of the date which he had assigned to the high-priesthood of Jehohanan (Ezr $10^{6}$, Neh $12^{22f.}$).

Meanwhile the Louvain professor was maturing another idea which entirely revolutionizes the prevalent conceptions of early Israelitish religion. He reached the conviction that the sanctuaries known in the time of Samuel as Nob and Gibeon (= Gibeah = Geba) were in reality identical with the sanctuary of the ark at Kiriath-jearim. Consequently, he argued, there was in Israel, at this period, a single legitimate sanctuary only, that of the ark, where regular sacrifices were offered. This he independently confirmed by showing, in his

[1] He has published the following articles in The Expository Times:—'The Return of the Jews under Cyrus' (May 1897); 'Divination by the 'Ob amongst the Ancient Hebrews' (January 1898); 'Ezekiel's Priests and Levites' (August 1901); 'The Four Empires of the Book of Daniel' (June 1902).

*Lieu du Culte*, that such was in fact the intention of the legal enactments on sacrifices throughout all the codes of the Pentateuch. Among van Hoonacker's students at Louvain, there was at this time a Dutchman, H. A. Poels, who took up his professor's ideas with great enthusiasm. Poels made several further identifications of these early sanctuaries, and finally published in 1897 his *Examen Critique de l'Histoire du Sanctuaire de l'Arche*. The combined results of these two works is that, broadly speaking, the unity of sanctuary, so far from dating merely from the reforms of Josiah, is not only taken for granted throughout the entire legislation of the Israelites, but can be proved to be a matter of actual fact all through their historical development. We have here an early instance of a critic who, whilst he assumes the main results of modern literary criticism, yet extracts from the Biblical documents an historical conception of Israelitish history which, if not identical in all points with the traditional view, comes infinitely nearer to it than the current ideas of the Grafian school. Who will deny that several critics at home and abroad (*e.g.* G. A. Fries, on this very question of the centralization of worship) are independently being drawn in the same direction? And is it not possible that a much larger historical element may one day be allowed in the first eight books of the Bible than is generally the case at present?

In 1899 appeared the well-known *Sacerdoce Lévitique*, and in the following year Dr. van Hoonacker became one of the original twelve consultors of the Biblical Commission. He is apparently the only Roman Catholic priest whose Biblical works (except the *Petits Prophètes*, which belongs to a special series) have been dispensed by the ecclesiastical authorities from the necessity of bearing the *imprimatur*. Considering the sorry state of Biblical studies in Belgium and the isolation to which a worker is there necessarily confined, it is evident that a Belgian student must work under somewhat discouraging conditions. All the more honour to Louvain University for having produced such a man as van Hoonacker. He is never happier than when grappling with a complicated problem, and he requires for its solution but the minimum of help. His everyday tools are of the simplest kind: no Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* for him, no *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon* constantly at his elbow. Leave him alone with the plain Massoretic Text, his Latin Gesenius of 1833, and his Flemish pipe, and he will ferret out a Greek word lurking in the text of Daniel, or evolve a new theory on the relation of the Elihu speeches to the rest of the Book of Job. His labours are seldom addressed to others than specialists, and, even on the rare occasions when he has a wider public in view, he is no popularizer of current ideas. By no stretch of imagination can his productions be deemed sensational, and yet their originality of view is so remarkable that they may well be called startling. A commentary from his pen on the Books of Samuel, if he could but be induced to take it up, would be sure to provide ample food for reflexion. It is a pleasure to add that the solidity of his learning is excelled only perhaps by his modesty and by his readiness to help others in search of advice or direction.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF DEUTERONOMY.

DEUTERONOMY XXXIII. 25.

**'Thy bars shall be iron and brass;**
**And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.'**

### EXPOSITION.

**'Thy bars.'**—The allusion may be to Asher's position: situated in the far north of Canaan, in the neighbourhood of foreigners, it would need to be well defended against encroachment and invasion. מְנָעֻל (*bolt*), from נָעַל, *to bolt* a door (Jg $3^{23.24}$); no doubt the same as מַנְעוּל (Ca $5^{5}$), which Neh $3^{3.6}$ shows to be distinct from בְּרִיחַ, *bar* ($3^{5}$).—DRIVER.

THE rendering 'shoes' is from a supposed derivation of the word from בַּעַל, 'a shoe.'—ALEXANDER.

**'Shall be iron and brass.'**—The territory of Asher probably contained iron and copper. Cf. $8^{9}$.—COOK.

**'And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.'**—May Asher's strength to resist its enemies never decline.—ROBINSON.

THE tribe is pictured as an individual; and if that be the true rendering, it will be a wish that Asher's strength may be

maintained as time wears on, instead of being (as it were) diminished by old age.

The word רבאך is as yet unexplained. *Strength* yields an excellent sense; but it has no philological justification, a root רבא not being known. Ges. Graf, Schultz, Kn. Ke. and others render *rest*; but this rendering is very uncertain, depending only on a remark in the Ḳâmûs that Arab *daba'a* has this meaning.—DRIVER.

## THE SERMON.

### The Previsions of Grace.

*By the Rev. J. Stuart Holden, M.A.*

The promise is not 'As thy *life*, so shall thy strength be,' but 'As thy *days*.' God does not ask us to trust Him for a whole year in one supreme act of faith. He asks us to trust Him for a day—a span surely within the compass of our resources.

I. 'As thy days, so shall thy strength be,' suggests to us, first, *God's individual care for His people.* He takes each man and each woman separately and weighs their needs for the day, and supplies sufficient power to meet those needs.

II. The promise *limits itself to a daily* supply, and herein comes *man's part.* If he does not use to-day's strength faithfully, he will not receive strength for to-morrow. Divine strength is renewed by obedient expenditure, and only so. Our life is like a fine piece of lace; if one stitch is dropped—one day misused—the lace is so much the less beautiful, and the stitches which are near the dropped one are so much the less secure.

III. The words of the text are *an introversion of natural order.* It is contrary to natural law that strength should increase with age. But as the Christian grows older his power of appropriating God's blessing increases, and what was at first a deliberate laying hold of God's power becomes the instinctive movement of the heart. But let us be under no mistake and think that the Christian life becomes easier as we grow older. It is a fight right to the end. How apposite, then, is this promise, with its assurance of strength to conquer.

IV. This promise leaves us *no excuse for refusing to take up the cross.* The haunting dread of breaking down is excluded by it. If we face Christ in the early hours of the day and get our strength renewed, we will be able to go down to the conflict, saying, 'I will go in the strength of the Lord God.'

### Reserve Forces.

*By the Rev. T. A. Jefferies, Huddersfield.*

In the history of Christianity nothing is perhaps more striking than the immense reserve forces it has shown itself to possess. The miracles of its earliest age pale before the ceaseless wonder of its progressive life. The faith at which the debaters of Athens mocked has conquered thrones, universities, and nations; has passed through every imaginable ordeal; and still grows and flourishes. By the wealth of its reserves it has been able to resist successfully attacks from all quarters. 'Its bars are of iron and brass; and as its days, so has its strength been.'

I. Let us look at some of these reserve forces, and first at the obvious one of its *enduring power.* This was early revealed, for the endurance of the Christian Church was never more severely tested than when she seemed to have lost her Leader. The death of Jesus was a tremendous strain on the new-born religion, but the seemingly crushing defeat became a mighty victory. And the secret of that transformation—the discovery that the crucified Jesus lived—has been the secret of all the victories that have followed. That assurance has remained deep planted in the heart of Christianity, and it has made her invincible. The period of persecution soon revealed the power of this hidden strength. Philosophers might sneer and tyrants condemn the Christians to the lions, but both alike were powerless to kill the faith that held fast by the death-conquering Christ. Centuries have rolled away and persecution has raged in a thousand forms, but the strength has been according to the day. *Strong* as the iron bars of a fortress, *free from decay* as the alloy of which we make our statues, let it be brass, bronze, or whatever is most enduring, the Living Christ, the reserve strength of Christianity, has made her sublimely victorious.

II. Even more astonishing to many is the reserve strength that Christianity possesses in her *powers of adaptation and assimilation.* She has moved on from nation to nation and age to age, fitting herself with perfect naturalness into the changing conditions, and in turn transforming them with her life-giving presence. Do we realize the wonder that lies in the bare fact that the religion which we in the West Riding love with every fibre of our being was born in Galilee? It

comes, so far as human origin is concerned, from an excitable, enthusiastic, narrow, Eastern race; and yet it has become thoroughly naturalized among our hard-headed, almost emotionless, decidedly western Yorkshiremen. And the process continues; for in our own time we are beholding that religion, completely British as it has become, root itself in, and transform, a nation so remote in character and thought as the Chinese.

The same power is seen in relation to the changes wrought by time. One of the great pictures at the Royal Academy this year was that called 'The Dedication.' A young knight is kneeling before an altar consecrating his sword to God. There at a glance we see how Christianity was the inspiration of the better side of Feudalism. The social order has changed since then. The whole world of modern science and democracy hides it from our ken. But if Feudalism is gone, Christianity remains, and is still the informing spirit of our highest life. And one of the latest things in books is an attempt, on the part of the Principal of Birmingham University, to show to the scientific mind the truth of this faith. Truly might it have been said of Christianity, 'As thy days, so shall thy strength be.'

III. Most wonderful of all among the reserve forces of our faith is its *power of renewal.* Time and again it has seemed as if it must perish, not from outward attack, but from inward corruption. We may even dare to say that, had Christians been able to kill their own religion, it would have been dead long ago. But a better day has dawned, however dark the night. There is in Christianity something greater than all its people, and that is Christ. When things have got to their worst some one has rediscovered Christ, and the unveiling of His face has brought back life into the stiffening body of a corrupt ecclesiasticism. The Reformation was such a fresh unveiling of the hidden Jesus, the Methodist Revival was another, and almost every Church that has existed more than twenty years can tell of periods of decline that have been arrested, and replaced by revival, joy, purity, and power through getting back to Christ. We do not look for compliments from Lecky, but even he has acknowledged that, 'Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft, the persecution, and fanaticism which have defaced the Church, it has preserved in the character and example of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration.'

IV. Thus we have seen that on the larger scale this old-world text is nobly fulfilled in Christianity. Let us conclude with the reminder that these reserve forces are at the call of each individual believer as much as of the whole. In personal experience reserve forces are the secret of peace and power. Says À Kempis, 'Occasions do not make a man frail, but they show what he is.' And they that keep close to Jesus have the secret with them. He that abideth in Christ shall rise superior to every trial. His bars shall be iron and brass; and as his days, so shall his strength be.

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## Illustrations.

**As thou spendest thy days.**—There is an old Jewish rendering of these words which gives the meaning, 'As thou spendest thy days, so shall thy strength be.' That is the underlying thought in Tennyson's 'Sir Galahad':

> 'My strength is as the strength of ten,
> Because my heart is pure.'

But we have no need to refer to a mythical character to see the truth of that. In Hood's *Life of Cromwell* he says, 'Cromwell was the man raised up by Providence to save England from its doom. Never in the history of the world had a man a more difficult task to perform; but he performed it, because he brought to the task, in addition to the most remarkable combination of mental requisites, piety of the sublimest order and singleness of purpose, lofty as that of a Hebrew prophet.'

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**As the days of Christianity, so shall its strength be.**—There is a story which has to do with the early history of Christianity in the Roman Empire. The order went forth that every soldier in the army must pour a libation before the statue of the Emperor, or be put to death in any way the commander saw fit. Up in northern Gaul a centurion had a band of a hundred men, a large number of whom were Christians, but he was obliged to carry out the order. He lined his men up in single file, and had them pass before the emblem of the Emperor; and as they came up in front of the emblem each one, if he were not a Christian, took the cup and poured the libation, and then passed to the right; if he were a Christian he declined the cup and passed to the left. When the work was done there were forty picked men standing on the left, and the centurion commanded them to go out to the middle of the lake, which was frozen over, and there to die by freezing. As they went these men marched and sang this song:

> 'Forty wrestlers wrestling for Thee, O Christ,
> Claiming from Thee the victory, and from Thee the crown.'

The centurion was not a Christian, and he did not understand the religion which made men so brave. He built a great fire on the shore that the men might be led to repent of their strange action and come back to be his soldiers. He walked

up and down in front of that fire hearing the little group chant their song; and presently he saw one man detach himself from the group and come stumbling across the ice and up the bank in front of the fire, renouncing his faith to save his life. Then the centurion's helmet and shield clanged on the ground, and he walked out on the ice and took the place of the deserter, and once more that song went up into the air—

'Forty wrestlers wrestling for Thee, O Christ,
Claiming from Thee the victory, and from Thee the crown.'

*Students and the Modern Missionary Crusade*, p. 252.

**Strength for one day at a time.**—A man says to his agent, 'I want you to go on a business tour for me. First go to Buffalo. Here is the money, and here are the directions that you will need while there. Thence go to Cleveland, and there you will find remittances and further directions. When you get to Cincinnatti you will find other remittances and other directions.' 'But,' says the agent, 'suppose when I get to Cleveland, or any of the other places, I should not find anything?' He is so afraid that he will not, that he asks the man to give him money and directions for the whole tour before he starts. 'No,' says the man, 'it will be sufficient if you have the money and directions you need for each place when you get to it; and when you do get to it you will find them there.'—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

**Not looking round the corner.**—When I was young I was the victim of that illusion implanted for some purpose in us by nature, which causes us on the brightest morning of June to think immediately of a brighter morning which is to come in July. . . . As I got older I became aware of the folly of this perpetual reaching after the future and of drawing from to-morrow, and to-morrow only, a reason for the joyfulness of to-day. I learned, alas! when it was almost too late, to live in each moment as it passed over my head, believing that the sun as it is now rising is as good as it will ever be. . . . One-fourth of life is intelligible; the other three-fourths is unintelligible darkness; and our earliest duty is to cultivate the habit of not looking round the corner. — MARK RUTHERFORD, *Autobiography*.

**Daily Strength.**

'As thy days, thy strength shall be!'
This should be enough for thee;
He who knows thy frame will spare
Burdens more than thou canst bear.

When thy days are veiled in night,
Christ shall give thee heavenly light;
Seem they wearisome and long,
Yet in Him thou shalt be strong.

Cold and wintry though they prove,
Thine the sunshine of His love;
Or, with fervid heat oppressed,
In His shadow thou shalt rest.

When thy days on earth are past,
Christ shall call thee home at last,
His redeeming love to praise,
Who hath strengthened all thy days.

FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL, *A Ministry of Song*.

FOR REFERENCE.

Banks (L. A.), On the Trail of Moses, 259.
Brookfield (W. H.), Sermons, 196.
Holden (J. S.), Redeeming Vision, 31.
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Raleigh (A.), From Dawn to Perfect Day, 337.
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*Christian World Pulpit*, iv. 206 (R. Collyer); xiv. 368 (W. Harris).

# Literature.

## *A CLARENDON PRESS REPRINT.*

THE MIRROUR OF THE BLESSED LYF OF JESU CHRIST. By Nicholas Love. Edited by Lawrence F. Powell. (*Frowde*. 21s. net.)

THE reprinting of Early English Literature can scarcely be undertaken by any publisher for the sake of profit. Yet it is an undertaking that has attracted more publishers than one. And when it is a matter, as it usually is, of painstaking editorial work, and as painstaking press work, it is not surprising to find among the publishing houses fascinated by it the Oxford University Press.

The reprints of the Oxford University Press are in crown quarto. They are edited by scholars, not merely by literary men of leisure. They are printed on a beautiful white paper in a special clean-cut type, and they are bound in blue paper boards with grey linen back and white label. Everything, in short, is thrown in the way of the book buyer to overcome any resistance he may have to spending his money on an old book.

The volume before us is an old book indeed. It is the translation of a Latin work entitled *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, attributed to Cardinal Bonaventura (amongst others). The translation was made before the year 1410, for in that year it was presented to Archbishop Arundel, the notorious persecutor of the Lollards. Of the translator nothing is known but his name, Nicholas Love, and that only because it is found in some of the manuscripts of the work.

The original *Meditationes* in Latin was popular over the whole of Europe, and it was translated into most of the Continental languages. Nicholas Love's translation seems to have been quite as popular in England. Twenty-three manuscripts are still in existence. But the editor has not found it necessary to use more than three of them, the variations in the others being errors or insignificant. He has relied mainly upon the MS. belonging to Brasenose College, now in the Bodleian Library.

The interest of the book is many-sided. Perhaps the easiest way to illustrate its variety of interest is to quote a short passage. Let us take the beginning of the paragraph entitled 'De tribulacione electorum.' It deals with a problem that is still discussed, and it deals with it in a singular combination of candour and reverence.

'The thridde notable thing that we haue ensaumple of here is how that oure lord suffreth his derlynges to be disesed here thorugh persecuciouns and tribulaciouns: and that scheweth wele here in marye and Joseph. What tyme they knewen the child soughte to be slayne: what myght they here more sorwefulle? For though it so were that thei knewen and wisten wele that he was goddes sone, neuertheles the sensualite and the resoun of hem myghte kyndely be destourbeled and meued to seie in this manere: Lord god, fader all myghty, what nede is it to thy blessed sone, that here is to flee, as thou myghtest not defende hym fro his enemyes and kepe hym saaf here?'

## *LUKE THE PHYSICIAN.*

LUKE THE PHYSICIAN, AND OTHER STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. By W. M. Ramsay, Kt., Hon. D.C.L., etc. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* 12s.)

In this volume Sir William Ramsay's peculiar gift surely reaches the perfection of its exercise. It is the gift of historical and geographical exposition. The average preacher has not discovered Sir William Ramsay yet. He is still entirely occupied with the unfolding of the writer's thought. So far as his interest goes, St. Paul might have been a Christian Hindu when he wrote about Adoption; he might have been living in Scandinavia when he used the illustration from grafting. It has been Sir William Ramsay's business, and it is his glory, to make known to the preacher how much greater a great thought is when, like a jewel, it is seen in its proper setting.

His new volume contains, as usual, many things. They may be all related; but there is plenty of freedom in the relationship. 'Luke the Physician' is the title of the first chapter. The title of the fourth is 'The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire,' and the title of the sixth is 'The Religion of the Hittite Sculptures at Boghaz-Keui.' The longest chapter by far (it occupies almost a third of the book) is on 'The Church of Lycaonia in the Fourth Century.' It is introduced in the preface with a modesty for which those who do not know him would not give Professor Ramsay credit. 'The last article,' he says, 'stands in much need of help and criticism from more experienced scholars. In writing it I felt the depths of my ignorance; but the first steps had to be taken in the subject.'

Is it necessary to say that from first to last it is a book of absorbing interest? Sir William Ramsay cannot write in any other way. And every page of it tells how impossible it is for the preacher of the gospel to keep himself any longer ignorant of those things which lie outside the immediate letter of Scripture, things of pagan mystery and even Muhammadan brotherhoods. These are the things which enrich this book on Luke the Physician. They are able to enrich all our preaching with a new conception of the height and the depth, and the length and the breadth, of the love of God in Christ.

## *LOGIC.*

THE PROBLEM OF LOGIC. By W. R. Boyce Gibson, M.A. With the co-operation of Augusta Klein. (*A. & C. Black.* 12s. net.)

This is the first of two volumes which together will form a complete treatise on Logic. If the

second does not fall below this level, we take it that the complete work will be the most important contribution to the study of Logic since Mill.

It is not the work of a single author. No great book is that. Professor Boyce Gibson mentions his indebtedness to the works of Mill, Sigwart, Bosanquet, and Joseph. But apart from that general indebtedness, which every worker owes to his predecessors, Professor Boyce Gibson frankly and generously acknowledges certain particular debts. First, to Professor G. F. Stout. Professor Stout read through the manuscripts and 'returned them to me shortly afterwards accompanied by a small volume of criticisms.' The substance of Professor Stout's criticisms was adopted. Next, to Miss Klein. Miss Klein's collaboration 'dates from the first revision of the work—from the spring of 1905. Since that date, every change in the treatment—and the reconstructions have been drastic—has been subjected to the friendliest but most unsparing criticism. No point of divergence between us but has been thoroughly discussed, and transmuted into a point of common agreement.'

Still Professor Boyce Gibson is responsible for the book, and must receive the credit of it. The conception arose with him; the lines of treatment have been drawn by him; the central principle is his own, and may almost be said to be peculiar to him. That central principle is the idea of relevancy. The principle of relevancy, that is, of fidelity to relevant fact, 'has been adopted as the master-key to all the main positions of the book, including the central problem of a Formal treatment, and its relation to a material treatment of Logic.'

And not less important than that central principle is what one might call the author's cast of mind, what he himself would call, and rightly call, the ultimate aim of all his thinking and all his writing. Professor Boyce Gibson is a religious idealist. He holds that the time has come, and calls imperatively, for co-operation, a frank and fruitful co-operation, between the Idealism of the Hegelian School on the one hand, and the Psychologism of the Pragmatic and Genetic Movements on the other. In expressing this conviction Professor Boyce Gibson looks upon himself as simply working in the service of that liberating movement in Philosophy, which in his mind is associated with the work and personality of Professor Eucken. Well, he has himself made Professor Eucken known. But he is not so greatly indebted to him as he thinks.

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## *THE NEW SCHAFF-HERZOG.*

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge. Edited by S. M. Jackson, D.D., LL.D., with the Assistance of C. C. Sherman and G. W. Gilmore, M.A. (*Funk & Wagnalls.* Vol. i. 18s. net.)

What induced these able American editors to abridge the new edition of Herzog? Why did they not produce an entirely new encyclopædia in their own tongue? It could not have been because there was not scholarship enough in America. There *is* scholarship enough now; and, besides that, they were at liberty to draw upon England and elsewhere. Nor could it have been because of the incomparable excellence of the German work. There are excellent articles in it, but it is not incomparably excellent as a whole. There probably never was a more disappointingly unequal encyclopædia published.

It is likely enough that the simple fact of Herzog having once been reproduced in English suggested to them to reproduce it again. But the situation has wholly altered in the interval. The first Schaff-Herzog met the needs of its time fairly well. But now there are several large dictionaries of the Bible in existence, dictionaries that are quite up to date and in the hands of most students of the Bible, who no longer need a book that contains articles on all the Scripture names. And, besides that, a new sense has arisen since Schaff's day of the catholicity of theology, and men cannot be satisfied with a book written entirely by Protestants and from the Protestant point of view.

But let us take the book as we have it, and be thankful. The old edition was completed in three volumes, to which a supplementary volume of modern biography was afterwards added. The new edition is to run to twelve volumes. And that is all gain. It is true that the increase is made up mainly by new matter, and that some of the German articles are so condensed as to be barely intelligible. But we have no hesitation in saying that the resolution to make the book three times the size of the old was a wise resolution. It is a recognition of the fact that since the issue of

the first edition of the Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopædia*, the study of theology has opened out and now occupies a far wider field.

It is perhaps owing to the condensation of the German articles, or to the mere difficulty of abridgement, that by far the most interesting part of the work is the new material. It seems to be contributed entirely by American scholars. It is pleasant to find among them the name of Professor David S. Schaff, the son of the editor of the first edition, whose work, moreover, is very well done. Of the rest, perhaps the best known name is that of Professor Warfield of Princeton, who contributes some pretty lengthy articles in theology, and whose point of view is unmistakable.

## Among the Books of the Month.

In the first volume of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS there is a remarkable article on 'Animals,' with a remarkable bibliography. Professor von Dobschütz calls it an ideal article, and the bibliography is as unique as the article. The author of both is Mr. Northcote W. Thomas, M.A., F.R.A.I. Every year Mr. Thomas prepares a complete *Bibliography of Anthropology and Folklore*. The issue for 1907 is ready (Royal Anthrop. Inst.; 2s. net).

There is no Christmas present like a book. But which book? For once there can be no hesitation; or at least the only hesitation can be between two books which have been published by Messrs. A. & C. Black. The one is *From Damascus to Palmyra* (20s. net); the other is *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan* (20s. net). They are this season's contribution to the wonderful library of illustrated books of travel in which colour printing and capable writing have combined to make the name of A. & C. Black more widely known than even the *Encyclopædia Britannica* ever made it. It is a new kind of literature. Hitherto books were written and then illustrated; and the illustrations had no relation to the book; it was often quite evident that the artist had never read a chapter of it. Or else the illustrations were drawn and some one was found who wrote a book to accompany them; and then the writing was nothing. In Messrs. A. & C. Black's books author and illustrator are both artists. The book as literature is fit to stand alone, and the illustrations would be eagerly bought in a portfolio. It is enough to say that *From Damascus to Palmyra* is written by Dr. John Kelman, and illustrated by Margaret Thomas. The author of *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan* is Mr. Richard Gordon Smith, F.R.G.S.

We cannot say which book should be chosen first. Without seeing them we should have said Dr. Kelman's, because we have already seen his *Holy Land*. But Mr. Gordon Smith is a delightful story-teller, and there is no end to the interest which the Japanese imagination has thrown around the borderland that lies between the seen and the unseen.

The part of Dr. Cheyne's new book on *The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah* (A. & C. Black; 7s. 6d. net) which will be most read is the introduction. For in the introduction, of forty closely printed pages, Dr. Cheyne answers the critics of his Jerahmeelite theory, and has no mercy. Name after name comes up for rebuke or ridicule. And the worst of it is that the rebuke and the ridicule seem to be well placed. Dr. H. P. Smith, of Meadville Theological Seminary, writes: 'We are at a loss to discover why Jabal, Jubal, Mahalaleel, Lamech should not have been allowed to appear in their original form as Jerahmeel, or why Joktheel should supplant Jerahmeel as the name of a city, or why Beer-lahai-roi should be forced into the place of En-Jerahmeel.' Whereupon Dr. Cheyne exclaims, 'Allowed! Supplant! Be forced! Could there be any greater proof of unwillingness to enter into a new point of view than this?' And in a footnote: 'Among the curiosities of Professor —— (we shall not name him) is a Babel in the Negeb, for which I am not responsible.'

The book itself is not so entertaining. But it gives the Jerahmeelite theory in clearer proportion than ever before.

The teacher of Ethics in all the Universities is Professor James Seth. He is not a peripatetic. He sends his book. *A Study of Ethical Principles* (Blackwood; 7s. 6d.) has reached its tenth edition. Before issuing it in the tenth edition Professor Seth revised it. And in revising it he discovered that he was all wrong in thinking that intuition is the most characteristic and important feature of

Butler's theory. So he rewrote his account of Butler, and gave eudæmonism a much more influential position. This compelled him to rewrite the whole section on Eudæmonism. And the consequence is that those who do not possess the tenth edition of Professor Seth's *Ethical Principles* may quite misrepresent Professor Seth.

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The Revised Version has not even yet been so long in taking the place of the Authorized as the Authorized Version was in supplanting the Geneva Bible. Its hope lies in the schools. And for school use the Cambridge Press is issuing a cheap annotated edition. *St. Luke*, by the Rev. E. Wilton South, M.A., and *The Acts*, by the Rev. C. West Watson, M.A. (1s. 6d. net each), have just been published.

The same Press has issued a fresh study of *Neoplatonism in Relation to Christianity*, by Mr. Charles Elsee, M.A. (2s. 6d. net).

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The average man's interest in evolution is an ethical interest. He does not care a straw about the descent of man, whether from monkey or from frog. He cares only about his conscience and his God.

The book about evolution that even educated men have been waiting for is, therefore, Mr. W. Benett's on *The Ethical Aspects of Evolution* (Clarendon Press; 6s. net). And Mr. Benett has added to the expectation a certain surprise of his own to make the book more interesting still. He has discovered and developed a theory of the way by which we have come to have a conscience. It is the way of opposition. Pleasures and pains have developed side by side, and it is their adjustment that has compelled men to pass judgments upon their acts, calling this right and that wrong. There are movements of attraction and repulsion. These movements are reflected on the consciousness. They are then generalized and translated into value-judgments, which are distinguished from all others by a peculiar feeling of compulsion or obligation. Thus the individual receives or recognizes a conscience. And the consciences of individuals give a moral code to the society of which they are composed. The corporate code may be higher or lower than the individual conscience. For it is an average, and the individual may be above or below the average in his sensitiveness to right and wrong.

If this seems somewhat elementary, it is due to the abstract, not the original. Mr. Benett is not elementary. He has worked at these problems for thirty years and has something to say about them.

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Just when we think that we have carried about the *Virgil Pocket Book* long enough, there comes *The Horace Pocket Book* (Constable; 2s. net), uniform in its beauty and wisdom.

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To the revised issue in parts of Miss Kate M. Warren's 'Treasury of English Literature' two parts have been added, *Waller to Addison* and *Johnson to Burns* (Constable; 1s. net each).

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Mr. Culley has been fortunate in getting a book on Astronomy written by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Maunder. And he has made good use of his opportunity. The book is entitled *The Heavens and their Story* (5s. net). It is written with just the proper proportion of scientific fact and artistic setting, and it has been lavishly illustrated with coloured photographs.

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When the Rev. Samuel Marriott, now of Sheffield, was in Hull, he had a way of reaching his young people by writing letters to them. These letters he has now published for the good of other ministers' young people, and has called the book *On Playing the Game* (Culley; 2s. 6d.). They are manly, healthy letters, and they touch almost every aspect of ethics and religion.

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The newspaper 'Correspondence Column' is a kind of confessional box in its latest developments. All the confessors do not turn it to so good account as does the Rev. Harry Bisseker, M.A., in the *Methodist Times*. He gives time and research to the questions before he answers them. Some of the topics discussed are so great as Temptation, Besetting Sin, Reality in Prayer, and the Problem of Suffering. Mr. Bisseker has now published what he had to say on these topics. The title is *Problems of Discipleship* (Culley; 1s. 6d. net).

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The change that has come over our popular theology could not be better illustrated than in a book entitled *Waymarks in the Pursuit of God* (2s. 6d.). It is published at the Drummond Tract

Depôt in Stirling, and ought to be in harmony with the *Herald of Mercy* manner. It is written by the Rev. D. M. M'Intyre, the successor of Andrew Bonar. Yet the first chapter is a popularization of the mystical devotion of the Canons of St. Victor, and the rest of the chapters remain among the mystics and the perfectionists to the very end. The ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS has not come too soon. Its contents are the accurate scientific expression of those things which are already occupying the minds of the straitest sects of evangelicalism. These things, we say, are already occupying their minds, but there is room for accuracy and enrichment. That is why the Encyclopædia has not come too soon.

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The Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., is the Scrivener of our time. His latest collation is of *Codex Taurinensis* (*Y*) (Frowde; 4s. net). He may, however, have a later ready, for he is indefatigable, and this study appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies* before it was published in book form. Codex Y is the earliest known manuscript of the Twelve Prophets in the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint. And Lucian's text is of the first importance, not only for the Greek but also for the Hebrew underlying it. Codex Y belongs to the library of the University of Turin. In the year 1904 a fire broke out in the library, but a rush was made and Codex Y was rescued. Fortunately it lay on a low shelf within reach. All the MSS on the higher shelves were either wholly destroyed or seriously damaged.

In addition to his most painstaking transcript of the MS., Dr. Oesterley has given readings from all the Lucianic MSS at present known, from the Old Latin Texts, from the Hexapla, and from both Chrysostom and Theodoret.

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The American preachers are very fond of the short ethical essay. And they are masters of it. One of the best of its kind is *Making the Most of Ourselves* (London: Gay & Hancock; 3s. 6d. net), by the Rev. Calvin Dill Wilson. Mr. Wilson addresses 'young people,' but the rest of the people will find food for reflexion in his pages.

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Messrs. Gill & Son, Dublin, have commenced a new series of books, to be called 'Epochs of Irish History.' Their size seems to be small quarto. They are bound in green, with black lettering. The price is 2s. 6d. net.

The first volume is *Pagan Ireland*, by Miss Eleanor Hull. Now the Pagan period is the most picturesque period of the history of Ireland, and Miss Hull is able to make a fine romantic story of it. She is a great savant. Ireland and Comparative Religion are at her feet. And then she is a woman, and an Irish one.

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Some day some great editor will give himself to a Dictionary of Universal Biography. At present the only presentable book is in French, the *Biographie Générale*, and it is nearly half a century old. In the meantime we have instalments, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, no mean instalment, with its most useful synopsis in one volume; and *Notable Welshmen*, edited by the Rev. T. Mardy Rees, and published this month at the *Herald* Office in Carnarvon. *Notable Welshmen* is a synopsis also. It is in one volume (10s. 6d. net). Just the facts are given, no comments on them, and no characteristics. But it will be most serviceable.

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Three names on one title-page, and each of them alluring—Ruysbroeck the subject, Maeterlinck the author, and Jane T. Stoddart the translator. It is a perfect translation of Maeterlinck's charming little book on *Ruysbroeck and the Mystics* (Hodder & Stoughton; 2s. net).

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When He was up in the mountain He was Himself transfigured. When He came down into the valley the epileptic was transformed. Dr. Campbell Morgan has written about *Mountains and Valleys in the Ministry of Jesus* (Hodder & Stoughton; 1s. net).

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Professor Hugh Black has fallen into the ways of the University Classroom as if he had never occupied a pulpit. His volume of *University Sermons* (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s.) flatters the undergraduate, not by making him fancy he is a great thinker, for they are quite simple and straightforward, but by playing prettily up to his conceit that he is just a little different from other men. Take the sermon, for example, on 'not being wise over much.' Whoever runs the risk of that except an undergraduate? But if Professor Black meets the undergraduate a little there, it is

no doubt to secure his attention; and then he uses his opportunity, getting him utterly to despise his own complacency, and even to become the possessor of a torn and bleeding conscience.

Professor Stalker is not ignorant of the wider horizon in which all progressive theology is now working, and he has the first volume of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS beside him. It is therefore deliberately that in the little book on *The Atonement* (Hodder & Stoughton; 2s. 6d. net), which he has just published, he confines himself to the Scripture doctrine and our own justification of it. He does not build his case on proof texts. That method passed with a generation that is now all laid to rest. He states in the first lecture the New Testament *situation* on the Atonement, in the next the Old Testament preparation, and in the third the modern justification. It is, within its limits of space and time, unanswerable.

Dr. J. R. Miller does not concern himself with the problems of criticism or of philosophy. He writes easily, and he writes much. He has now written a volume which he calls *Devotional Hours with the Bible* (Hodder & Stoughton; 5s.).

*A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, by A. T. Robertson, A.M., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s. net). But there are three possible grammars. There is the grammar that teaches Greek, the grammar that teaches New Testament Greek, and the grammar that tries to teach both. Professor Robertson's Grammar tries to teach both. Not the very elements of Greek. Still, he does not confine himself to what is peculiar to the Greek of the New Testament. And so, as he is an accomplished and experienced teacher, he will have many students of his book.

Dr. S. D. Gordon still adds to his 'Quiet Talks' series. The latest volume is *Quiet Talks with World Winners* (Hodder & Stoughton; 2s. 6d. net).

The new volume of Dr. Horton's 'Books of the Inner Life' is the work of the Rev. George Wade Robinson, of Brighton, who died thirty years ago. His manner of life and the worth of his writing have been set forth by Mr. F. B. Meyer in an introductory biography. The title of the book is *The Galilean Philosophy* (Law; 2s. 6d. net).

It is an experiment, the issue of the book now. But it will be justified. The end of the Law of Liberty is LOVE; to that all that Christ did and all that the Spirit does, is directed. And to that end must the believer co-operate. It is the apologetic of the cross for thoughtful earnest men.

In a series of short sermons, the Rev. Charles Brown tells us why the Bible contains the history of Israel from the Call of Abraham to the Death of Solomon. It is for our edification. The title of the volume is *The Birth of a Nation* (Law; 2s. 6d. net).

Professor Currie Martin has written the story of *The New Guinea Mission* for the London Missionary Society (6d. net).

*Principles of Logic*, by George Hayward Joyce, S.J. (Longmans; 6s. 6d. net). This is the second important volume on Logic that has appeared this month. It differs wholly from the first. It is a student's manual, introductory, counting on no acquaintance with its subject, but sufficient to give any earnest student a very real introduction to it. Commend us to a Jesuit for a book on Logic. There are those who say that he studies it to fit him for being the son of his father, who was a liar from the beginning. But he studies it. He knows it. And he knows how to teach it to others. This volume is built up in regular steps; each step is just high enough for an easy ascent; and the author sees to it that the footing on one step is secure before he invites us to mount to another. The publishers also have printed the book so clearly that the eye becomes a constant assistance to the mind.

There are three ways of expounding the Lord's Prayer. One way is to illustrate it by our own experience. No one has ever attempted that. Another way is to illustrate it by the experience of others. That is the ordinary method of expounding it. The third way is to illustrate it by the experience of our Lord.

The third way is the way of the Rev. Walter Lowrie in his book, *Abba, Father* (Longmans; 4s. 6d. net). Mr. Lowrie, who is Rector of S. Paul's American Church in Rome, recently wrote

a book on the *Seven Last Words*, which is one of the few that are suggestive. His new book will take its place among the few that are of use on the Lord's Prayer.

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Miss E. M. Knox, the Principal of Havergal College, Toronto, knows exactly what teaching the Bible in school means. She is producing a series of Bible Histories which are unrivalled for practical teaching purposes. Already Genesis and Exodus have appeared, and now comes *The Acts of the Apostles* (Macmillan; 3s. 6d.).

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Professor Westermarck's *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, of which the second volume has now been published (Macmillan; 14s. net), is the first book on its subject which the student should obtain, and it is so full and sufficient that it may easily be the last. Professor Westermarck has acquired a knowledge of English which enables him to write not only clearly, but with idiomatic interest. And then he is steeped in the minutiæ of his subject, calling to his aid as many examples of the particular custom he is describing as he pleases, and never passing from a topic until he has made his position strong if not impregnable.

The subjects which he deals with in the second volume are these: the Right of Property; the Regard for Truth and Good Faith; the Respect for other Men's Honour and Self-Regarding Pride; Politeness; Regard for other Persons' Happiness in General; Gratitude; Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism; the Origin and Development of the Altruistic Sentiment; Suicide; Self-regarding Duties and Virtues; Diet; Cleanliness; Marriage; Celibacy; Regard for the Lower Animals; Regard for the Dead; Cannibalism; Duties to Gods; and Gods as Guardians of Morality. There is also appended to the volume a valuable Bibliography and a useful Index.

These are the topics of most helpfulness and most freshness for the preaching as well as the practice of our day. They are of more reach and they are of more depth than the theological distinctions which were so dear to our fathers. And if they do disturb us more, if they seem to be shaking the very foundations of our belief, that is not to be made an excuse for neglecting them by any higher animal than an ostrich.

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There has been great need for a book which should gather up the results of discussion on the Person of our Lord since Liddon's day. It has been written by the Rev. C. F. Nolloth, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford. Mr. Nolloth has kept, or has made himself (for we know not whether he is old or young), thoroughly acquainted with the literature of the subject, abroad and at home. And he is not hampered with too rigid an orthodoxy. He does believe that the result of all the recent controversy has been to confirm the Nicene interpretation, and he rejoices in that; but he has an open mind and would undoubtedly have said so if it had been otherwise. He writes clearly, and he has been considerate enough to translate the German which he quotes, that his book may reach a wider circle than that of the professional theologian. The title is *The Person of our Lord and Recent Thought* (Macmillan; 6s.).

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He fought his doubts and gathered strength—

and then went and wrote a book of apologetic. But the doubter is not the only apologist. Less likely to let some essential slip, more likely to give the beauty of form to the edifice of faith, is the man or woman who has been loyal from the beginning to the faith once delivered to the saints. And so we rejoice to receive a volume of Apologetic from Miss Margaret Benson—*The Venture of Rational Faith* (Macmillan; 6s. net).

Do not let our illustration of the edifice suggest a volume of systematic theology. Miss Benson is theologian enough to write such a volume. But this is a well-reasoned persuasive volume of Apologetics, showing how hard it is not to believe, how healthy and how helpful, having proved all things, to hold fast that which is so good.

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Messrs. Macmillan have issued Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation* in their unbound Sixpenny Series.

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Messrs. Marshall Brothers have this month published a romance based on Scripture, and with much fidelity to Scripture surroundings, by Irene H. Barnes. Its title is *Prisca*.

They have also issued a series of outline lectures on the Atonement, by Mr. F. E. Marsh, of which the title is *The Greatest Theme in the World*.

But their most important book has been written by Mr. Claud Field, M.A. Its title is *With the*

*Afghans* (3s. 6d.). It is a record of missionary work, and it is more. It contains an accurate, admirably written history of the Afghans, an account of their customs and characteristics, and a reliable chapter on the Religion of the Pathans, with much else that touches but is not always included in records of the work of the missionary. The last two chapters deal with the poetry and folklore of the Afghans. Such volumes as this is will reach a far larger multitude than does the ordinary missionary narrative, and will be the means of extending the interest in missions.

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When addressing young men talk ethically. So at least the practice is of all the great and successful speakers to young men, including Archdeacon Sinclair. Dr. Sinclair's new book, *A Young Man's Life* (Melrose; 3s. 6d. net), is separated into six-and-twenty short chapters, and nearly every chapter has an ethical topic for its heading and for its contents — Enthusiasm, Friendship, Temperance, Recreations, Self-Discipline, Honour, Self-Respect. Perhaps Archdeacon Sinclair will not be offended if we say that his book would have been better if he could have used the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS. That work would have given him more precision here and there, and more illustration.

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The edition of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, which has been edited by Mr. Alfred Noyes (Melrose; 5s. net), will not rank in magnificence with the four-volume edition of Mr. Henderson, but it is within the reach of a much lighter purse, and it is a very beautiful edition. There are six full-page engravings by Mr. John Macfarlane.

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Another attractive and welcome republication by Mr. Melrose is Walter Bagehot's *Estimations in Criticism* (vol. i., 3s. 6d. net), edited by Mr. Cuthbert Lennox. The essays have been taken from the *Prospective Review*, the *National Review*, or the volume entitled *Estimates of some Englishmen and Scotchmen*, and the text has in every case been thoroughly revised. Bagehot has been a power with the older men of our time; let the younger men now learn the secret of it. This is the first of two volumes. It contains essays on 'Poets and Poetry,' that is to say, on Hartley Coleridge, Cowper, Shelley, and Milton, and on Art in English Poetry.

It is a rare thing to find an author who is able to produce two books in the month, unless he belongs to the company of those who write for boys and girls. The Rev. David M. M'Intyre has done it. And his second book this month deals with the most difficult of all subjects that can occupy an author—the inspiration of Scripture. His title is *The Spirit in the Word* (Morgan & Scott; 3s. 6d. net).

Now Mr. M'Intyre is not an advanced critic. His chapter on Criticism might even be called an alarmist chapter. But he has knowledge both of the subject and of his audience. And when both are borne in mind there is no difficulty in predicting that his book will do good.

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Messrs. Morgan & Scott's other publications are *An Irish Saint*, by Helen E. Bingham (1s. 6d. net); *The Cross in the Old Testament*, by the late Mr. R. C. Morgan (1s.); and *Finders of the Way*, a volume of studies in New Testament conversions, by the Rev. James Stirling (2s. 6d. net).

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When Professor J. B. Mayor edited the *Classical Review* we were sure of a note on some passage of Scripture every month. So it is not surprising to find him now the editor of a volume of *Select Readings from the Psalms for Family and Private Use* (Murray; 3s. 6d. net). He uses both the Revised and the Prayer Book Versions, presenting them on opposite pages. It is a goodly volume to look to—large type and ample spacing.

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Canon Beeching has published through Mr. Murray six lectures given in Westminster Abbey on *The Bible Doctrine of the Sacraments* (2s. 6d. net). It is interesting to observe that on the controversy, which is coming again, as to whether the Last Supper was a Passover, Canon Beeching has already taken his side and says it was not. He prefers St. John to the Synoptics.

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Mr. Murray has done a graceful act in issuing the *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 1837 to 1861, in three attractive foolscap octavo volumes at the manageable price of 6s. net.

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The *Epistle to Diognetus* has been described by Bunsen as the finest Christian writing outside the Bible. It was surely worth while, therefore, for Mr. W. S. Walford, M.A., of Caius College, Cambridge,

to prepare a critical edition of the Greek text and a translation. Let those who are entering into the study of early Christian Greek enter by this gate. Messrs. Nisbet are the publishers (1s. 6d. net).

Messrs. Nisbet have also published a volume of sermons for Sundays and the chief holy-days by the Rev. C. Rhodes Hall, B.D., with the title of *Advent to Whitsun-day* (3s. 6d. net).

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Dr. Horton's little volume on *The Bible a Missionary Book* has already reached a second edition. It is a most encouraging sign of the times. No doubt Dr. Horton's name will always carry a book of his a good long way. And no doubt the fascination of his style and his manifest scholarship will steadily enlarge the influence of his name. Yet the extensive circulation of this book is encouraging. For it is an appeal to the student of the Bible to look upon the missionary and the missionary's work as the proper fruit of Bible study, and at the same time it is an appeal to the missionary to look upon the scientific student of the Bible as his friend, and not his foe. The new edition is produced in the perfection of book production, and the price should now secure a very large circulation (1s. net). It is published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

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Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier have added to their 'Living Thoughts' series a short study by Mr. Stuart Holden of the words, 'It is the glory of God to conceal a thing' (Pr $25^2$). The title is *The Glory that Conceals* (6d. net).

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The interest in Exploration in the East is extending without losing its intensity. It is felt to be a kind of gambling, the one and only innocent kind. For the most experienced explorer never knows what a day may bring forth, or, for that matter, what a single thrust of the spade may produce.

So there is a great opportunity for *The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament*, by Mr. Garrow Duncan (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; 5s. net). The volume possesses just the necessary combination of fulness of knowledge and untechnicality necessary to give it a large circulation. It contains much illustration for the pulpit, all fresh and realistic. And then it is enriched with page upon page of photographs in the most perfect style of photography and reproduction.

*Oremus* is the title of a new book by the Rev. J. R. Cohu, who lately wrote a very clever book on the Old Testament. The title is explained in a sub-title as 'The Place of Prayer in Modern Religious Life' (Parker; 3s. net). Mr. Cohu is an advanced critic. Now it is often urged against the criticism of the Old Testament that its advocates are purely naturalistic. But here is Mr. Cohu with his belief in, practice of, and arguments for, Prayer. And who is he that believes in Prayer and does not believe in the Supernatural?

It is again a clever and convincing book. It is doubly convincing. For it reasons with the unbeliever, and it confirms the believer. It has both arguments for the theory and encouragements for the practice of prayer.

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The old phrase 'mens sana in corpore sano' now reads 'mens sana in corpus sanum'; not a healthy mind *in* a healthy body, but the effect of a healthy mind *on* the health of the body. That is the meaning of *Health and Happiness*, by the Rev. Samuel Fallows, D.D., LL.D. (Putnam; 5s.). Dr. Fallows is not a professional physician apparently, though his book suggests it. He is not practising mental therapeutics for a living, but to induce others to lead a healthier and a happier life. He is not content with less than a life hid with Christ in God.

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This month, again, there comes from Mr. Revell something like a bookshelf. This enterprising American publisher must have secured the attention of a wide reading circle in Britain. And there is no surprise in that. His books are largely of that sermon-essay or essay-sermon class which is so much appreciated at present.

*The Bible and the Problem of Poverty* (3s. 6d. net) is the only one of the five that has even the appearance of sustaining one subject throughout. That subject is the social condition of Israel under its succession of Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests. The author is the Rev. Samuel M. Godbey, editor of *The Christian Advocate*. Christ came to common people, who followed Him because they 'did eat of the loaves and were filled.' Mr. Godbey traces the history of these common people and the effect of their worship on their social condition, both from the beginning until Christ came, and for some time after He ascended.

*Old Events and Modern Meanings* (3s. 6d. net)

is a volume of sermons. But the author, the Rev. Charles F. Aked, D.D., is so modern a preacher that the sermons have all the literary and political surprise of the essay. It would not be possible for any man to plagiarize here, nor would it be possible for many men to work a sermon out of one of these. But for every man there are illustrations and sleepless attention.

*The New Things of God* (3s. 6d. net), by the Rev. Henry A. Stimson, Pastor of Manhattan Congregational Church, N.Y., is also a volume of sermons. It has a thread of connexion, however, in the word 'new.' It is a volume of sermons on the 'gospel,' the word and the thing.

Now comes the original book of the bundle —original and heterodox. Its title is *Supremacy of the Heart Life* (5s. net). How did Mr. Revell dare to publish it? For Dr. W. T. Moore (the same, we are sure, who once edited *The Christian Commonwealth*) believes that there was evil in the world before the Fall, and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil was planted in Eden, not to test or tempt man, but to warn him to be on the outlook. And this is not the only orthodox thing which Dr. Moore throws doubt upon. He is not sure what the 'lost' are whom Christ came to save; nor what the 'hell' is from which He sought to rescue them. But he is not a mere agnostic. He believes in Love. He believes that the cross of Christ is an offer of Love. He believes that Love is the only thing worth offering any man. And he believes that the cross is the only offer that is not a delusion.

The last of the five is a book about Persia. *Twenty Years in Persia* is its title (5s. net). Its author is John G. Wishard, M.D. Now Dr. Wishard is a missionary, but that does not make his book any the less human and informing. 'We carefully kept out of the bills all reference to missions,' said a minister recently, as he described a successful missionary meeting. Keep out of the bills the fact that Dr. Wishard is a missionary if you like. But read his book, and get others to read it. It is better than many travellers' tales.

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It is good advice to advise no one to meddle with books of medicine. But Dr. C. W. Saleeby's *Health, Strength, and Happiness* (Grant Richards; 6s. net) is not a book of medicine. Instead of advising your friends to avoid it, send it to them. You could scarcely send a better gift for the New Year.

Dr. Saleeby is a sensible man. He thinks it his duty as a doctor to make us independent of doctors, by keeping us all in good health. What will become of the profession then, he does not seem to consider. And it is so easy to keep in good health, if—— Now to know what we have to do to keep in health and fitness, we must read Dr. Saleeby's book. But one prescription must be copied from it. Perhaps it is the best, certainly it is often enforced in the book: Do not eat too much.

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A fourth edition has been called for of Professor Lake's *Text of the New Testament* (Rivingtons; 1s. net), and he has taken the opportunity to discuss von Soden. He does not change his own exposition yet, but he gives the best popular exposition of von Soden's theories and notation that we have seen.

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Canon Sell has written a short popular account of *The Religious Orders of Islám* (Simpkin; 1s.).

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Canon Beeching is a Shakespeare scholar, and in *William Shakespeare, Player, Playmaker, Poet* (Smith, Elder, & Co; 2s. net), he answers the argument of Mr. George Greenwood, M.P., that Shakespeare the player was not identical with Shakespeare the poet.

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*Do we Believe?* The famous controversy has some echoes still. Bishop Barry has written a small book with this title (S.P.C.K.; 2s. 6d.). His order of exposition is, first the universal law of faith, next the essence of Christian faith, then the grounds of Christian faith, and lastly, the verification of that faith in life.

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There are no *Suggestions for Bible Study* so necessary as the suggestion to study the Bible as a translation. First know the English of the Bible, then you will begin to know the Bible. So we are glad that the Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock has given considerable space and attention to the language of the Bible. His chapter on the use of the Revision says some things nicely, but there is still a fine generous field there to work in. Of course Mr. Hitchcock goes beyond the language to the thought of the

Bible, but the value of his book lies in the fact that he goes through the language (Elliot Stock; 2s. net).

Mr. Frank Mundell is a new and more religious Smiles. His book, *Success in the Making* (Sunday School Union; 1s. 6d.), gives a good idea of what success is, as well as of the way to reach it.

The title and topic of the Jowett Lectures for 1908 is *Modernism* (Fisher Unwin; 5s. net). It looks like a descent in dignity from Professor Charles's *Eschatology*. But the author is Dr. Paul Sabatier, and that is enough. There is no descent. Modernism is a reality, a force that is to be checked by no encyclical, a power that makes for righteousness. 'It is a welling-up of sap, of life, of which one is conscious, but which nothing could have brought about if the time had not been fulfilled.'

In addition to the lectures, the volume contains the encyclical *Pieni l'Animo*, the Petition from a group of French Catholics, the syllabus *Lamentabili*, and the encyclical *Pascendi*.

Messrs. Williams & Norgate are among the most enterprising of the publishers at present; and their latest is one of the most enterprising of their efforts. It is the issue of a translation of the second edition of Harnack's *Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (2 vols., 25s. net). For they had already issued a translation of the first edition, of which the first volume, which is not yet out of print, can be of no more use to them.

The second edition is a new book. In the German it was published in 1906, with large additions and some omissions, thoroughly worked over from beginning to end, including the index, and with eleven maps. All this the English edition contains. For it has been made directly from the second edition of the German, including the maps. The translator is Dr. James Moffatt.

# Books for the New Year.

### Macmillan.

The most difficult thing we know is to write a really good children's story, one that they will read again and again till it becomes old and tattered, and will love all the more then. The difficulty is that we have forgotten how to be young; we have even forgotten what we said and did when we were young, or, if not, we have at least forgotten *how* we said and did the things. Mrs. Molesworth has not forgotten. How subtle is the atmosphere of her earlier stories 'Mary' and 'Carrots.' We have it no less impalpable in her latest book *Fairies—of Sorts* (3s. 6d.), which contains four delightful short tales. 'The Groaning Clock,' 'Those Green Ribbons,' 'The Bunnies' Home,' and 'The Toyless Visit.'

Messrs. Macmillan have issued at this time a Christmas story by F. Marion Crawford, *The Little City of Hope* (5s. net), which it is a great pleasure to handle. The paper is thick and white and the margins are wide. There are four illustrations, and a decorative title-page to each chapter. These are done in the softest shades, and are evidently the work of an artist who has entered into the spirit of the book. The name of the artist is A. S. Hartrick. We hope to see his (or her?) work again. It would be hard to find a daintier Christmas present than this imaginative little story.

Macmillan's 'Pocket Classics' series is too well known to need recommendation. To it has been added Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* and *The Rivals*, in one volume (2s. net). The illustrations are by Edmund J. Sullivan.

### Sunday School Union.

The smooth scarlet binding of the volumes of 'The Red Nursery' series and the two or three small brightly coloured pictures on the front board catch the eyes of the children, and immediately they want one of them. Well, we cannot do better than give them a copy of *Alice in Wonderland* (1s.), the latest issue of the series. We wish the Sunday School Union could see their way to issuing more of the children's classics in this bright and cheap form.

### Morgan & Scott.

There are fourteen stories in the *Go-to-Bed Stories* (3s. 6d. net), and they are all true. Some are old friends, from the Bible or from history, and some are modern; but they are all told with the same charm, and all leave the child with a stronger desire after the good and the beautiful.

### Wells Gardner, Darton, & Co.

From Messrs. Gardner, Darton, & Co., have come two attractive annuals. The larger of the two, *Chatterbox*, is a bargain. It contains as much matter as three ordinary six shilling novels, and over three hundred illustrations, some of which are coloured, and it costs only 3s.

A want is often felt of a magazine suitable for boys of, say, from eight to twelve. They are out of reach of the

purely childish magazine, but have not yet attained to that of the public school one. It is for these that *The Prize* (1s. 6d.) has been prepared, and not for the boys only, but also for the girls. *The Prize* for 1908 is as good as ever. It contains a large number of stories, both continued and short ones, poetry, coloured pictures, new games, puzzles, and many other things.

NELSON.

A really gorgeous edition of *Alice in Wonderland* (6s. net) has just been published by Messrs. Nelson. It is large 8vo size, and broader than the ordinary large 8vo. Its boards are a soft cream, with gold lettering, and the picture is in shades of yellow and lavender. The book contains ninety-two very clever coloured illustrations by Harry Rountree.

*Happy Sunday Hours* (5s. net) provides a story and a picture for every Sunday in the year. Many of these pictures are copies of famous paintings. In some, we think, the details might have been more correct. In the foreground of the 'Nativity,' for example, there is a lamp which bears not the slightest resemblance to the lamps used in Palestine in Christ's time, but reminds one of a remarkably up-to-date lantern.

*Queensland Cousins*, by E. L. Haverfield, is the story of the adventures of four children in that far-off colony, and of how they went to England to school. It is capitally written, and is excellent value, both in size and in quality, for its price (1s. 6d.).

# Some Problems of Herod's Temple.

BY THE REV. A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

## VI.

## The Position of the Temple Courts.

ALTHOUGH Josephus speaks of the great court as 'the outer sanctuary,' to Jewish ideas the sanctuary proper was his 'inner sanctuary,' or the enclosure occupied by the temple with its outer court, or 'court of the women,' and its inner court, 'the court' *par excellence* of the Mishna. In accordance with the traditional ideas of temple architecture, a heritage from Babylonia, the sacred enclosure was raised above the level of the great court by means of a platform partly artificial, partly composed of the native rock. This platform was surrounded on all sides by a massive wall 40 *cubits* in height, according to Josephus. But inasmuch as the Roman soldiers on sentry-go on the roof of the western portico could see over it into the court (*J.A.* xx. viii. 11), we may, as is so often advisable with Josephus' measurements, read *feet* for cubits! Outside the wall, except on the west (for this exception see below), the platform was continued for a distance of 10 cubits, forming a terrace, the *khel* of M.M., on the south, east, and north (plan X Y Z), to which several sets of 12 (*J. W.* says 14) steps gave access from the Court of the Gentiles.

The first problem that meets us here is the relation of Herod's platform, and consequently the position of the temple courts, relatively to the present inner platform of the Haram. The latter, indicated on the plan by the double broken lines, has four unequal sides, its average length from north to south being about 540 feet, while its width varies from 419 feet (south) to 516 feet along the north side. Its surface, according to Sir C. Wilson, is from 15 to 19 feet above the general level of the Haram. Is it possible to determine with some approach to accuracy what portion of this now extended area of $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres was occupied by the third temple and its courts?

If one could accept without further question, as so many previous writers have done, the measurements of the Mishna, the question would be easily answered. According to *M.M.* ii. 5, 6, the two courts formed a rectangle measuring 322 cubits from west to east, by 135 cubits from north to south. The latter measurement, however, takes no account of the gatehouses, priests' chambers, and other buildings between the courts and the containing wall. Still 322 cubits (472 feet) are so near the average width of the platform, *circa* 470 feet, and the distance of the altar from the eastern gate, as detailed in *M.M.* v. 1, viz. 157 cubits, is so near the distance of the rock from

the eastern edge of the platform, that one must recognize a generally accurate tradition, while reserving the right to examine the details more critically. Provisionally, therefore, we may regard the two platforms as substantially identical in width. As to length it is quite different, since the present platform extends almost to the northern limit of Herod's great court. The following considerations, however, have led the writer to more definite conclusions:—

(1) It has been shown above that the principal entrance to the temple was by a bridge at Wilson's Arch, probably through propylœa in the western cloister, such as other Syrian temples of the Roman age exhibit. Now it is in the highest degree improbable that Herod's architects would have so arranged the temple enclosure that nothing would have met the royal, or any other, eye along the line of this approach but a blank wall *cir.* 40 feet high. This would certainly have been the case had the temple enclosure extended as far south as does the present platform. I believe, then, that a line drawn across the Haram from the north end of the bridge must mark the furthest limit of Herod's platform towards the south.

(2) If the distance of this line from the centre of the rock is measured on the Survey map, it will be found to be 183–184 feet, or exactly 125 cubits. The principle of symmetry requires us to place the northern limit at the same distance. Now, mark the—to the writer at least—surprising result. Twice 125 cubits is the distance from the rock to the scarp which we saw reason to believe marked the northern wall of Herod's court, while the western wall is equidistant. These cannot be the result of an accident. In other words, we have discovered that the area of the great court of the second temple, before it was enlarged by Herod on the south and east, followed that of Ezekiel's outer court, that is, *it measured* 500 *cubits each way with the sacred rock precisely in the centre.*

But to return to Herod's courts.[1] The latter, it now seems fairly certain, corresponded in length to the width of the platform across the rock—more precisely, let me say by anticipation, 315[2] cubits or 462 feet, including the walls and the *khel*—while the width from north to south, all included, was 250[2] cubits or 367 feet, measured north and south from the centre of the rock. An interesting test of the latter set of figures is supplied by the underground passage which the English surveyors discovered running under the platform for 130 feet towards the north end of the old Haram, and which they very reasonably identify with the passage to the gate Tadi mentioned in Middoth (*Recovery*, etc., 206). If the position of the courts above suggested is accepted, the passage will open into one of the temple buildings, marked L on plan.

It is very doubtful if the sanctuary formed an exact rectangle, 315 cubits by 250. The obtuse angle at the south-east corner of the present platform, with the consequent diverging line of the eastern boundary, in all probability goes back to Herod's day; the reason is found in the necessity for following the line of rock, as the foundation for the very heavy wall which formed the *enceinte* of the sanctuary.

Within the wall the sanctuary was divided into two unequal courts at different levels by a transverse wall from north to south. The actual rock levels of the present day are a safer guide to the relative levels of the different parts of the sanctuary than the data of the Mishna. The average level of the Haram is 2419 feet above the Mediterranean; that of the platform is 2435 feet, while the summit of the rock is 2440 feet. These figures cannot be reconciled with those of the Mishna, which represents the *khel*, and the Court of the Women which was on a level with it, as 6 cubits, the Court of Israel as $13\frac{1}{2}$ cubits,—approached by 15 semicircular steps, each $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit in height (see plan H 10),—and the Court of the Priests as 16 cubits ($= 23\frac{1}{2}$ feet) above the level of the Court of the Gentiles. Assuming that the present artificially cut western base of the rock represents the position of the base of the altar of burnt-offering, the Court of the Priests will have been on approximately the same level as the whole of the present platform, viz. 2435 feet. The Court of the Women will have lain some 10 feet lower, which leaves 6 feet for the average height of the terrace or *khel* above the floor of the Haram. These results may most easily

[1] It is hoped that the ground-plan of the temple and courts in their relation to the inner platform of the Haram, which was given in the October number, will make the following condensed paragraphs sufficiently clear to any one who has studied the details as given, for example, in Witton Davies' article 'Temple,' in Hastings' *D.B.* iv.

[2] For the separate items making up these totals of 315 and 250 cubits, see the tabular statement at the end of these articles.

be reconciled with the data of the Mishna, by the supposition that the steps leading from one level to another had a rise, not of a half (*M.M.* ii. 3), but of a third of a cubit (6 inches).

From what has now been said as to the practical identity of Herod's platform and courts with the southern portion of the present platform, it is evident that I cannot follow two of the most recent reconstructions of the temple, the authors of which would place the Court of the Women to the east of the modern platform (Watson in *P.E.F.St.* 1896, 47–60, and Waterhouse in Sanday's *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, 106–117, both with admirable plans, etc.). These reconstructions, in most respects the best that have yet been produced, are open to certain fatal objections. In the first place, Colonel Watson still maintains the now obsolete position that the sacred rock marks the site of the holy of holies, as does Colonel Conder. In the next place, Mr. Waterhouse, against the evidence of the Mishna, occupies the eastern part of the present platform with a large space entitled 'Court of Men of Israel.'[1] In this connexion it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the outer of the two courts—that named the 'Court of the Women,' because women were admitted on sufferance to the surrounding gallery—was the proper place of worship for the laity. The admission of the latter to the inner court was a restricted privilege (see below). Finally, to place the Court of the Women between the platform and the eastern portico, known as Solomon's Porch, occupies almost all the free space available on this side. But if there is one statement of the Mishna that seems more worthy of credit than another it is that of *M.M.* ii. 1, to the effect that the largest free space was on the south, and the next largest on the east. The same objection applies to Büchler's impossible theory that the Women's Court was a later addition to Herod's sanctuary, *circa* 44 A.D. (*Jewish Quart. Rev.* x. 678 ff., xi. 46 ff., where also the traditional Jewish identification of the gate of Nicanor is maintained, see below). No space is left by the writers named for the popular assembly which was convened by the Jewish leaders at the outbreak of the war, in front of the eastern gate (*J. W.* II. xvii. 3, § 411).

[1] See now G. A. Smith's criticism (*Jerusalem*, ii. 508 f.).

# Contributions and Comments.

## The Hour of the Crucifixion.

It must surely puzzle many an expositor of God's Oracles to find it stated in Mk $15^{25}$ that it was the third hour when our Lord was crucified, and when the soldiers cast lots upon His garments; whereas in Jn $19^{14}$ the sixth hour is stated as the time when Pilate said, 'Behold your King!' and the people shouted, 'Crucify Him!' How are we to reconcile such a discrepancy? The third hour, counting from sunrise, is supposed to be, roughly speaking, about 9 a.m.; and the sixth hour we may consider as noon.

My attention has been drawn to this subject by a remarkable statement of a Syriac author whose Commentary on the Gospels I am now editing, viz. Isho'dad, Bishop of Merv, who lived in the middle of the ninth century. After quoting various opinions on the matter, he gives his own that Mark is correct, and that 'the sixth hour' of John is due to the error of a scribe. He says that Eusebius testifies to this in his letter to Marinus, saying that the Greek sign for *third* is the letter *gamma* (Γ′), and the sign for *sixth* is the letter *stigma* (ϛ′); and the scribe, who did not give heed in his heart when he was writing the Gospel, curved the perpendicular stroke of the *gamma* (Γ) a little, so that it became ϛ and was read as 'sixth.' Now Eusebius takes us back to the middle of the third century, so that the difficulty must have been felt at that time.

The Epistle to Marinus is not included in any modern edition of Eusebius; but Dr. Nestle of Maulbronn has kindly given me references to two works of Cardinal Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum, Nova Collectio*, vol. i. p. 91 (1825) and *Nova Patrum Biblioteca*, vol. iv. p. 268, both of which contain the letter to Marinus, from a *Catena* published by Corderius in the seventeenth century.

I can see, I think, how Cardinal Mai's publication of this solution of the enigma has not met with the recognition it deserves. In 1825 Biblical Criticism

was hardly existent, at least so far as the public were concerned. There were no EXPOSITORY TIMES in those days, and no cheap post to carry them as with wings to the outstretched hands of our fathers. Possibly the religious communities of that time, so far from welcoming new light on the subject, would have looked on the suggestion rather as an attack on Holy Scripture than the reverse. Palæography was even less studied than Biblical Criticism. The more one knows of MSS, the more ready one is to allow for blunders of copyists, which are just as likely to occur as printers' errors. If papyrus were the material used, the carelessness of this scribe might be assisted by a slight irregularity in its texture. Codex Bezæ actually has *τρίτη* in Jn $19^{14}$.

Tischendorff has not omitted to mention this supposed change of Γ to ϛ in Jn $19^{14}$, and he says that Jerome thought the opposite process had taken place in Mk $15^{25}$, and that therefore our Lord was crucified at the sixth hour. Luther also, in a note on Mk $15^{25}$, says: 'Some suppose the text to be through the copyists corrupted (*verrückt*), inasmuch as they put instead of the letter ϛ, which means 6 in Greek, the letter Γ, meaning 3, because they are not unlike to each other.' But Isho'dad says very forcibly: 'It is not possible that when darkness was spread over all the land (which three Evangelists said as with one mouth), from the sixth to the ninth hour, the soldiers should divide the garments by lot, and that the crucifiers and other passers-by should revile Him, and that they should give Him to drink wine mingled with myrrh,' etc.

To this I would add, that Luke expressly puts the sixth hour and the darkness after the episode of the Thief.

If this theory be correct, the Crucifixion must have lasted about six hours instead of three, as is commonly supposed, and possibly more of the discrepancies in Holy Scripture are due to the errors of early scribes than any one dreams of.

Eusebius' letter to Marinus was part of his lost work, Περὶ διαφωνίας τῶν Εὐαγγελίων; it exists only in fragments. Harnack dates it about 313 A.D. He says 'it is as yet little examined, but it is both a treasure-house of patristic knowledge, and a specially characteristic example of its author's learning, its advantages and its limits' (Harnack, *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, vol. ii.[2] p. 124).

MARGARET D. GIBSON.

## Two Classical Parallels.

(*a*) Ps $106^{15}$:—

> And he gave them their request,
> But sent leanness into their bones.

There is a striking parallel to this in the remarks put by Euripides into the mouth of Ion in the play of that name (374 f.):—

> ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀμαθίας ἔλθοιμεν ἄν,
> εἰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄκοντας ἐκπονήσομεν
> φράζειν ἃ μὴ θέλουσιν . . .
> ἂν γὰρ βίᾳ σπεύδωμεν ἀκόντων θεῶν,
> ἄκοντα κεκτήμεσθα τἀγαθ', ὦ γύναι·
> ἃ δ' ἂν διδῶσ' ἑκόντες, ὠφελούμεθα.

(*b*) 1 Co $9^{7}$: 'What soldier ever serveth at his own charges?' Compare the remark of Ap. Claudius in his speech before the Senate during the wars with Veii, upon the recent military change in this respect (Livy, v. 4): 'Moleste ante ferebat miles, se suo sumptu operam reipublicæ præbere.'

JAMES MOFFATT.

## Certificate of Pagan Sacrifice.

THE well-known account by Cyprian of the Christians who, during the Decian persecution, obtained false certificates from the magistrates to the effect that they had sacrificed in the heathen manner ('qui se ipsos infideles illicita nefariorum libellorum professione prodiderant,' *Ep.* 30 (3), cf. 55 (2)), has been strikingly illustrated by the discovery of five of these *libelli*. The earliest in point of time is dated 13th June 250 A.D., and is published by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. p. 49 f., No. 658, and all five can now be conveniently studied in Dr. C. Wessely's useful collection, *Les plus anciens Monumens du Christianisme écrits sur Papyrus* (being *Patrologia Orientalis*, iv. 2), p. 112 ff., though for the text of No. 5 reference must be made to the Vienna *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse*, 1907, xxv.

The different documents resemble one another very closely in phraseology, showing that there was a stereotyped formula employed, which doubtless followed the language of the original edict, ordering the sacrifices to be offered. In the example printed below, which was first edited by Krebs in

the *Berlin Griechische Urkunden*, i. p. 282, and which is now given with Wessely's restorations, the whole body of the certificate was either written and signed by the petitioner himself (cf. l. 16), or, as was so often the case in similar documents, by a professional scribe acting in his name, and was then counter-signed on behalf of the Commission who had been specially chosen (ll. 1–2) to see that the imperial edict was carried out (ll. 17–19).

In view of the fact that no fewer than five of these certificates have already been discovered, all falling within the narrow limit of 13th to 25th June 250 A.D., Wessely conjectures that at that time the whole population, pagan as well as Christian, furnished themselves with *libelli*, which for the time being took the place of the usual census returns (*op. cit.* p. 123 f.). It is interesting, at any rate, in this connexion to notice that one of the certificates is on behalf of a priestess of Petesuchos, who is hardly likely to have been accused of being a Christian, and further, that her certificate bears traces of official enumeration (see the Vienna *Anzeiger*, *ut supra*, p. 6 f.).

Τοῖς ἐπὶ [τ]ὧν θυσιῶν ἡ̣ρη-
μένοις κώμ(ης) Ἀλεξ(άνδρου) Νήσου
παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Διογένου Σατα-
βοῦτος ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)
Νήσου ὡς (ἐτῶν) οβ οὐλ(ὴ)
ὀφρύι δεξ(ιᾷ·) καὶ ἀεὶ
θύων τοῖς θεοῖς διετέ-
λεσα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πα-
ροῦσιν ὑμεῖν κατὰ
τὰ προστε[τ]αται[γ]μ[έ-
να ἔθυσα [κα]ὶ ἔσ[πεισα]
[κ]αὶ τῶν ἱ[ε]ρείων [ἐγευ-]
σάμην καὶ ἀξι[ῶ] ὑμ[ᾶς]
ὑποσημιώσασθαι.
Διευτυχεῖται.
Αὐρήλ(ιος) [Δι]ογένης ἐπιδ[έ(δωκα)].

(2nd Hand) Αὐρή[λ(ιος)] Σύρος Δι[ογένη]
θύοντα ἅμα ἡ̣[μῖν?]
κοινωνὸς σεσ-(ημείωμαι).

(1st Hand) [(ἔτους)] α′ Αὐτοκράτορο[ς] Καί[σαρος]
[Γα]ίου Μεσσίου Κ[ο]ΐν[του]
[Τρ]αια[νοῦ Δε]κίου Εὐσ[εβοῦς]
[Ε]ὐτ[υχοῦς] Σε[β]α[σ]τοῦ
ἐπ[ειφ] β′.

3 l. Διογένους. 9 l. ὑμῖν. 10 l. προστεταγμένα. 14 l. ὑποσημειώσασθαι. 15 l. διευτυχεῦτε.

'To those chosen to superintend the sacrifices at the village of Alexander Island from Aurelius Diogenes, the son of Satabus, of the village of Alexander Island, being about 72 years old, a scar on the right eyebrow. Not only have I always continued sacrificing to the gods, but now also in your presence in accordance with the decrees I have sacrificed and poured libations and tasted the offerings, and I request you to counter-sign my statement.

'May good fortune attend you. I, Aurelius Diogenes, have made this request.

(2nd Hand.) 'I, Aurelius Syrus, as a participant, have certified Diogenes as sacrificing along with us.

(1st Hand.) 'The 1st year of the Emperor Cæsar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajan Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Epiph. 2 (=25 June 250 A.D.).'

G. MILLIGAN.

## Elisabeth.

A QUESTION recently submitted to me with reference to the name 'Elisabeth' led me to institute an investigation of this name, the results of which I have reason to believe will be found of general interest.

The Hebrew name אֱלִישֶׁבַע (*'Ĕlîsheba'*) occurs only in Ex $6^{23}$, where it is the name of Aaron's wife. The signification of the name may originally have been that given in the admirable *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, namely, 'God is an oath,' *i.e.* either 'God is the absolutely faithful One,' or 'God is the true witness to an oath.' For אֵלִי (*'Ēlî*) may have been originally the older form of the noun, which was preserved in compounds. This interpretation of the י (*-î*) is possible in nouns derived from verbs *tertiæ semivocalis*, and אֵל (*'Ēl*) is a noun of this class (cf. the exhaustive discussion of this question in my *Lehrgebäude*, ii. 102 f.). But the *'Ĕlî* in such names may also have originally possessed, or have later acquired, the sense of 'my God.' For not only outside Israel, but within Israel itself, there were those who swore by other gods. Amos, for instance, mentions ($8^{14}$) people who swore by the 'sin' (*i.e.* the principal source of the sin) of Samaria; and in Zeph $1^{5b}$ we hear

of those who preferred to make their (heavenly) 'king' (*melech* = *molech* = Μόλοχ) the witness to an oath. An Israelite, then, in giving his child the name *'Ĕlîsheba'* might desire to express either that *his* God was the absolutely faithful God who fulfils His promises, or that *his* God was the living God who hears the oaths taken by men and punishes any breach of them. By the way, the suggestion of Cheyne (*Ency. Bibl.* ii. col. 1279) that *'Ĕlîsheba'* meant 'God is health' is very precarious. He assumes that the name is a secondary form of *'Ĕlîshûa'*. But this view finds no support in 1 Ch $3^5$, where *Bathshûa'* takes the place of *Bath-sheba'* of 2 S $11^3$, etc. This *Bathshûa'* may have arisen through thinking of the *Bathshûa'* of $2^3$; and while a passing of *b* (as found in בַּת־שֶׁבַע, *Bath-sheba'*) into *w* (as found in בַּת־שׁוּעַ, *Bathshûa'*) is not wholly without analogy (cf. New Heb. נִבֵּל and נִוֵּל, 'disfigure,' in Siegfried-Strack's *Lehrb. d. neuhebr. Sprache*, § 4 *c*), the *w* of בַּת־שׁוּעַ quiescing in *u* could not have passed into *b*.

The Aramaic form of the name *'Ĕlîsheba'* ends, like the Hebrew, with 'Ayin. We find אֱלִישֶׁבַע in the Targum of Onḳelos to Ex $6^{23}$, and ܐܠܝܫܒܥ there and in Lk $1^7$. This Aramaic form of the name in question needs to be mentioned, because some have thought to discover in it the basis of the Greek form.

The Greek form of the name ends with comparative rarity in *ε* (Ἐλισάβε in AF). The name commonly appears as Ἐλεισάβεθ (Nestle in Supplement to Tischendorf's *Septuagint*, *ad loc.*) or Ἐλισάβετ (Cod. A); and this latter form or Ἐλεισάβετ is what we find also in the sources of Lk $1^7$.

What, now, is the origin of this *t* sound with which the Greek form of the name ends? The clergyman who consulted me about the name 'Elisabeth' wrote that he regarded the form with *t* as the earlier, and suggested that this *t* was derived from the Aramaic. But this view is at once seen to be incorrect when one notes the above cited Aramaic form of the name; and, while there is a correspondence between the Heb. צ and the Aram. ע (cf. אֶרֶץ ['land'] in the former = אַרְעָא in the latter), there is none between the Heb. ע and the Aram. *t* (cf. O. E. Lindberg, *Vergleichende Gram. der semit. Sprachen*, 1897, pp. 21, 63). So that the question still arises, Whence this *t*? My answer is a twofold one. In the first place, I offer the conjecture that the somewhat obscure name אֱלִישֶׁבַע ('God [or 'my God'] is oath') became combined through a species of popular etymology with אֱלִישַׁבַּת ('God [or 'my God'] is rest,' Ἐλ[ε]ισαβεθ). Secondly, I suggest that for שׁבת (σαβεθ), σαβετ also made its appearance. This is favoured by the analogy of σάββατον for שַׁבָּת. In this way, then, I suppose, the comforting name originated which expresses the notion that 'God (or 'my God') is the true haven in which the restless stream of human life finds its rest.'

ED. KÖNIG.

*Bonn.*

## Emmaus.

RECENTLY I had occasion to visit Jerusalem for purposes of study. During a stay of some months I often met strangers who put the question, 'How far is it to Emmaus?' When I asked in turn '*Which* Emmaus?' the questioners were much surprised. But, in truth, the determination of the site of Emmaus has to take account of at least three places which have the support of more or less ancient tradition: (1) *el-Kubêbe*, (2) *Kulôniye*, (3) *Amwâs*. To decide betwixt the three is not easy, in fact it is impossible.

At the present day the majority of investigators, particularly the Franciscans, support the claims of *Kubêbe*, where, in the left side-aisle of the Franciscan church there, a spot is shown where the house of one of the disciples, Cleopas, still said to be recognizable from some remains of a foundation, is supposed to have stood. The distance of this place from Jerusalem is two and a half to three hours, according to N.T. reckoning some 65 stadia, which would correspond pretty nearly with the 'threescore furlongs' of Lk $24^{13}$.

Other investigators prefer *Kulôniye*, because it appears to them more credible that the disciples should have, 'towards sunset,' undertaken and completed the considerably shorter return journey from Kulôniye to Jerusalem, which is only 45 stadia = 1½ hour.

Both these identifications have to contend with the difficulty that the only Emmaus which we know with certainty — the place mentioned in 1 Mac $3^{40.57}$ $4^4$ $9^{50}$, where the Syrian general Gorgias was defeated by Judas Maccabæus—is neither *Kubêbe* nor *Kulôniye*, but the *Nicopolis* of Roman times and the *Amwâs* of to-day, which lies

at a distance of at least six hours from Jerusalem. This might answer to the '160 stadia,' which is also a well-authenticated reading (occurring in ℵ) in Lk 24[13]. Two circumstances appear, indeed, to oppose the identifying of *Amwâs* with Luke's Emmaus. The one is the statement that when the disciples reached Emmaus it was towards evening, and the day was far spent (v.[29]); and the other is the assumption, based upon this, that the walk of the disciples from Jerusalem had been an afternoon one. But, as a matter of fact, all that the original text says is: 'It is drawing towards evening, and the day is already on the decline.' But this form of expression means, *according to the modern usage* of natives of Palestine, simply that the sun has already passed its highest point; in other words, that midday is past. Hence it follows that the disciples must have started early in the morning, *i.e.* soon after the incidents that took place at the grave of Jesus on Easter morn (cf. Lk 24[22. 23]). Surely this has more innate likelihood than that they should have delayed their start till late in the afternoon. For unquestionably it was under the first impression produced by the startling tidings of the incidents referred to that they left Jerusalem *immediately*. The apparent objection that the disciples should have twice in *one* day travelled from six to seven hours, disappears at once in view of the *fact* that even at the present day it is nothing unheard of for natives, even women, to achieve a similar performance, travelling in a day for twelve to fourteen hours, with only slight intervals for rest. Such journeys, which appear incredible to us Westerns, are accomplished particularly by women who bring country produce from distant villages for sale in Jerusalem. This does not, indeed, justify an *unconditional* acceptance of Nicopolis-Amwâs as the Emmaus of St. Luke, for there *may* have been another Emmaus which we can no longer identify. But the only Emmaus which, as has been said, we know with certainty, has in its favour not only a perfect possibility, but a strong probability.

J. Boehmer.

*Raben bei Wiesenburg.*

## Murray's Bible Dictionary.

You have kindly sent us an advance copy of your review of our new Bible Dictionary. I recognize and appreciate the fair and courteous tone of the reviewer, but would venture to call his and your attention to certain points on which he seems to be mistaken.

He writes: 'There is no article at all on Israel.' There are in fact two: one under 'Israel,' and another under 'Israel, Kingdom of.'

He calls attention to certain articles which have been transferred from the old Concise Bible Dictionary, and especially to that on the Old Testament. I enclose a copy of a letter from Mr. Piercy to the *Guardian*, which deals fully with these points.

John Murray.

[The articles on 'Israel' in Murray's Dictionary are on the name given to Jacob, and on the Northern Kingdom. There is no article on the Religion of Israel. That is the subject of the longest article of all in Hastings's Dictionary. It is, next to 'Jesus Christ,' the most important subject with which Dictionaries of the Bible have to deal, and it is surprising that it finds no place in Mr. Murray's volume.

As regards the transference of articles from the old Concise Bible Dictionary, a letter has been written by the editor to the *Guardian*, as Mr. Murray says. The reviewer in the *Guardian* expressed his astonishment (more strongly than the reviewer in The Expository Times) that this had been done so freely and that no intimation had been made in the preface. He mentioned that one of the articles so transferred was that on the 'Old Testament.' The editor's answer is that there must be many articles in the older book where the information is as good and as full as it could be if they had been recast to-day. The article on the 'Old Testament,' he adds, was entrusted to the late Dr. Redpath, who considered that a new article was not required, since 'those branches of the subject in regard to which modern research had greatly added to our knowledge were just the ones that were expressly excluded from his article.' The reviewer in The Expository Times did not name any of the articles that had been taken over from the old Dictionary. He merely expressed his surprise that any articles should have been considered capable of transference from the one Dictionary to the other after forty years.]

## Gaelic Hymns.

*Laoidhean agus Dàin Spioradail.* Le Murachadh Macleoid; 2s. net. This is a small volume of Hymns and Spiritual Songs in the Gaelic tongue, composed by Murdo Macleod, a devout Highland youth, who, in 1907, closed a brief and pathetic career of twenty-six years. The verses can hardly be described as the product of creative art: they are imitations of the works of earlier bards; but they are not without merit. They are musical and imaginative; they come from 'a lad o' pairts'; they breathe a spirit of genuine piety, and they speak to the heart. Moreover, they deserve a welcome as exhibiting and embalming the charms of the native tongue of Caledonia, which, we fear, is fast becoming a dead language. Among the elegies there is a tribute to the memory of the late Principal Rainy—a proof, if proof were needed, that the Highlands are not given over to a cast-iron traditionalism, but that there, as in other places, the unstinted services of a far-shining personality find recognition and honour.

The volume has been carefully edited by Rev. M. Maclennan, St. Columba's United Free Church, Edinburgh; and its tasteful exterior reflects credit on the publisher—Mr. Norman M'Leod, *The Celtic Review* Office, Edinburgh.

A. M. Macdonald.

*Johnshaven.*

## 'They enlarge the Borders of their Garments.'

What these borders, or fringes, or tassels were is well known and carefully explained, especially in the article 'Fringes' of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 68. But in Erasmus' Notes on Mt $23^5$, I find a statement which will be new to many, and the origin or truth of which I should like to learn.

After quoting the law from Nu 16, he says:

'Silquidem hinc hypocritæ captantes auram popularem, atque ex mulierculis sectantes lucra, faciebant grandes fimbrias, *et acutissimas in eis spinas ligabant*, quo videlicet ambulantes aut sedentes aliquando *pungerentur nec sinerentur usquam oblivisci legem.*'

We know that medieval ascetics had the same practice, to put nails, etc., under their garments—for instance, the famous Henry Seuse (Suso). Was it a continuation of this Jewish practice, and where got Erasmus the statement that the Pharisees had it in use?

Eb. Nestle.

*Maulbronn.*

## Christ Healing in the Temple.

'It is extraordinary that no instance of a miracle of healing by Christ is recorded in the Gospels as having been performed in the temple; but in view of such passages as Ac $3^{1-12}$ $5^{12}$, we cannot doubt that such did take place, especially as the outer court of the temple would be a natural spot for the lame and crippled to congregate for the purpose of arousing the pity of those going up to worship.

'Only once is the temple the scene in a parable, namely, in that of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk $18^{16-19}$); while in one other, the Good Samaritan (Lk $10^{30-36}$), temple officers are referred to.'

This is § 3 of chap. iii., 'Christ and the Temple,' of the article 'Temple' in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*

Did the writer of this paragraph overlook Mt $21^{14}$, 'And the *blind* and the *lame* came to him *in the temple: and he healed them*'? or does he not consider this as instances of a miracle of healing by Christ recorded in the Gospels as having been performed in the temple?

Eb. Nestle.

*Maulbronn.*

## Did the Pharisees wear White Garments?

Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* v. 20), mentioning the things which were gain to Paul and which he counted loss for Christ (Phil $3^{3-7}$), names:

> 'gloriam carnis in nota circumcisionis,
> generis Hebraei ex Hebraeo censum,
> titulum tribus Beniamin,
> *Pharisaeae candidae dignitatem.*'

Is the latter expression, 'the dignity of the white Pharisaic clothing,' only figurative? or refers it to a custom among the Pharisees to wear white clothing? In Mt 23 Jesus compares the Pharisees with '*whitewashed* sepulchres,' as Paul, in Ac 23, the high priest with a *whitewashed* wall. Both passages would gain in force if the persons thus addressed would have had the custom to clothe themselves in white. In the articles 'Pharisees' of the *Dictionary of the Bible* or of *Christ and the Gospels*, I find nothing. Of the Essenes, Josephus tells expressly

that they did so always (λευχειμονεῖν διὰ παντὸς), and that to every new member a white garment was given (*B.J.* ii. 8, 3. 7). Did Tertullian transfer the custom of the Essenes to the Pharisees?

Perhaps the name of Whitsuntide (about which I write) is a last reflex of this custom.

*Maulbronn.* EB. NESTLE.

## Matthew xii. 19—Isaiah xlii. 2.

I AM thankful for Mr. W. C. Allen's remarks (p. 140 f.); I quite agree that my conclusion about an Aramaic *Gospel*, as standing between our Greek Gospel and the Hebrew prophet, was too sweeping; I am satisfied if some other intermediate *Aramaic* stage be conceded.

Some examples for the use of ריב are given in Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Targumim* (p. 1472).

It is a common Semitic root, of which the Syriac probably preserved the original meaning, 'to cry aloud' against each other, in Hebrew 'to quarrel'; compare also the name *Meribah* with *Medinah*.

The Syro-Hexaplar rendering is probably influenced by the Peshitto.

Perhaps I may add that εἰς κρίσιν in v.[20] of Mt. = לאמת in the prophet, seems to be influenced by Hab 1[4] יצא לנצח משפט, and that Pr 21[28] לנצח is rendered by the Targum שְׁרִירָאִית, in truth. In Hab 1[3] we have the same ישא as in Is 42[2].

EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

## Romans v. 18.

IT is to be regretted that the R.V. has followed the A.V. in inserting in this verse two phrases, 'judgment came,' 'the free gift came,' which the verse itself does not suggest, and which interrupt the course of St. Paul's argument. This insertion further entails the translation of the preposition εἰς by 'upon' instead of by 'to' or 'unto,' as in v.[16] This mistranslation is the more remarkable because the force of the preposition has been so clearly pointed out by earlier commentators; *e.g.* by Euthymius Zigabenus: 'As by one sin of Adam, sin extended to all men . . . so by one righteous act of Christ, being justified (τὸ δικαιοῦσθαι), extended to all men.'

The sin of Adam has resulted in making us sinful: the righteous life and death of Christ will result in making us righteous. If all were condemned, it was because the παραπτῶμα extended to them, because they have sinned themselves (v.[12]): if all will be justified, it will be because the δικαιῶμα will also extend to them.

In the words of Origen: 'Per delictum Adami velut aditus quidam datus est, quo in omnes homines . . . peccatum . . . perveiret. E contrario ergo Christus aditum justificationis aperuit, per quem vita ingrederetur ad homines.'

That this was the thought in the mind of St. Paul is shown by the proof given in the following verse: 'For as by one man's disobedience many were made (not guilty but actual) sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be (not justified but) made righteous.'

This explanation seems to underlie the translation in Cranmer's Bible (A.D. 1539), and but for untoward circumstances might have been adopted by the A.V. Unfortunately another explanation of this section made it refer, not to the consequences of Adam's sin, but to the imputation of it to all mankind. 'Omnes, Adamo peccante, peccaverunt.' Influenced by this idea, and yet more by the Commentary of Calvin, the Geneva N.T. (1557 A.D.) translates: 'Likewise, then, as by the offence of one, guiltiship came on all men to condemnation; even so by the justifying one, the benefit abounded upon all men to the justification of life.'

This translation introduces into the verse two phrases which, on 'grammatical and rhetorical grounds,' could not have been omitted.

The line of interpretation suggested by it is inconsistent with the statement in v.[12] that death came on all men because they themselves actually sinned. It is in flat contradiction to the argument of vv.[13. 14], that sin and its resultant, death, were in the world at a time when there was no imputation of sin. It either breaks off all connexion between vv.[18. 19] (in spite of the conjunction 'for'), or else forces us to translate κατεστάθησαν, 'were formally constituted sinners.' It renders it impossible for us to understand why in the second clause of v.[19] the Apostle changes from the past to the future. It makes St. Paul conclude his argument by an abrupt and startling change from imputed to actually existing sin. V.[21] is a fine climax, if the preceding section has been occupied with the actual sin of mankind. It hangs suspended in the air if the subject has really been the legal imputation of sin.

Finally, the theory is opposed alike to reason and revelation, to justice and common sense. It is a simple matter of fact that the consequences of our errors affect succeeding generations. It is a very different thing to assert that any man is guilty of the sin of an ancestor whom he has never seen. It is the acceptance of this doctrine which renders the commentaries of most modern writers on this Epistle such a painful contrast to those of the Greek Fathers.

H. H. B. Aytes.

# In the Study.

**Unchangeable.**

Wherein lies the philosophical obstacle to prayer? Not in the unchangeableness of nature. That is the scientific obstacle. It lies in the unchangeableness of God.

But is God unchangeable? Dr. Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College, denies it. Certainly the Shorter Catechism uses the word—'God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable'—it occurs in the sublimest definition ever given of God, outside the Scriptures. But Dr. King holds that this one word is a mistake, at least as we now understand it. 'God is unchangeable,' he says, 'in the consistency of the meaning of His nature and of His loving purpose. But instead of this making it true that there can then be no change in Him answering to our need, it rather ensures such adjusting activity as His love requires.' And he adds, 'This whole false notion of unchangeableness in God goes back to a metaphysically false and abandoned notion of an ever-identical stuff or substance, and should no longer be allowed to obscure our religious thinking or living.'

President King's new book is *The Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life* (Macmillan; 6s. 6d. net).

**Bagshot.**

Those who do not read the *Westminster Gazette* know not Bagshot. Bagshot is not to be seen in the flesh any more. But his friend Mr. J. A. Spender has been quoting him, and has republished the quotations, with his own explanations, in the form of a little book called *The Comments of Bagshot* (Constable; 2s. 6d. net). Here is one of Bagshot's comments. It will illustrate that text about being through fear of death all our lifetime subject to bondage:

'The Greeks named the hemlock εὐφορβία, the good food. So we speak of "death the healer," "death the comforter," "death the good angel," in a pathetic effort to propitiate the power we dread. Our attitude towards pain and death is a constant euphemism—a kind of whistling in the dark.'

**The Dogs.**

In his *Life of Dr. Stewart of Lovedale*, Dr. Wells recalls an incident in the experience of Robert Moffat. He tells it in this way: 'Dr. Moffat was once asked to conduct worship in a Boer family. He suggested that the Kafir servants should be brought in. "Oh," said the farmer, "let us bring in also the baboons and the dogs." Moffat read the words of the Syro-Phenician woman in Mt $15^{27}$, "Truth, Lord, yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table." "Wait," said the farmer, "and I'll bring in all my Kafirs." At the close the farmer said, "You took a hard hammer, and you have broken a hard heart."'

Dr. Wells uses that story to illustrate the motives which made Stewart of Lovedale (of whom Lord Milner said that he was 'the biggest human in South Africa') a missionary. What these motives were, will be found in *The Life of James Stewart, D.D., M.D.*, by James Wells, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton; 5s. net). In reality there was only one motive — I can do no other. Or, as James Chalmers of New Guinea expressed it: 'I do hope that we shall for ever wipe the word sacrifice as concerning what we do, from the missionary speech of New Guinea. Wherever there are men the missionaries are bound to go.'

**Arthur Warwick.**

Mr. Melrose has done a service for which every curious student of English literature will thank him in republishing Arthur Warwick's *Spare Minutes* (1s. 6d. net), with a pleasant introduction by Mr. Cranstoun Metcalfe. The edition is a reprint of

the sixth, 1637, and is agreeable to look upon and to handle.

'I cannot see two sawyers work at the pit but they put me in mind of the Pharisee and the Publican: the one casts his eye upward, while his actions tend to the pit infernal: the other standing with a dejected Countenance, while his hands and heart move upward. 'Tis not a shame to make show of our profession, so we truly profess what we make show of; but of the two I had rather be good, and not seem so, than seem good, and not be so. The Publican went home to his house rather justified than the Pharisee.'

That is one of the paragraphs in *Spare Minutes*. Who was Arthur Warwick? Nobody knows. He wrote one book, an hour's reading, and died when only half of it was published. That is all.

**Books Wanted and Offered.**

This new corner is furnishing much entertainment. Clearly there are men who can buy books in spite of the depression in trade, though there are some who want to sell. There were many demands for Hobart's *Medical Language of St. Luke*. The first came from St. Joseph's Seminary, New York. But it was not without its gratification that by far the greatest number of demands (some by wire) were for the first volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. The offerer was a layman. He might have got more money than he asked for it, although he asked rather more than the published price.

Perhaps it might be useful to remind offerers that no reply means that the book is disposed of, and that a stamp should be enclosed for transmission. One correspondent writes: 'I ought to have thanked you before for the assistance you have been in aiding me to dispose of Parts 1–20 of the *Hibbert Journal*. I secured 15s. for them at once, whereas the chief Oxford bookseller refused to buy them at any price. Again, many thanks.'

**'With desire I have desired.'**

There was a note on these words in last issue, and a remark was made on the form of speech, which sounds so quaint in English. In the *Dictionary of the Bible* there will be found an article on the English translations of this Hebrew idiom, under the title SURELY. For 'surely' is the most frequent way in which the idiom is disguised. There is a further interesting example in Ac $7^{34}$, where (for the Gr. ἰδὼν εἶδον) the A.V. has 'I have seen, I have seen' (the repetition puzzles the English reader), but the R.V. resorts to 'surely'—'I have surely seen the affliction of my people.'

**'As thy days, so shall thy strength be.'**

That is the Great Text for the month. The poetical illustration is from Frances Ridley Havergal, and it is good. Here is another. It has more swing in it. It will go further, if it does not get so deep. It is taken from a collection of poems entitled *Daily Song*, newly published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. (5s.)

One day at a time! That's all it can be:
No faster than that is the hardest fate;
And days have their limits, however we
Begin them too early and stretch them late.

One day at a time!
It's a wholesome rhyme—
A good one to live by:
A day at a time.

One day at a time! Every heart that aches
Knows only too well how long that can seem;
But it's never to-day which the Spirit breaks:
It's the darkened future without a gleam.

One day at a time! A burden too great
To be borne for two can be borne for one;
Who knows what will enter to-morrow's gate?
While yet we are speaking all may be done.

One day at a time—but a single day,
Whatever its load, whatever its length;
And there's a bit of precious Scripture to say
That according to each shall be our strength.

**The Great Gladstones.**

There are still nine of them in the world—nine, and no more. For you are not to suppose that the editor of *Who's Who* has either overlooked one or excluded one for political reasons. *Who's Who* has no politics or partialities. Having no interest whatever in the men of low degree and little gifts over whose state of mind preachers are so largely exercised, it lets none of the great escape its net now. There are nine great Gladstones, and the last is William Glynne Charles Gladstone, and grandson of the greatest. He has found a place in *Who's Who, 1909* (A. & C. Black; 10s. net), because he was President of the Oxford Union in 1907.

The only fault we have to find with *Who's Who* is that the men who have vanity along with their greatness occupy more space than the men who

have none. And vanity does not really add to a man's greatness. And the one thing that puzzles us is the principle upon which the foreigners are received. Dr. Haupt is here, but where is Dr. Hilprecht? Professor Kronecker has a place, but not Professor König. Dalman and Deissmann are both here, but neither Dottin nor De Groot.

*The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory* (A. & C. Black; 2s. 6d. net) has changed editors. Miss Emily Janes, in these days of political and social stress for women, has been called away to other duties. Miss G. E. Mitton has undertaken the editorship. And with the new editor there are new features. First, an article on Journalism, by Miss Dora D'Espaigne Chapman, of the Lyceum Club Journalists' Board; an article on the new Irish Universities, by Miss Hayden, M.A.; on Motoring and Camping, on Ice Sports, on Poultry and Bee Keeping, each by a specialist in the department. There is no book that we know of which gives a better idea of the multifarious activities in which women are now engaged; there is no book that gives a better impression of women's capacity for serious progressive work.

There are two more volumes to mention—*Who's Who Year-Book* (1s. net) and *The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book* (1s. net). It is enough to mention them.

### The Old Testament.

One of the blessings inherited by those branches of the Church which derive their spiritual lineage from John Calvin is a deep and abiding reverence for the Old Testament.—James Stalker, *The Atonement*, 1908, p. 47.

### The Great Text Commentary.

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. W. Wright, Seacombe, to whom a copy of Graham's *Grammar of Philosophy* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for February must be received by the 1st of January. The text is Dt $33^{27}$.

The Great Text for March is Dt $34^{5.6}$—'So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Bethpeor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' A copy of Barton's *Ecclesiastes* or Chadwick's *Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for April is Rev $1^{5.6}$—'Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood; and he made us to be a kingdom, to be priests unto his God and Father; to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.' A copy of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* or Rutherfurd's *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for May is Rev $1^{10}$—'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.' A copy of Clark Murray's *Handbook of Christian Ethics* or of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for June is Rev $1^{17.18}$—'And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the Living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of Hades.' A copy of Fairweather's *The Background of the Gospels* or any recent volume of The Expository Times will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

### BOOKS WANTED.

Any early dictionary of English.
Early numbers of *Jewish Quarterly Review*.
Scrivener's Authorized ed. of the Eng. Bible.
Mayor's Latin Heptateuch.
Mayhew and Skeat's Concise Dict. of Middle English.
Sweet's History of English Sounds, or any parts. (XIII.)

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Bacon's Life (Spedding's edition, or any vols.); Berkeley's Works (Fraser); Hume's Philosophical Works. (XIV.)

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Jülicher's Introduction to N.T.; Hawkins's Horæ Synopticæ; *Expository Times*, any early vols. (XV.)

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Any books published in the sixteenth century or beginning of seventeenth, or reprints of such. (XVI.)

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Payne's New World, vol. ii. (XVII.)

### BOOKS OFFERED.

Scrivener: Novum Test. Græcum, India paper ed., leaved writing paper. Edited by Nestle, 1906 (pub. 10s. 6d. net), publisher's brown morocco binding (new), 6s.
Contentio Veritatis: Essays by Six Oxford Tutors (1902), 5s.
Tischendorf's Nov. Test. Græcum, ed. minor, full morocco, 2s. 6d. (L)

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Bruder's Concordance, 5s.; Buxtorf's Heb. Concordance, 2 vols., 1861, 4s.; Michaelis Heb. Bible, 1720, 2s. (M)

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Dict. National Biog. (new issue), vols. i.–iii.; Encycl. Brit. Offers or books. (N)

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Macmillan's Parnassus Library of Greek and Latin Texts (Iliad, ed. by Walter Leaf; Æschylus, by Lewis Campbell; Sophocles, by R. Y. Tyrrell; Catullus, by A. Palmer; Horace, by T. E. Page; Virgil, by T. E. Page), parchment, good as new, 6 vols. in box, fine set (pub. 30s. 6d.), 12s. (O)

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Sonnenschein's Bibliography of Theology (1897), 4s. 6d.
Sunday Mornings at Norwood, by S. A. Tipple (1908), 2s.
Cassells' Family Prayer Book (1908), 3s. (P)

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

Jesus I know, and God I know, but who is Christ?

There is an article in the *Hibbert Journal* for January with the title of 'Jesus or Christ?' The author is the Rev. R. Roberts, Bradford. In the same number there is a review of the Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. The reviewer is the Rev. J. H. Weatherall, Bolton. The meaning of the article and of the review is the same. Both writers frankly cast away the name of Christ with all that belongs to it. Jesus they know, and God they know, but a Christ who is compounded of both they are resolved to have nothing more to do with.

The one article is a review of the Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. The review has been somewhat long in coming, and there is not a great deal of it when it has come. But it is full of meaning.

The reviewer has no need for a Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. With this particular Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels he has little fault to find. But he does not need it. What he needs is a Dictionary of Jesus.

His 'interest in Jesus is eager and affectionate.' But for the name 'Christ' he would 'with all reverence' substitute the name 'God.' The Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels should have been called a Dictionary of God and the Gospels. Let some one—Mr. Weatherall himself or some one else—now edit a Dictionary of Jesus.

The Rev. R. Roberts, who is described as 'Congregational Minister; late Chairman of the Bradford Education Committee,' is the author of the other article. He is very bold about it. It is no longer to be 'Back to Christ.' The cry is now to be 'Back to Jesus.' 'In developing the thought "Back to Christ," Evangelicalism,' he says, 'has found itself driven to make stupendous claims on behalf of Jesus.' *Are* they claims on behalf of Jesus? he asks; or are they made on behalf of a spiritual 'Ideal' to which we may provisionally apply the word 'Christ'? He gives the name quite provisionally. He is done with it long before his article is done.

Jesus I know—well, a little. 'The silence of non-Christian literature as to Jesus has more significance than is usually assigned to it. When we turn to the New Testament, we have a body of literature whose evidential value has been, and still is, the riddle of Christendom. Close and careful reading of its documents reduces our knowledge of the actual facts of the life of Jesus to a small, and, it must be added, a narrowing compass.

Beyond the narrative of birth and infancy and one incident in the boyhood, the Synoptists give us only detached fragments of events in one year of His life. The Johannine narrative extends the chronology so as to cover portions of perhaps the last three years. Criticism, of course, greatly reduces the value of this face view of the story. Following it, we pass through narrowing areas of admissible statement, till, guided by Dr. Schmiedel's "pillar" passages, we reach the position of Professor Khaltoff, from which the figure of the historic Jesus has completely vanished.'

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Jesus I know a little; and God I know still less. But as for Christ—'Identifying Jesus with Christ,' says Mr. Roberts, 'they make God a Being who is omnipotent, yet limited in power; omniscient, yet defective in knowledge; infinitely good, yet One who declines "to turn any part of His knowledge as God into science for man." This seems to me to be language which stultifies itself. It would be an abuse of language to say that it deals with a mystery. It is flat contradiction.' That is the conclusion of the article and of the whole matter.

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When the DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS was published it was spoken of as 'first of all a preacher's dictionary.' The same thing could have been said about the ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS. But in this case it seemed better to let the preacher find it out for himself.

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He has found it out. 'I have sampled it in various places,' writes a correspondent of the *Methodist Times*. 'Last night, being exceedingly angry, I read the article on ABUSE. If any man wants to preach a number of sermons on this subject they are all here. The analysis is one of the most masterly things I have ever come across. There is also something upon the law of the matter that may be of use when you have to deal with a man who, in his anger, has "forgot nuthin'."'

'I had to take,' he continues, 'a class of old men, whose hearts are young enough, and of all sorts and conditions of good women, who have to bear burdens quietly. I read over the article on ACCEPTANCE, and, illustrating it out of Wesley's Hymns and out of the Old and New Testaments, I gave them the matter as a talk. Now, suppose I had said that I was going to talk to them out of the last encyclopædia, would they not have been justly dismayed? But they took to it as if it had been Wesley's Sermons.'

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The Vicar of St. Andrews, Stoke Newington, has also discovered its use for the pulpit, and writes about it in his Parish Magazine. 'To some, perhaps,' he says, 'the problem will be where it is to go. But it must go somewhere, of that there is no question, even if a good many volumes of other kinds have to move. For it is indispensable.'

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The reviewers also have made the discovery. The reviewer in the *Baptist Times* says: 'The Encyclopædia will be a complete armoury for the preacher and the teacher.' In the *British Congregationalist* the reviewer says: 'The ways in which this monumental encyclopædia will prove its worth are far too many to be suggested. That it will be indispensable to the minister who desires to be thoroughly equipped, we fully believe.' And if it is feared by any that preachers may be too well supplied for the exercise of their own originality, the *Church Times* closes with a word of reassurance: 'The profusion of information brought together on every topic may be expected to assist, instead of hindering, the exercise of an independent judgment.'

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How is it, then, that an Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics is necessary to the preacher in addition to a Dictionary of the Bible? That question, which is central, has been answered by a preacher.

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There is none of the reviews that has given the

impression of care and time (we might add intellectual ability) more emphatically than a signed review in the *United Methodist*. 'The need for such an encyclopædia,' says this reviewer, 'is beyond dispute. The first thing required of the preacher (after personal character) is that he shall know the Bible, and shall know it exhaustively and critically, in the spirit as well as in the letter, and in the light of the latest information available. To meet this demand there came the Dictionary of the Bible, followed by the Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. But the preacher must know more than the Bible.'

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What else must the preacher know? 'He must have a true sympathy with the religious aspirations of man. That sympathy is fed on the comparative study of religion, as he watches his fellows seeking God, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him. And though the seeking often seems to be merely groping, yet he views it with respect and even reverence as the expression of a religious instinct which cannot rest unsatisfied. Then in tracing back some theological problem, he is often led into the region of Natural Science, and has to appeal to the chemist or the biologist for guidance. Further, in seeking to apply his belief to the practical affairs of life, he is entering the sphere of sociology, and he needs the latest and best information on that subject.'

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Now, as the reviewer says, 'it is too much to expect that the preacher should be a higher critic and a scientist and an economist; and if he attempts too much he is sure to fail in his mission. Yet his knowledge of these subjects, though it rarely appear in his conversation, and still more rarely in his pulpit ministration, is sure to aid him, to an almost incredible extent, in understanding and expounding the things that he most surely believes.'

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And now let us take three sentences from the correspondent of the *Methodist Times*, of whom we have already spoken. 'Depend upon it, the subjects here handled are going to keep the field for many a year to come, and are not only going to keep the field but to monopolize it very largely. If a man will use this book carefully, will ground himself in the leading subjects, and seek out the light that is here when he is bogged in his thinking, then he will become one of them that really know. I congratulate the young men of the ministry on this fresh stage in the evolution of their privileges and resources.'

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One of the benefits which the Revised Version has conferred upon us is to compel our attention to the difference in modern English between small letters and capitals. We say 'in modern English.' For in the English of the time when the Authorized Version was made, capitals were used according to the fancy of the writer rather than the subject of the writing. And even the fancy of the writer varied with his mood or the fashion of the moment. Professor Arber has made out a useful *Harmony of Bacon's Essays*. Take a sentence from the essay 'Of Studies.' In the first two editions (1597–98) it appears thus: 'Craftie men contime them, simple men admire them, wise men use them'; in the third (1607–12) thus: 'Craftie Men contemne them; simple Men admire them, and wise men use them'; in the fourth (1612): 'Crafty men contemne them, simple men admire them, and wise men use them'; but in the fifth (1625): 'Crafty Men Contemne *Studies*; Simple Men Admire them; and Wise Men Use them.'

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The Authorized Version can show nothing like that in the way of variety. The translators had received instructions from 'the Most High and Mightie Prince, James' that they were to be translators only, and not interpreters. So they were sparing for the time in the use of capitals. Still they used them. 'The chiefe Butler and the chiefe Baker' are both found with capital letters in the two editions of 1611, and even the 'Butlership' of the 'chiefe Butler.' The 'Tabernacle of the Congregation' is always honoured with a capital

letter, and everything that belonged to it, the 'Table' and the 'Candlesticke' and the 'Altar of incense,' and the 'Laver.' 'Cassia' in the same chapter has a capital, though 'cinamon' and 'myrrh' are without it; even the measure called a 'Hin,' and the 'Apothecarie' who has the measuring of it.

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When the Revisers began their work they found that most of the superfluous capitals had already been dropped from the Authorized Version. But a new difficulty presented itself. They were under no command to avoid interpretation. They found that they could not avoid it. And again and again they made their interpretation by the short but most unmistakable method of using or disusing a capital letter.

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In Mt $2^6$ the Authorized Version is 'For out of thee shall come a Governor.' The Revisers prefer 'a governor.' In $12^8$, 'For the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath day,' the revision is 'lord of the sabbath.' In $12^{18}$ we come upon the central and difficult word 'spirit.' It is a quotation here from Isaiah. The Authorized Version uses a small letter, 'I will put my spirit upon him.' This is the way with all the previous versions but one. The Geneva Version has 'Spirit.' The Revised Version prefers the capital also. The speaker is God. In $23^{10}$, 'Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ'—so the Authorized Version. The Revisers say 'one is your master,' in this case departing from the Geneva of 1557, and following all the rest of the versions. The Geneva Version uses the old word 'doctor.' In the 1557 edition it is, 'Be not called Doctors, for ther is but one your Doctor, and he is Christe.' But in the edition of 1560 the capital is dropped—'doctors' and 'doctor.'

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Does this matter of a small letter or a capital seem a trifling one? It is never trifling. In ordinary English it is always a matter of importance. Carlyle was as careful of his capitals as of his punctuation; and we know that he was as careful of a comma as of a date. But in the English translation of the Bible it sometimes rises to a matter of the highest moment.

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One of the arguments which Professor Denney makes use of, in his new book on *Jesus and the Gospel*, in order to prove that Jesus was not a fellow-believer, but the object of faith to the writers of the New Testament, is the use that they make of the word 'Name.' Three times that word is used absolutely. In Ac $5^{41}$ we read that 'they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the Name.' In 3 Jn $^7$ we read that 'for the sake of the Name they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles.' In both passages the Revisers recognized the force of the word and used the capital letter. But there is a third passage. In Ja $5^{14}$ Dr. Denney holds that the true reading is, 'Let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name.'

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The twentieth series of the Cunningham Lectures was delivered last winter by the Rev. W. Fairweather, M.A., and the volume containing them has now been published. Its title is *The Background of the Gospels* (T. & T. Clark; 8s. net).

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When it was known that the Cunningham Lecturer for 1907–8 was to be the Rev. William Fairweather, it was expected that the subject of the lectures would be Judaism in the period between the Old Testament and the New. For Mr. Fairweather has given himself to that subject so closely, and has written so much upon it, that they can scarcely be thought of apart. And it was hoped as well as expected. For the religion of the times preceding the Christian era has lately been discovered to carry far-reaching influence. It touches the interpretation of the Gospels at every step. It touches the Person of Christ.

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Our Lord has much to say about the end of the

world. So have the pre-Christian Apocalypses. Did He simply take over the popular conceptions derived from these Apocalypses? Again, and to bring the matter to a point, the Apocalyptic literature anticipates the end of the world as near at hand. Did He also anticipate its speedy end? And was He mistaken?

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Mr. Fairweather examines the evidence. He has read what the Apocalypses have to say about the end of the world; he has read what Christ said; and he has read what the modern critics have said about the Apocalypses and about Christ. He considers that on two points the evidence is sufficient and the controversy closed. One point is that the belief of the nearness of the end is inherited by the New Testament from the Apocalypses of pre-Christian Judaism. The other is that the Apostles of our Lord shared it. The Apostles shared it—and were mistaken. That is what Mr. Fairweather means. Did our Lord share it? Was He mistaken also? That is the question for us.

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Now Mr. Fairweather refuses to be deterred from investigating by any consequence. 'We are here,' he says, 'upon ground where we must tread reverently.' But we must tread it. And if we find that our Lord was mistaken, we shall receive strength to understand. Wendt says it is 'manifestly presupposed.' Bousset says it 'cannot be denied.' Charles says it is 'proved beyond question.' What does Mr. Fairweather say?

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He reviews the evidence. Now the evidence which the scholars who have just been named rely upon is a series of passages in the Synoptic Gospels. These are the passages: 'Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power' (Mk $9^{1}$), or as St. Matthew has it, 'till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom' ($16^{28}$). 'This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished' (Mk $13^{30}$). 'When they persecute you in this city, flee into the next: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come' (Mt $10^{23}$).

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But these are not all the passages. In the Parables of the Ten Virgins and the Unmerciful Servant, Christ speaks of the Parousia as if it were not to take place until after a long period of waiting. The Parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven, and again the Parable of the Blade, the Ear, and the Full Corn, imply so gradual a growth of the Kingdom as manifestly to demand much time. And openly, and without a parable, Christ makes the propagation of the gospel among the Gentiles a necessary prelude to the final consummation of the Kingdom. That, says Mr. Fairweather, was clearly not practicable within a single generation.

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Thus there are two classes of passages which deal with the time of the End. Mr. Fairweather takes both into account. He recalls three independent attempts which have been made to reconcile them. Professor Bruce suggested that the great eschatological discourse recorded in Mt 24 and Mk 13 is not a unity, but a piecing together on the part of the evangelists of sayings uttered on separate occasions, with the result that future events are represented as closer at hand than the words of Jesus really warranted. Professor Godet thought that the passages which seem to imply the imminent nearness of the end refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, and not to the end of the world, so that it is only the destruction of Jerusalem that Jesus places within the lifetime of the current generation. Dr. Forrest holds that our Lord spiritualized the popular eschatalogical terms, and so, while He saw with penetrating glance the true significance and final issues of moral facts and forces, He saw them in no exact temporal perspective, or in the relations of far and near.

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With none of these methods of meeting the situation is Mr. Fairweather quite satisfied. He

goes back to what our Lord says about Himself. Is it possible that He was ignorant of the time of the End? There is one thing that He says He was ignorant of on earth. It is closely related to this very thing, if it is not this very thing itself. 'Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mk $13^{32}$). And he comes to the conclusion that Christ's impression as regards the time of the Parousia may not have been a constant quantity. He thinks that it may have oscillated somewhat in view of new developments in the providential order. And the extreme limits of oscillation may be reflected in those passages on the one side which speak of the End as if it were to be long deferred, and those on the other side which seem to imply that He considered it near at hand.

Many books have been published lately on Mysticism. But the growing interest in it will make another welcome—*The Mystical Element of Religion*, by Baron Fr. von Hügel (Dent; 2 vols., 21s. net). And the more welcome that it comes from a Roman Catholic. For Mysticism has been the peculiar possession (should we not add the peculiar glory?) of the Roman Church throughout all her history. The Roman Catholic is at home here.

Seven years ago, Baron Friedrich von Hügel began to study the Life and Writings of Saint Catherine of Genoa. He had been born in Italy, and early impressions had remained with him. He had felt and he retained 'a vivid consciousness of the massively virile personalities, the spacious trustful times of the early Renaissance there, from Dante to the Florentine Platonists.' These personalities, these times, were 'as yet truly Christian.' He grew up; he acquired strong and definite religious convictions. These convictions were often out of touch with the types of devotion prevalent in Western Christendom. But when hemmed in and depressed, his mind went back to that early Italian world, that ampler pre-Protestant, as yet neither Protestant nor anti-Protestant, but deeply positive and Catholic world, and he was strengthened and sustained. He prayed that some day he might be permitted to portray one of those large-souled pre-Protestant, post-mediæval Catholics.

Then came John Henry Newman's influence, with his *Dream of Gerontius*, and the attraction of St. Catherine of Genoa, with her doctrine of the soul's self-chosen intrinsic purification. Twenty times he visited Genoa, 'the terraced city that looks away so proudly to the sea.' He found the records of St. Catherine's life and doctrine in apparently hopeless confusion. No trained scholar had seriously analysed them since their constitution into a book in 1552. He had done much critical work on classical and scriptural texts. Could he not endeavour to bring stately order out of this bewildering chaos, perhaps discover the authors, the dates, and the intentions of the various pieces of this many-coloured Joseph's coat? It would train his own mind. It would bring him within the atmosphere of a most delicately psychological, soaring, yet sober-minded eschatology, with its striking penetration and unfolding of a soul's central life and alternatives. He resolved to write the Life and edit the Works of St. Catherine of Genoa.

But who could come in contact with such a life and such a religion without desiring to discover the worth of so keen a sense of, and absorption in, the Infinite? Having begun to write a biography of St. Catherine, with some philosophical elucidations, Baron von Hügel finished by writing a great book on the philosophy of Mysticism, illustrated by the life of Caterinetta Fiesca Adorna and her friends.

It is not a book for review. No review could give any adequate account of its richness, its luxuriance, of idea; or of the well-matched luxuriance of language which this Italian born has made his obedient instrument. The author

himself has followed three separate threads of interest throughout it—one historico-critical, one philosophical, and one religious,—and he fears that his readers may follow one thread to the neglect of the other two. But he need not fear. There is no such likelihood. There is no such possibility. He has left out of account his own personality, which weaves all the threads into one piece of precious tapestry, complicated enough in pattern, absorbing enough in interest to the most diverse types of mind. The purpose of writing a review of it has long been laid aside. The present purpose is to say something about the thoughts which have come to St. Catherine of Genoa and to Baron Friedrich von Hügel about Heaven.

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St. Catherine believed in Purgatory. Baron von Hügel believes in Purgatory also. He believes that a truly purgational middle state with its sense of succession, its mixture of joy and suffering, its growth and fruitfulness, is profoundly consonant with all our deepest spiritual experiences and requirements. We may not agree with him in that. We do not agree with him. But what he says about Purgatory does not vitiate what he says about Heaven. It is curious to note that there is little disagreement in the various branches of the Church of Christ regarding the state of Bliss. However long they make the journey, and by whatever variety of road the soul is supposed to travel, there are no great Catholic or Protestant controversies regarding the state that is reached at last. If Heaven were all our preaching, we could close our ranks to-morrow. Baron von Hügel discusses three things which perplex him about Heaven, and they are things of the most fundamental importance. But there is no hint or fear that they will be made the watchword of sects or parties.

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The first thing that perplexes Baron von Hügel about Heaven is whether there will be Time there. Tennyson held that there would be neither Place nor Time:

> From out our bourne of Time and Place,
> The flood may bear me far.

Rothe held that there would be both. Baron von Hügel agrees with neither. He has been studying again Kant's critique of the two categories of Space and Time, and he has come to the conclusion that Time is of indefinitely richer content and more ultimate reality than Space. He believes that we are done with Space when we are done with this world, but that we shall carry Time with us into the next.

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Not clock time. Not mathematical uniform time as it is measured atomistically on the face of a clock, but time in its interpenetrative duration. But what does St. Augustine say? He says that in the next life our thoughts perhaps will not be flowing, will not go from one thing to another, but we shall see all we know simultaneously in one intuition. And what does St. Thomas say? St. Thomas is more positive. All things in Heaven, he says, will be seen simultaneously and not successively. Now, Baron von Hügel is too good a pre-Reformation Catholic to differ when St. Augustine and St. Thomas agree. Yet he cannot believe that duration will come to an end. For its entire absence would apparently make man into God. He therefore thinks that 'the category of Simultaneity will, as a sort of strong background-consciousness, englobe and profoundly unify the sense of Duration. And, the more God-like the soul, the more would this sense of Simultaneity predominate over the sense of Duration.'

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His second perplexity is whether the happiness of Heaven is abstract or concrete. Is it pure thought alone, or is it also emotion and will? Is it solitary and self-centred, or is it social and outgoing?

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Now if the mystical state is to be taken as the nearest approach that we see upon earth to the heavenly state, it may be expected that the happiness of Heaven will be pure thought alone, self-centred and solitary. But the biographer of St. Catherine of Genoa traces a sad impoverishment in the religious life to the esteem in which the antique world

generally held the psycho-physical peculiarities of trances, when it looked upon them as directly valuable, or even as prophetic of the soul's ultimate condition. The exaltation of the contemplative above the active life was an inheritance which the Christian Church received from Plato and Aristotle. It was a corruptible inheritance. Life is complete and perfect only when it embraces both elements, each at its fullest, and the two in a perfect interaction. And in the world to come, when earthly power doth then show likest God's, the highest life must be the life of him who takes a direct and detailed interest in the world as God does, and cares for every sparrow that falls to the ground.

The last of Baron von Hügel's perplexities is whether there will be any pain in Heaven. He thinks there will be. He cannot think that it would be Heaven without it.

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For what is the highest and best thing that we know upon earth? It is devoted suffering, heroic self-oblivion, patient persistence in lonely willing. Will there be no equivalent in Heaven? It would certainly be a gain, says Baron von Hügel, could we discover it. For a pure glut of happiness, an unbroken state of sheer enjoyment, cannot be made attractive to our most spiritual requirements.

# Some Problems suggested by the Recent Discoveries of Aramaic Papyri at Syene (Assouan).[1]

By the Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A., D.D., Cambridge.

The recent discoveries of Aramaic papyri near Assouan (Aswân) have thrown a welcome light over an obscure period of Jewish life, viz. 470–407 B.C. Our Old Testament sources for information respecting this period are: (1) Certain undated prophecies, viz. those ascribed to a writer designated as Malachi, and those which have been collectively termed during the last fifteen years 'Trito-Isaiah.' Critical investigations of the contents have led nearly all scholars to ascribe the first (the oracles of Malachi), and the majority of recent scholars to ascribe the second (the Trito-Isaiah chapters 56–66), to the earlier part of this period of sixty or more years. It should be observed, however, that this view has recently been challenged by Rothstein in his essay on *Jews and Samaritans*. I say nothing at present about the prophecies of Joel.

(2) Belonging to the second rank of evidence we have the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which were compiled about two centuries after the events to which they refer took place. Here we are in the midst of controversy as to the actual historic value of the documents. The most that we are warranted in affirming (though the followers of Kosters would demur to this statement) is that the researches of Ed. Meyer go far to vindicate the historic value of certain portions of Ezra and Nehemiah as based on contemporary official records and as on other grounds inherently probable.

We welcome, therefore, the appearance of these papyri, and congratulate those who have edited them, as they present to us a bright and clear spot of light in the prevailing obscurity—that long period of deepening historic uncertainty that shrouds Jewish history from 500 B.C. till 170 B.C., the eve of the Maccabæan revolt. Fortunately there is no scope for endless argumentations about the date of these documents, viz. the three papyri from the stronghold of Yeb, with its temple to Yahu, edited by Sachau, and the collection of business documents, edited by Cowley and Sayce, belonging to a somewhat earlier time. For most of these documents are dated. It is true that they belong to an outlying region, and not to Palestine or even Babylonia. Yet they are, nevertheless, of great value. For the three papyri edited by Sachau, to which I shall mainly refer, are copies of a letter addressed from the Jewish settlement at the

[1] Read before the Third International Congress for the History of Religions held at Oxford, Semitic Section (September 16, 1908).

stronghold Yeb to the viceroy or *peḥah* (Assyr.-Aram. *paḥath*) of Judah in the seventeenth year of Darius Nothus, *i.e.* 407 B.C.

This paper may be described as an attempt to use these documents as a lamp in the midst of historic gloom. It will be an endeavour to see how far the light it affords will carry us into the contemporary and earlier history of Israel. It must therefore be largely tentative. It will raise more problems than it can possibly solve.

I. The Aramaic in which these documents are written is essentially the Biblical Aramaic. It clearly shows, in combination with many other indications, that at that time the Canaanite Hebrew was rapidly becoming obsolete as a spoken language by Jews. It confirms the truth of the rendering of the disputed word *mephōrāsh* in Neh $8^8$ given in the margin of the R.V., 'And they read in the book, in the law of God, with an interpretation; and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading.' Aramaic had become at that time the ordinary spoken language of at least the majority of the Jewish exiles, and the ancient Hebrew tongue was unfamiliar.

This Aramaic language was obviously well understood in *official* quarters in Palestine at the time when the letter from Yeb was composed. And it was also well understood by the educated and official class in Jerusalem three centuries earlier in the days of Hezekiah, as the appeal by the rulers to Rabshaḳeh in 2 K $18^{26}$ (the earlier Isaiah narrative) clearly indicates: 'Speak to thy servants in Aramaic; for we understand it.' As far back as the eighth century Aramaic had become the *lingua franca* of Western Asia.[1] Archæological evidence brings this fact home to us in ever-increasing volume. Thus the legal and commercial documents, in the newly published volume by Albert Clay, of cuneiform texts from Nippur belonging to a period that extends from the seventh to the fifth centuries, frequently consist of tablets with endorsements in Aramaic. The Aramaic power to the north of Palestine reduced both northern and southern Israel to vassalage in the latter part of the ninth century, and since that time, in fact long after the political power of Aram had been broken, its language spread far and wide. Questions affecting the literary criticism of the O.T. now present themselves. About a quarter of a century ago our great Oxford *altmeister* Professor Cheyne asked the pertinent question: 'Does it follow that every Aramaism in Isaiah is a corruption?'[2] I would put the question in another form: How far, in the light of present knowledge, are we to allow the appearance of sporadic Aramaisms to determine the lateness of a passage?[3]

II. The letter from the sanctuary at Yeb throws some light upon the date of Joel. Here archæology appears to confirm critical conclusions. Nowack, Cornill, and Marti argue from internal indications that Joel's prophecies were composed about 400 B.C. Now at the close of these oracles we read ($4^{19}$) that Egypt is to become a desolation on account of the outrages perpetrated on the Jews. These outrages may surely be connected with the destruction of the temple at Yeb by the Egyptian priests of the God Ḥnûb, to which the letter addressed to Bagohi bears witness. This wanton act of destruction probably formed part of a wholesale persecution of the Jews settled in Egypt, which took place about the year 409 B.C. It is not at all necessary to assume that the outrages committed by Edom, to which the same Joel passage makes reference, belonged to this year or generally to the same time.

III. There is clear proof that the Jewish temple at Yeb existed in the early post-exilian period. We read in lines 13 f. of Sachau's Papyrus I.:

'When Cambyses invaded Egypt he found that shrine (*i.e.* the temple of Yahweh at Yeb)[4] built,

[1] So also Cowley in the Introduction to *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 20, 'Aramaic before the Persian period was the language of trade, and we find it in the dockets of Assyrian and Babylonian deeds from the eighth century downwards.'

[2] *Commentary on Isaiah*,[3] 1884, vol. ii. p. 138.

[3] This applies to the elaborate and skilful argument, based upon diction as well as other grounds, set forth by Professor Kennett, whereby he endeavours to refer the Messianic prophecy Is $9^{1-7}$ to Simon the Maccabee (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, April 1906). Doubtless a portion of its text has become corrupted. Apart from this, the presence of Aramaisms in a Messianic oracle by Isaiah, which obtained a wide circulation in extra-Palestinian, Israelite, or even non-Israelite settlements, should surely, in the light of the facts already adduced, not surprise us. It can hardly be denied that our knowledge of the Hebrew actually spoken and written in the days of Isaiah, since that knowledge is based on our many times redacted Old Testament, is severely limited and somewhat conventional. And, in addition to this, it must be remembered that a prophecy by Isaiah of such a character would have wide currency in the growing Hebrew diaspora of the seventh century, and would be likely to be subject to the influences of the Aramaic-speaking Israelite communities living beyond the Palestinian border.

[4] Yeb was identified by Clermont Ganneau with Elephan-

but the shrines of the gods of Egypt they destroyed every one, while in that shrine no one injured anything whatever.'

This invasion of Egypt by Cambyses took place in 525 B.C., or about twelve years after Cyrus had overthrown Babylon. Now the special favour shown by Cambyses to the Jews in Egypt in sparing their temple was evidently a continuation of his father's policy. The tolerance and favour shown by Cyrus to the religion of other peoples, and especially to the religion of Babylonia, is clearly shown in the clay cylinder of Cyrus. Now the theory propounded by Kosters about fifteen years ago, as is well known, denies *in toto* the story of the proclamation of Cyrus for the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem contained in Ezr 1 and in $3^7$, on the ground that no allusion is made to such a restoration in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, and that there is no return of any considerable body of exiles from Babylonia soon after 538 B.C. presupposed in the oracles of these two prophets. It is impossible to discuss this question now. It is sufficient to say that this policy of protection to the Jewish temple at Yeb pursued by Cambyses does cast a glimmering ray of light on the tradition of a restoration of the Jerusalem temple under the warrant of an edict by Cyrus. It certainly enhances the probability of the tradition. So much, at least, we may say without affirming the historic accuracy of every detail in the first chapter of Ezra.[1]

IV. The papyri edited by Cowley and Sayce reveal the existence of a large and prosperous Jewish settlement at Syene. Now there is a very problematic passage in Is $49^{12}$, 'Lo, these shall come from far; and these from the land of Sînîm.' The passage is an interesting parallel to Is $11^{11f.}$. This land Sînîm has been in early times associated with the east, *e.g.* in the LXX, where it is identified with Persia. This probably arose from the previous mention of the north and west. The Targum and Vulgate only conjecture that the *south* was meant. The attempt to identify the name with China, which was attempted by scholars like Victor von Strauss-Torney in his excursus to Delitzsch's commentary, has had a natural fascination for friends of the great missionary cause. But quite apart from the difficulty occasioned by the initial sibilant, China appears to have been quite unknown to the Jew, as well as to the Babylonian, of the sixth century. No reference to it is to be found in the Table of Races in Genesis. It was evidently beyond the field of vision of the Jews of that day.

But by the very slight emendation of a single character, the change of the first י into a ו gives us סְוִנִים in place of סִינִים. Everything then becomes clear. Syene or סְוֵנֵה is mentioned by Ezekiel in his oracles on Egypt ($29^{10}$ $30^6$). That a large mercantile Jewish population existed at Assouân at that time may be regarded as certain, *i.e.* about 150 years before the Aramaic letter from Yeb was written.

V. But as we pass further back in time, our path becomes beset with shadows.

The temple was standing in the days of Cambyses, *i.e.* 120 years before these papyri were written. It was, as the document shows, a spacious and imposing edifice. It had seven gateways of hewn stone (line 10), and a roof of cedar (line 11), and sacrificial bowls of gold and silver (line 12). The Jews in Syene were evidently as prosperous as some of those became who followed the advice of Jeremiah and settled in Babylonia ($29^{4-7}$). Moreover, the offerings of the temple, burnt offerings, meal offerings, and incense (line 21, cf. 25), and also the custom of fasting in times of sorrow (line 20), exhibit no suggestion of illegitimate forms of worship. There is no mention of an *ashērah* or of anything that indicated the traditions of a Canaanite high place such as *ḳedēshîm* or *ḳedēshôth* with which the prophets Hosea and Amos and the Books of Kings make us familiar. Yāhu or Yahweh was the only deity worshipped. The priests of other deities are called by the Aramaic plural equivalent of the Heb. *kemārîm* of the O.T. (line 5). Professor Sayce in his Introduction (p. 10) notes that the Jewish 'proper names are compounded with that of Yahweh as much as the names of the orthodox Jews who returned to Palestine from the Captivity.' They are therefore very different from the Jews of Pathros 180 years earlier, whom Jeremiah rebuked for burning incense to the queen of heaven

tinê. 'Both Syene and Elephantinê were the twin fortresses which protected Egypt on the south from the incursions of the Soudanese tribes' (*Aramaic Papyri*, ed. Cowley and Sayce, note p. 37 on Papyrus B, line 3).

[1] These words were written before I had seen Rothstein's essay, *Juden und Samaritaner*, where the same argument is developed.

(44[15]). It is well-nigh certain that these last were emigrants of the days of Jehoiakim, while the Jews of Syene were the descendants of a still earlier migration.[1]

The inference which I would tentatively draw is that the origins of this purer worship at Syene go back to the days of Ḥezekiah, whose reforms in worship are reported to us not only in 2 K 18[4], but also in 21[3], and also in 18[22], which belongs to a distinct source (the earlier Isaiah biography). *These* were the influences which, in the first instance, probably affected the settlement at Syene, and *not those* of the reformation in the days of Josiah, when centralization of worship was a ruling principle, and when, moreover, the relations of Judah to Egypt were the reverse of friendly.

With respect to the origin of the temple-building at Yeb, the language of the Papyrus is vague. The writer is able to go back 120 years, to the days of Cambyses, but he is conscious that it had a greater antiquity, and can only vaguely say (line 13) that 'already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers erected that temple in the fortress Yeb.' This points to a time anterior to the Persian domination. But the temple itself was probably preceded in earlier days by another and simpler structure.

We are inevitably led to consider another question closely bound up with the preceding, namely, What was the most probable period when any considerable Diaspora of Jews began to exist in Egypt? A diaspora might indeed have begun as far back as the latter part of the ninth century B.C., when the Syrian wars reduced both Israel and Judah to the abject condition of vassal states. But it is more probable that we have to go to a period just one century later, when the Assyrian invasions must have driven multitudes of Hebrew emigrants to seek an asylum in Egypt. Of this we have clear indication in Hos 9[3-6], and as this passage raises some important questions, I shall quote it in full. 'They shall not dwell in Yahweh's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and in Assyria they shall eat what is unclean. They shall offer no libations of wine in Yahweh's honour, nor set in order[2] (יערכו) for Him their slaughtered offerings. As food of mourners shall be their food. All who eat thereof shall be rendered unclean. For their food shall be for their appetite, it shall not come into Yahweh's house. What shall ye do at the feast-day or when Yahweh's festival takes place?' What follows obviously requires a slight emendation, and we may render: 'Behold they make their way to Assyria.[3] Egypt shall gather them, Memphis bury them.' Evidently a considerable stream of Israelite refugees from the Assyrian invasions had begun to flow towards Egypt.

When we pass to the last decade of the eighth century we find a close connexion subsisting between Ḥezekiah and Egypt. Ḥezekiah did not rule over a large realm, yet he held a strategically important position on the highway from north to south and from east to west, in that mountainous region south of Samaria, flanked by the Dead Sea, and also exercised control over the Philistine towns. That interesting and misdated little oracle on Philistia (Is 14[28-32]) probably belongs to this last decade of the eighth century. V.[32] clearly shows that the Philistine towns looked to Ḥezekiah for support against the Assyrian invaders. The political significance of Ḥezekiah, as suzerain and protector of these towns, is clearly seen in the Prism inscription of Sennacherib. That he held a fairly strong position seems to be indicated by the facts narrated in one of Sargon's inscriptions, which charges him with forming a coalition against the Assyrian power with Moab and other states, and yet no actual attack upon his territory is recorded. When we turn to the Prism inscription of Sennacherib, his importance is shown by the considerable space devoted to him in columns 2 and 3.

Therefore in Egypt, where by this time a considerable settlement of Israelites must have lived, he would be naturally regarded as Israel's sole remaining champion against the Assyrian power, while the Egyptians themselves, who were only beginning under the twenty-fifth dynasty to emerge from weakness and disunion, had every reason to pray that Hezekiah's kingdom might endure and his influence be maintained over the

[1] A careful examination of Jer 42–44 seems clearly to show that the Jews settled in Migdol, Taḥpanḥes, and Memphis (Noph) had *recently* migrated thither, and the fresh emigrants under Joḥanan ben Kareaḥ were joining their kinsmen in Pathros and elsewhere. The language used by the inhabitants to Jeremiah (44[18f.]) refers to their untoward experiences in *Palestine* and not in Egypt (cf. 42[14]).

[2] For יְעָרְכוּ of the traditional Heb. text.

[3] For they 'make their way to Assyria,' the traditional Heb. text has 'have gone from destruction' (שׁד).

frontier fortresses that barred the approach of an Assyrian army. Even Ethiopia in its hour of apprehension, as the oracle in Is 18 shows, sent its messengers in papyrus boats down the Nile to Jerusalem.

My justification for referring to these points is that they have an important bearing upon the historic conditions involved in a very interesting and problematic passage in Is 19, upon which the recent discoveries throw, as it appears to me, an unexpected light. This nineteenth chapter, as all Old Testament scholars know, is a patchwork of detached fragments referring to Egypt, chiefly non-Isaianic, each separate oracle beginning with the formula so common in Isaiah, 'In that day.' One passage only do I hold to be of Isaianic origin, viz. vv.[19-22]. It is certainly pre-Deuteronomic; otherwise it would not have found a place in a Judæan canonized prophecy; but having had a definite and assured position among Isaiah's oracles prior to 620 B.C., it was eventually relegated to an isolated position among other oracles relating to Egypt. The passage runs (vv.[19-22]) thus: 'In that day there shall be an altar to Yahweh in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar beside its border unto Yahweh. And it shall serve as a sign and witness unto Yahweh of hosts in the land of Egypt whenever they cry unto Yahweh by reason of oppressors, so that he may send them a helper and contend and deliver them. So Yahweh shall be known unto the Egyptians, and the Egyptians shall know Yahweh in that day; and shall serve him with slaughtered offering and meal offering [LXX have only 'with offering'], and they shall vow vows unto Yahweh, and pay them. And Yahweh shall smite the Egyptians, smiting and healing; and they shall be converted to Yahweh, and he shall be intreated by them, and shall heal them.' This oracle prophesies future trouble and disciplinary chastisement to the Egyptians. Evidently Assyria, 'the rod of God's anger' (Is $10^5$), is meant, and we know that this 'smiting' did take place in the days of Esarhaddon and Ašurbanipal. In the earlier part of the oracle the expression, 'they cry unto Yahweh by reason of oppressors,' is doubtful as to its reference. To me it looks like a reflexion of Old Israelite history. The reference is to Israelites oppressed by Egyptians as in old times rather than to Egyptians oppressed by a foreign foe.

This is the section to which, as Josephus tells us (*Wars of the Jews*, VII. x. 2), Onias, son of Simon, appealed when, under Ptolemy's friendly protection, he erected a temple at Heliopolis. I premise that no such passage as this could possibly have been inserted in the Jewish copies of the prophetic writings after the Exile period. *Such a passage as this*, which deliberately legitimizes the erection of an altar in the midst of Egypt, could hardly have found a place in Jewish writings of recognized validity after the temple of Zerubbabel was built, unless it had, like the documents J and E, the prestige of ancient authority.

Now the phrase which occurs in the Hebrew text of this oracle, *zebhaḥ uminḥah*, 'slaughtered offering and meal offering,' is a difficult one in a pre-Deuteronomic passage, since the exclusive signification 'meal offering,' for *minḥah*, which it presupposes, is *post*-Deuteronomic. Nevertheless, it is found in Am $5^{25}$, 'Did ye offer me slaughtered and meal offerings in the wilderness forty years?' which has all the appearance of being genuine. Here the LXX render σφάγια καὶ θυσίας. Marti, however, may be right in regarding the addition 'and meal offerings' to be a later gloss inserted in the Amos text, for all O.T. scholars are aware that such later glosses are not infrequent. But when we turn to this *Isaiah* passage, our scruples vanish. We are constrained to cancel at least one of the terms (in this case *zebhaḥ*) out of the text, for the LXX have καὶ ποιήσουσι θυσίας (there is no σφάγια). This difficulty therefore vanishes.

I would suggest that the 'border of Egypt' in this text might naturally refer to Assouân, and that a primitive sanctuary was erected in that place, already a settlement of Jewish and Israelite refugees. Such a distant part of Egypt might well be designated by a Palestinian inhabitant by the really appropriate term 'a boundary.'[1] We might suppose that the *maṣṣēbah* (forbidden in the Deuteronomic legislation Dt $16^{22}$) was first set up at Syene in the first decade of the seventh century B.C.

If this view be accepted, we are in the presence of what appear to be distinct conceptions existing at the same period respecting Yahweh's domain and sovereignty. The *one* seems to be reflected in the passage already quoted from Hosea, which regards the land to which Israel migrates outside Yahweh's land (which is Palestine) as an *unclean* land. This was no doubt the old popular tradition which we find reflected in various passages in the

[1] See footnote [4], pp. 201–202, which shows that Elephantinê (Yeb) was in reality a boundary fortress.

Books of Samuel and elsewhere, which I need not quote. One point, however, might be noted, that the Hosea passage lays more definite stress on the uncleanness of Assyria than of Egypt.

On the other hand, the *Isaiah* passage reflects very clearly the logical result of the teaching of Amos respecting Yahweh's universal sovereignty, which Isaiah had certainly learned. The point which I wish now to suggest is that the application of the doctrine was more easy to Egypt, which was *then*, moreover, a friendly country. Hosea speaks of Israel as 'returning' to Egypt, for out of Egypt Yahweh 'called his Son.' Despite the protests called forth in various quarters against Winckler's theory of the land Muṣr, we ought surely to accept it to *this* extent, that such a land did actually exist south of Judæa, as definitely proved on more than one line of evidence. It took its name, analogously to the name Syria (abbreviated from Assyria), from the old extension by conquest of the Egyptian frontier eastwards over the Sinaitic peninsula and the region to the north of it. In this region, let it be remembered, stood Yahweh's ancient sanctuary Horeb, to which Elijah fled in his days of persecution. So it was not difficult to regard Yahweh's sway as extending to Egypt.[1] Even in the Deutero-Isaiah Egypt is especially God's own. He gives it to Cyrus as his ransom for Jewish freedom ($43^{3}$), just as Ezekiel before him announces that Yahweh gives Egypt to Nebuchadrezzar as hire for his service in besieging Tyre (Ezk $29^{18\text{-}20}$).

VI. There is yet another passage on which the Aramaic papyri appear to throw a special light. I refer to the mysterious verses in Malachi ($1^{10\text{f.}}$), which express a universalism which has been variously interpreted, 'I have no pleasure in you, saith Yahweh of hosts, and offering from your hand I refuse to accept. For from east to west my name is great among the nations; and in every spot incense is offered to my name, and a pure sacrifice: for great is my name among the nations, saith Yahweh of hosts.' Are we to regard this passage, as some recent expositors have taken it, as a general recognition by Malachi of a prevalent monotheism among heathen nations and the worship of the Highest, perhaps with special reference to the Persian adoration of Ahura Mazda; or shall we recur to the interpretation of Ewald, who saw here a reference to the purer and nobler worship rendered in the Jewish diaspora? The recent discoveries would seem to indicate that this latter is the more probable view. But if this be a valid conclusion, the Malachi passage carries with it a yet wider inference. 'The setting of the sun' or west would point to such a sanctuary as that of Yeb. But there were also other sanctuaries in the '*rising of the sun*.' Is it possible that the relics of these may yet be unearthed by the explorer?

This last passage is full of interest. It shows the persistence, even about the year 458 B.C., in the degenerate days of Judæan life that preceded Nehemiah's advent, of those broader conceptions respecting Yahweh's sphere of influence and the Yahweh religion and cultus to which Amos and Isaiah first gave the impulse. The attentive study of these papyri and the illuminating preface of Professor Sayce heighten the impression that the true home of this broader, nobler conception of religion was in the Diaspora. The stimulating work of Dr. Moritz Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums*, which I trust many Englishmen will read, makes this very clear. The request for help to restore the sanctuary at Yeb was ignored by the priesthood of Jerusalem.[2] And these larger conceptions had to fight hard for centuries against that spirit of exclusiveness which had its centre at Jerusalem. This latter spirit was subsequently reinforced by the forces of Pharisaic nationalism kindled to white heat by the Maccabæan struggle. And yet we can see in Jewish literature, especially in that of the Diaspora, such as the writings of Philo-Judæus, that the larger conceptions still survived. But they had to wait through weary centuries until there arose the potent voice of the last and greatest of the Hebrew prophets, who said to an inhabitant of Samaria: 'The hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. . . . God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth' (Jn $4^{21\text{-}24}$).

[1] We might note in this connexion the somewhat exceptional position of privilege assigned to the Edomite and the Egyptian in the Deuteronomic legislation, Dt $23^{7\text{f.}}$ [$^{8\text{f.}}$ Heb.], as contrasted with the Ammonite and Moabite. Also we may take note of the union between Abraham and Hagar the Egyptian (Muṣrite).

[2] Comp. lines 17–19 in Sachau, Pap. I.

# Modern Positive Theology.

By the Rev. John Dickie, M.A., Tarland, Aberdeenshire.

IV.

## Conclusion.

Such then are the main interests of the Modern Positive Theology, as of Christian Theology in general in our day—the question of the authority of Scripture and of Ecclesiastical Dogma, and the doctrine of Christ's Person and Work. The leaders of the movement approach these great problems with due appreciation of the issues involved, and in a spirit at once candid and reverent, which cannot but command the respectful attention of every serious religious thinker. We must also sympathize with the desire to make the 'Old Faith' intelligible to the 'modern man' in spite of all extravagance like Grützmacher's in the delineation of him, 'a species of idolatry' which draws from Kaftan the just protest, 'Truth asks no one whether she is to his liking or not. Every one has to bow the knee to her, the modern man as well as the ancient.'

But what is there of originality in these positions? How far is there gain for us, either intellectually or religiously? It goes without saying that Theo. Kaftan and Seeberg are not the first Christian thinkers who have tried to present the Old Faith in a new light. The abiding problem of Theology is just to mediate between the eternal gospel and the mutations of human knowledge and opinion, with perfect justice to both. Of this the Modern Positive Theologians are fully aware. They tell us that problems and solutions are continually shaping themselves anew. 'The Hellenisation of the Gospel was in its day a necessary modernising process.' Kaftan says that as a matter of fact all theology, that is, *real* theology, is modern, only more or less; and that he is simply attempting to do what Augustine and the other great theologians of history did for their own time. Quite so, only the heretics were making the same attempt, and both were assured that their thinking was timeless. The conscious recognition of the relativity of theology is distinctively modern. Yet it is not new in principle even in Positive circles. Kaftan's Erlangen Professor, Hofmann, spoke in words almost identical with his of 'a new method of teaching Old Truth.' Both Hofmann and Seeberg's teacher, Frank, would have regarded themselves as *Modern* Positive Theologians, in contradistinction from mere traditionalists like Philippi, though standing much nearer the tradition than Theo. Kaftan or even Seeberg. There is nothing new about the idea of a 'Modern Positive Theology,' or a 'Modern Theology of the Old Faith,' though the names are new.

Theo. Kaftan is very difficult to classify. He claims to be 'a Confessional Lutheran, and not a follower of Schleiermacher,' but the influence of the theological movement inaugurated by Schleiermacher is at least as much in evidence as the Confessional Lutheranism. He is a Kantian in philosophy, like R. A. Lipsius and Ritschl. But theologically his instincts are more conservative than theirs, though he is decidedly the freest and most independent of the Modern Positive group. Like many others, he sees that nearly all the intellectual interest and enthusiasm are on the so-called 'modern' side, while the practical work of the Church both at home and abroad is almost entirely left to the religious zeal and earnestness of those least affected by the modern spirit. But is modern theology necessarily fatal to Christian activity? Is practical Christianity indissolubly wedded to a theology which no longer commands the assent of the intelligent and intellectually active? Such is the problem as it presents itself to him. He has too much faith both in human intelligence and Christianity to answer either question in the affirmative. As things are at present, there is strength and weakness on both sides. But cannot we have the strength of both, without the weakness of either? Surely that would be the natural combination—a modern theology without the paralyzing weakness that comes of mere negation, a theology enshrining the old historic faith of Christendom in its power and fulness. This theology will submit to no merely external authority; will be conscious

of its own limitations; will welcome all knowledge of reality, and will in consequence be on good terms with exact science, though the science of history is the only science in which theology has a vital interest. In its broad outlines this programme cannot but meet with general acceptance. Its most questionable features are just where it comes nearest the old Ritschlian position, as in the rejection of metaphysics—perhaps the chief point of contrast between Kaftan and Seeberg. Theology must of course welcome all pertinent facts from whatever source. But is its interest in history different in kind from its interest in other sciences? Is it not interested in them all alike, chiefly in their *metaphysical*, or in what Lipsius called their *teleologico-religious* ('religiös-teleologisch') bearings? Kaftan's work bears throughout the impress of a fresh and original mind. But in spite of its value as a general statement of principles, a 'modern' theologian will find nothing new in it.

A 'positive' theologian, on the other hand, will learn how and upon what grounds, in his opinion, 'the Old Faith' with which 'Christianity stands or falls,' demands a 'Modern Theology.' Perhaps its chief service consists in the emphasis with which it asserts that there are some things which Christianity cannot concede to the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, without losing its own identity. But I do not know that it marks any substantial advance in the determination of these things.

In an 'Author's Preface' to the English translation of his *Grundwahrheiten*, published since the commencement of these articles, Seeberg claims that 'theologically educated readers will easily discover the framework of a new Dogmatic System.' Is this claim justified? I scarcely think so. Seeberg's Dogmatic System is just that associated, for two generations now, with his old University of Erlangen, modernized in some particulars. It is the theology of Hofmann and Frank modified by the freer attitude to Scripture and Ecclesiastical Dogma which I have already described, and with a more real sense of what the Christian consciousness can vouch for, and what it cannot. But here again the difference is relative. Frank found fault with Hofmann for making the Christian consciousness responsible for too many of the details of Scripture and Dogma; Seeberg raises the same objection against Frank himself. Seeberg has distinguished more precisely than his precursors between what is given immediately in Christian experience, and the dogma which follows therefrom by way of inference. He has likewise recognized more fully than they that there is much in the Bible which does not belong to the substance of religious faith. He is more alive to the relativity of dogma, and to the historical conditions by which it was partly shaped. These are 'modern' elements in his theology. But they are already fully recognized in 'modern' circles, nor are they built together with the 'positive' elements valued by him into a single harmonious whole, so that each part is necessary to the others. The framework is not new, and the materials built into it are new only in their present connexion.

The Erlangen Theology seems to me capable of far greater things than it has yet achieved. 'What am I, and what do I believe, as a Christian, and upon what grounds?' If theology were to investigate these questions as earnestly, as thoroughly, and as critically, as philosophy does the elements of self-consciousness, I am convinced that we should receive great gain therefrom. Further, Seeberg's work is a development of that theology along what I regard as fruitful lines in a natural direction. But he has not given us 'the framework of a new Dogmatic system.' The elements which he brings together are not new, nor is the principle of their organization.

Seeberg was brought up in the orthodox Lutheran faith, and has experienced no intellectual or religious cataclysm. His present positions, so far as they are different from those of his early manhood, are the result of a gradual and imperceptible change; and he doubtless feels himself a better and not a worse Lutheran in consequence. He has, or had, the full confidence of the vast body of average conservative theological opinion in Germany. Schian says: 'He can ill be spared, the brilliant lecturer, the admirable stylist, the cultured writer, the accomplished theologian.' But we are more concerned to note that with his antecedents and associates he is prepared to go so far, and that he is so generally regarded as a 'safe' guide. The reception accorded his *Grundwahrheiten* is an indication of how general such an attitude to Scripture and Dogma is becoming even in 'positive' circles. Far more important than his work as head of the Modern Positive School is his valuable *Text-Book of the History of Dogma*, where he seeks to mediate between the Ritschlian tendency to depreciate Dogma, and the disposition among

Conservative Theologians to regard it as inviolable.

So far as I can judge, the ablest of the younger men is Beth, who occupies the chair in Vienna to which Lipsius went in 1861, and who may yet advance as far beyond the positions of his teacher as Lipsius did after that date. Grützmacher, on the other hand, in spite of his industry, is too violent and too self-satisfied for a responsible theologian. But if one may judge from their present performances, it may be questioned whether the group has distinctiveness enough to hang together as a school.

# Literature.

## *MOULTON'S NEW TESTAMENT GRAMMAR.*

GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. By J. H. Moulton, M.A., D.Lit. Vol. i. Prolegomena. Third Edition. (*T. & T. Clark.* 8s. net.)

WHEN the first edition of Professor Moulton's *Prolegomena* appeared, the present writer had an opportunity of discussing it with Dr. Deissmann. And he can recall how, after freely extolling its merits in the generous terms he has so frequently employed since, the famous German Professor concluded, 'And certainly Moulton is not *langweilig* ("wearisome").' The justice of this remark will be at once conceded. Grammars are not as a rule enlivening reading, but Dr. Moulton has succeeded in imparting to his pages so many brilliant suggestions and fresh and humorous touches, that it is not to be wondered at that these, combined with the book's well-known more solid qualities, have succeeded in sending it into a third edition within three years of its publication.

To the outstanding merits of the work it is unnecessary to recur: they have already had full justice done to them in the pages of this magazine (vol. xvii. p. 450 ff.) by so competent an authority on the language of the Greek New Testament as Professor H. A. A. Kennedy of Toronto. All that is required in the present instance is to draw attention to the fact that Dr. Moulton has taken advantage of this new edition to make a large number of changes and additions (for the convenience of the possessor of the earlier editions these are detailed on p. xv of the new Preface), and to expand very considerably the Greek Index.

Apart from these improvements, the present volume is to all appearance a reprint of the second edition. And it is not perhaps too much to ask that when a fourth edition is called for, the publishers will find it possible completely to reset the work, so as to admit of the amalgamation of the two series of Additional Notes, and also to allow the author a freer hand in the revision of his original material.

Previous to this, however, we earnestly trust that Professor Moulton will have given us the second volume, that is being so eagerly looked for. It is true that work such as this cannot be hurried, and that the amount of research required in the case of the papyrus and other documents of which he is making such large use, is simply enormous. At the same time there are many evidences that he must already have the bulk of his material at his command, and we look confidently to his allowing no *parerga*, however interesting in themselves, to stand in the way of the completion of this all-important work. In the Preface to the present edition Dr. Moulton speaks feelingly of the fact that Professor Schmiedel in his new edition of Winer is still in the middle of the sentence where he left off ten years ago. Let him see to it that he does not give the Zurich Professor the least possible excuse for a '*tu quoque*' retort.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

## *THE GREEK AND EASTERN CHURCHES.*

THE GREEK AND EASTERN CHURCHES. By Walter F. Adeney, M.A., D.D. (Edinburgh: *T. & T. Clark.* 12s.)

So great has been the success of the 'International Theological Library' that the series is to be extended, and, for one thing, it is to cover the History of the Church. No doubt the merit of Principal Lindsay's *Reformation* has helped to form that resolution; it will also help to carry the series to a triumphant finish.

Principal Adeney has been chosen for the great and difficult history of the Greek and Eastern Churches, and he has succeeded in compressing his period into a single volume of six hundred pages. A single volume quite easy to read it is, and seems to suggest equal ease in the writing. But test it. Test it at those crucial places where the nice balance of probabilities seems to say that truth is a trifle. Principal Adeney has the conviction that truth and falsehood are the greatest facts in the world, and utterly opposite; and yet he knows that in historical investigation it is often just a grain of probability in either scale that makes the balance turn. He takes account of that grain. Here he owes a circumstance to the discovery of a Gothic manuscript in the Louvre, there to a conversation with Professor Gwatkin. We thank him for his care. We have readable histories in plenty. To-day we desire the utmost special knowledge to be placed at our disposal, so difficult is it on many points to know where the facts lie in regard to this great division of Christendom. That Dr. Adeney has given all the world a charming book of English literature to read is something further to be thankful for.

## *JESUS AND THE GOSPEL.*

Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ. By James Denney, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* 10s. 6d.)

There are two questions which Professor Denney sets out to answer in his new book. The first is: Has Christianity existed from the beginning only in the form of a faith which has had Jesus as its object, and not at all in the form of a faith which has had Jesus simply as its living pattern? The second is: Can Christianity, as even the New Testament exhibits it, justify itself by appeal to Christ? We have given both questions in his own words. His book is simply the answer to them.

It therefore consists of two parts. In the first part Professor Denney goes over the whole of the New Testament for the purpose of showing that its writers, one and all, separate Jesus from all other men, and make Him the object of their faith. This is his deliberate purpose. Let him be careful that he does not come under the lash of Professor Schmiedel's pen, and be called an apologist. But though this is his deliberate purpose, he is ready to disclaim any 'apologetic' intention. Nothing, so far as he is conscious, is set down for any other reason than that he believes it to be the truth. So he says; and, further, that, to the best of his knowledge, he speaks without reserve, and has neither more nor less to say. No man can write without being an apologist, just because no man can write without having convictions of some kind. He is an apologist, in the offensive sense, only when he bends the facts to fit his convictions. This Professor Denney does not do. Again and again he maintains his ground against the paring, nibbling criticism of men like Professor Schmiedel, and in particular against Professor Schmiedel himself. But he does so because he is able to give good reasons for doing it. Occasionally also he uses the concessions of such men with skilful effect, as when Professor Schmiedel admits that the speeches of Peter in the early chapters of Acts must have come from a primitive source; but he uses them legitimately and with restraint. The second part is the more difficult, and it occupies much the larger portion of the book. It deals with the question of the self-consciousness of Jesus. For the question to be answered is whether Jesus did actually, as we see Him in history, acknowledge and accredit the faith of the early Christians. And to answer that question Professor Denney has to survey the whole of the life of Christ upon earth.

Thus the volume is truly apologetic. For it meets two of the most serious attacks that are made upon Christianity in the present day; on the one side, the position that the Christ of the Church is independent of the Jesus of history, and possesses all the worth we care for, a position associated most of all with the name of Abbé Loisy; on the other side, the argument that the Jesus of history is all we need consider, and that He is simply human, an object of imitation, but not of adoration.

It is a book of very great weight, to which no review can do justice. The more sustained the attempt to do justice to it, the greater would be the injustice. For it is an argument from beginning to end, and no words can be spared or links dropped in exhibiting it. The reader must read the book. Here and there, however, sentences are thrown off which can be quoted, sentences which assume their gnomic form through the length of time that the writer has meditated

upon these problems. 'The characteristic of primitive Christianity is not the belief that Jesus *was* the Christ, but the belief that He *is* the Christ.'—'Jesus is demonstrated to be the Christ and is preached in that character, not merely or even mainly on the ground of what He had said and done on earth, but on the ground of His exaltation to God's right hand and His gift of the Holy Spirit.'—'The Apostles and their converts are not persons who share the faith of Jesus; they are persons who have Jesus as the object of their faith and who believe in God through Him.'—'In the Epistle to the Colossians Paul is not directly deifying Christ, he is Christianizing the universe.'—'The Fourth Gospel contains the word rather than the words of the Lord.'—'There is a unity in all these early Christian books which is powerful enough to absorb and subdue their differences, and that unity is to be found in a common religious relation to Christ, a common debt to Him, a common sense that everything in the relations of God and man must be and is determined by Him.'

## *AN EDITION DE LUXE.*

MEN OF THE COVENANT. By Alexander Smellie, M.A., D.D., with Portraits and Illustrations. (*Melrose.* Two Vols. 31s. 6d. net.)

In this new edition of his *Men of the Covenant* Dr. Smellie pays a graceful compliment to his publisher. 'And I am so deep in my Publisher's debt that I can discover no language that will properly express my obligation; it was he who conceived, and he who has carried out, the idea of this *Edition de Luxe*, in which you see on Japanese vellum the presentments of men and women *who wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.*'

The compliment is unusual and well deserved. After all that has been said in the pages of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES in praise of the godliness and patriotism and good writing found in the book called *Men of the Covenant*, what remains to be said except to appraise the work of the publisher? And that cannot be overpraised. In this *Edition de Luxe* there is nothing out of place, nothing that can possibly offend the most artistic sensitiveness or the severest Puritan conscience. The Men of the Covenant are figured as they have become known to us from contemporary portrait, untouched by modern fancy or favour; they are drawn just as they were, uncomely to look upon in some cases (though in others handsome as cavaliers), but all showing the strength that can do and endure. And besides the Men of the Covenant there are portraits of their persecutors, and there are pictures of the places where the persecutions were given and received—pictures of some of the 'dens and caves of the earth.'

The artists are Miss Pike and Mr. Scott Rankin. 'Readers,' says the author, 'will agree that the work of Miss Pike and Mr. Scott Rankin is beyond praise.' We agree.

## *THE PRACTICE OF CHRISTIANITY.*

THE ETHICS OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. By Dr. Theodor von Haering. Translated from the Second Edition by James S. Hill, B.D. (*Williams & Norgate.* 10s. 6d.)

The translator of Haering's Christian Ethics has made a statement which is sure to be challenged. He says: 'Books on ethics abound, but scarcely books on Christian ethics.' Yet it is true. It could have been a stronger statement than it is, and still have been true.

Now there is no doubt that Professor von Haering has written a book on Christian Ethics. But after he has written it, and after it has been translated into excellent English, there is room for a book on Christian Ethics to be written. Professor von Haering writes a book on Christian practice. But the first thing that we need set clearly before us is the revolution in the *ideas* of Ethics which Christ made. The difference which Christ made in matters of conduct has been recognized all along. It could not be hid. But why is it that the Christian conduct is so often pronounced impossible or quixotic? Because it is not seen that the new conduct is the inevitable expression of a new conception of the relation between man and man. Until the revolution in the conception of conduct is recognized, Christian Ethics will never be admitted to a right to the title of Ethics.

The best way to study the revolution in Ethics which Christ made is to study it in language. New ideas need new words, or old words with new meanings. Christianity occasionally used a new

word, or recovered a word that was in little use, or poured a new meaning into an ordinary everyday word. All this has to be studied. Then it will be understood that the Ethics of Christianity, and none else, deserves the name of Ethics.

Professor von Haering has not studied these ideas. He has taken the Ethics of Christianity at the practical stage, and without showing why, has shown that the practice of Christianity is different from all practice before it or after. He has shown this in great detail and with great ability. As a manual of the conduct of life for those who believe in Christ it could not easily be surpassed.

## Among the Books of the Month.

The fascination of the folk-tale! When Mr. Dudley Kidd with much perseverance gets at last to the back of the black man's mind, what a revelation of humanity he finds. His new book has the forbidding title of *The Bull of the Kraal* (A. & C. Black; 6s.). But it is most entertaining. Has he written it for children? The Kafirs are all children; and so are we when we get so near to nature.

Professor Driesch of Heidelberg has finished his Gifford Lectures in Aberdeen, and the second volume has been published—*The Science and Philosophy of the Organism* (A. & C. Black; vol. ii., 10s. 6d. net). Their delivery was a sensation. It was not always an agreeable sensation. For the hard-headed Aberdonian is not to be puzzled with a matter of metaphysics without writhing under it. But on the other hand, if the details were difficult to sort, it was possible to follow the general argument, and that argument was reassuring.

For Dr. Driesch is a monist of the type that Haeckel is not. A monist and a materialist! Dr. Driesch has passed beyond the very conceivability of it; and he will carry past its conceivability any one who reads him without prejudice.

His merit, however, lies in his superiority to the old controversies. He occupies another region. It is a higher, a more advanced region of thought. We can never go back to the question of matter or spirit, spirit or matter; not even to the antithesis science or philosophy, philosophy or science. All is one. And that one? 'All is of God that is and is to be, and God is good.' That is Whittier, but this severe eminent man of science and philosophy would say 'Amen' to Whittier.

We hope Dr. James Murray is on his track. We have not looked, but may ask if the Oxford Dictionary contains 'Engramma,' 'Entelechy,' 'Epiphenomenon,' 'Extensity'—all in E; or, the great word in the book, 'Givenness.' But when new discoveries are made we need new names to call them by.

As the study of English takes a more important place in schools and colleges, the necessity will be felt for an *Introduction to the Natural History of Language*. The volume is ready (Blackie; 10s. 6d. net). It has been written by Dr. T. G. Tucker, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne.

A book with such a title is surely more than a manual for the teaching of English. It is not forbiddingly more. It is the application of the science of philology to the English language. The Greek or Latin or other foreign words that appear are no stumbling-block to the English reader. No more knowledge of the classics is necessary than is supplied in every English classroom in the form of etymology.

Accordingly Professor Tucker has written a sufficiently full account of the English language. For he wastes no words, and his book runs to 465 pages. One might say that the first half of the book is introductory. And so it is, if the phrase 'English Language' is taken in a narrow sense. But that is because Professor Tucker's plan is to lay a strong foundation before he allows the pupil to entertain himself with the history of individual English words. But then, when the foundation is laid in comparative philology, how entertaining is the tracing of the vicissitudes of an English word like 'alms.'

Miss Emmeline M. Tanner, B.A., History Mistress at Sherborne School for Girls, has written a text-book of European History for 1494–1610, which has been published at the Clarendon Press (3s. 6d.). The title is *The Renaissance and the Reformation*. If it does not belong to a series it may not attract the notice it deserves. Let us therefore say emphatically that it is a book of the

rare class which combines pleasant reading with practical study.

*In the Days of the Councils*, a sketch of the Life and Times of Baldassare Cossa. By Eustace J. Kitts, I.C.S. (Constable; 10s. 6d. net). Who was Baldassare Cossa? He was Pope John XXIII. And few are any wiser. For Ranke's *History of the Popes* is not so popular now as it used to be, and no other book has quite taken its place, not even Creighton's *History of the Papacy*. We do not read great histories now. We read biographies. We must have even our history served up as biography, here a little and there a little. And so it may chance that we know nothing of Baldassare Cossa, or it may chance that we stumble upon Mr. Kitts's book and know all about him that is to be known.

For it is history after the approved biographical method, and it is the best that that method can do. The style is not so masterly as Ranke's or even Creighton's, nor (which is part of the style) is the outlook so uplifting. But Mr. Kitts has been a most diligent student of the time, and he is detached from all selfish interests in his writing. What he sees he sees clearly, and he writes, if not for immortality, at least for the present enjoyment of the lover of biographical history.

Mr. H. G. Wells is not a professional maker of paradoxes like Mr. G. K. Chesterton. His paradox is himself. In a moment of frolicsome confidence he and some others resolved that they would tell one another what their religious feelings were, and what were their ideas of right and wrong. Mr. Wells got a surprise. He was surprised at the interest of the subject, and the greatness of it, and most of all was he surprised at the religious and ethical muddle he found himself in. He wrote a book about it all, and called the book *First and Last Things* (Constable; 4s. 6d. net).

He recommends us to begin at the beginning of his book and go to the end. But it is very difficult to do that. Not on account of the metaphysics, as he fears, for the metaphysics is mild enough, but on account of the paradoxical amateurishness (he calls himself an amateur) of all the religion and all the ethics contained in the book. He speaks, for example, of secession. He seems to doubt if secession is ever justifiable. 'I count schism a graver sin than heresy.'

Well, it is not to be lightly spoken of, or lightly taken in hand. But Chalmers seceded. Luther seceded. St. Paul seceded. And if the story is not too ancient for the use of ethics, Abraham also, when 'he went out, not knowing whither he went.'

There are worse things than secession, Mr. Wells. In the course of history it has been the regularly recurring way in which God has enlarged the knowledge of Himself. And how can you say that it is worse than heresy, when the only heresy you know is 'not believing in the light'?

Messrs. Constable have found a ready market for their 'Religions' series, and so now they have entered on a companion series, 'Philosophies, Ancient and Modern.' The volumes already published are *Locke*, by Professor S. Alexander of Manchester; *Hobbes*, by Professor A. E. Taylor of St. Andrews; *Stoicism*, by Mr. St. George Stock; and *Early Greek Philosophy*, by Mr. A. W. Benn, M.A. (1s. net each).

For a typical Methodist preacher take the Rev. Dinsdale T. Young. In every book you find the simplicity of the gospel, its winsomeness also; direct speech (not a word is wasted), and that which distinguishes the Methodist of our day, to other men's surprise—a clear sense of the obligation which the preacher owes to scholarship. Mr. Young's latest volume of sermons is *The Travels of the Heart* (Culley; 3s. 6d.).

The Rev. Alexander Macrae, M.A., has written a spirited and patriotic short history of Scotland during the last two centuries (1707 to 1907). The title is *Scotland since the Union* (Dent). The last chapter is the most original. Its title is 'Religion.' The subject is rarely handled in this comprehensive way, and Mr. Macrae has had to work it out from many books and records. For it is not a chapter of ecclesiastical history but actually of Religion.

From Drummond's Tract Depôt in Stirling come once more the *British Messenger* (1s. 6d.), the *Gospel Trumpet* (1s.), and *Good News* (4d.), all for 1908. There come also this year *Idylls of the Poor* (1s. 6d.), and some small pamphlets, soundly evangelical and acceptable.

*God's Message through Modern Doubt* is a perfectly accurate description of the volume of sermons by the Rev. E. Aldom French which Messrs. Duckworth have published (2s. 6d. net). For Mr. French takes up topics that are on the tip of the tongue even of the churchgoer and boldly utters them, and then answers them. 'The Recklessness of Providence,' for example. That is to say God's carelessness (or apparent carelessness) in guarding His own best gifts. A promising fruit season is destroyed by a single night's bitter east wind. A successful missionary is stricken with malaria. Or again, 'the Irony of God.' Take the irony of the fact that the kingdom of good comes often by the *victory* of the kingdom of evil.

*Who is to be Master of the World?* This is the title of a new attempt that has been made to explain Nietzsche to Englishmen (Foulis; 2s. 6d. net). The attempt is made by Mr. Anthony M. Ludovici, who asked his friend Dr. Oscar Levy to write an introduction to the book. Dr. Levy consented, wrote the introduction in the form of a letter to the author, and it is here. And what is it? It is a repudiation of the whole book, its contents and its very conception. Why? Not because it is not well done, but because it should not have been attempted. The book is a very good attempt indeed to explain Nietzsche, the clearest if not the profoundest that we have yet seen. But who, asks Dr. Levy, has any right to explain the man whose whole merit lies in this, that he cannot be explained, that he himself detested the very thought of being explained? And then, worst of all, Mr. Ludovici has women in his lecture room. Women! And he will go and marry one of them. Dr. Levy holds up a reproachful finger: 'Remember that you too have to propagate a gospel, and not a race; and that even the propagation of the race, if it is to be worth while, can only take place after the propagation of the gospel.'

Intense interest is being taken at present throughout the Theological Seminaries of America, in what is called the formation of the New Testament—a more intelligible title for the subject which we used to know as Introduction. A lively book was written last year by Dr. George H. Ferris, which everybody is making ready to answer. But there will not come a better answer than that which has already been made by Professor Vedder of Crozer, under the title of *Our New Testament: How did we get it?* (Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland; $1 net).

Dr. Ferris set the example of independence. It is refreshing to find even so conscientious a scholar as Professor Vedder departing from the phraseology that was always cumbersome and had become a little stale, and speaking of a 'Collection' instead of a 'Canon,' the 'Disputed Books' instead of the 'Antilegomena,' and so on. But the discussion is refreshing throughout, and nowhere more than in the chapter on 'The Voice of Authority.' What is the result? The result is that there is no such thing as an external authoritative canon of Scripture for the Protestant; 'the true foundation of a Christian's faith is not a book, but a person.'

Of books on Palestine we can never say, Hold! enough! For two reasons. First, the poorest observer will always find something new to say, so manifold is the interest of that least of all lands. Second, no amount or variety of fact or of illustration will exhaust its wonder. Perhaps the greatest of its wonders is its habit of disappointing. One would almost say that it disappoints deliberately, just as one might say the sacred spots were deliberately lost before pilgrimages could begin to be made to them. But then it is the disappointment which afterwards yields much fruit.

Dr. Henry van Dyke has written another book. *Out-of-doors in the Holy Land* is its title (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s. net). It is a tourist's impressions enriched from a literary theologian's well-stored memory. And the publishers have added the further enrichment of full-page colour illustrations.

The late Mr. Kirkman Gray wrote one book and died. It was more a promise than a performance. Why he was not spared to fulfil the promise we cannot tell. He had gathered the materials, laid the plans, and partly written the large book that was intended to be its fulfilment, when quite suddenly he was taken away. Then Miss B. L. Hutchins, with the aid of his wife, his brother (Dr. G. Buchanan Gray), and Mr. Will Reason, went to work on the unfinished book and prepared it for the press. It is the best posthumous and unfinished book we have seen.

The subject on which Mr. Kirkman Gray had begun to be recognized as an authority was the

economic progress of the poor. On the promise of his first book he was chosen to write the article on AGITATION for the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The title of this book, however, is *Philanthropy and the State* (King; 7s. 6d. net). It is too narrow. But it does express the special and most valuable contribution which the book makes to economics. Mr. Gray had studied the efforts of philanthropy in London, and had come to the conclusion that they were a failure. That judgment he modified afterwards; but throughout the book he shows the necessity of legislation and State administration to supplement and direct, though not to replace, the private philanthropist's work.

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There is not a word of preface to *Youth and Life* (Law; 2s. 6d. net) to explain the origin of this series of 'Talks to Young People.' The title-page is filled with names, mostly well-known names, some highly distinguished; and then we plunge into the 'Talks' with 'The Culture of Manliness,' by the Rev. J. G. Stevenson; and if we go to the end we have read seven-and-twenty of them, ending with 'The Joy of Consecration,' by the Rev. Charles Brown.

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Through Mr. Law is published also the record of *A Winter in South Africa*, by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A. (2s. 6d. net).

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Messrs. Longmans have published a sixpenny edition of John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*, well printed. There are now cheap editions of all John Stuart Mill's works except the *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, which still costs 16s. But the only other that has attained to the glory of sixpence is *The Subjection of Women*.

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The American Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges (its own title is *The Bible for Home and School*) is published in England by Messrs. Macmillan. The new volume is *Hebrews* (2s. 6d.), by Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed of Chicago.

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Transfiguration is a great word. The Rev. E. W. Moore, M.A., Incumbent of Emmanuel Church, Wimbledon, has written a volume all on Transfiguration, under the title of *Life Transfigured* (Marshall Brothers; 2s. 6d. net). And it is not on the Transfiguration of our Lord, but on the Transfiguration of His disciples. He begins with the Pattern, it is true; but after a few pages he passes to the Transfiguration of the Sinner; and then the book deals with the Necessity of that, its Promise, its Marks, and its Conditions. And it is not exactly equivalent to a treatise on Sanctification, though perhaps it may fairly be taken as a sign that the old theological words are not so useful at present for the preacher as other words are.

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We have given Dr. Garvie's Westminster Commentaries a hearty welcome. Let us receive the new volume more heartily than its forerunners. It is *St. Mark*, by Professor S. W. Green of Regent's Park College (Melrose; 2s. net). What is it that makes commentaries on St. Mark better than all other commentaries?

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From all quarters of the globe comes evidence of the place that the study of Religion now has in the interests of those who are most anxious for the progress of the Kingdom. The latest is a thick volume on *Peru: its Story, People, and Religion*, written by Miss Geraldine Guinness, illustrated by Dr. H. Grattan Guinness, and published by Messrs. Morgan & Scott (7s. 6d.).

It is, we say, a stout volume, part of its portliness being due to the plate paper on which the illustrations are printed, part to the amount of matter at this fortunate young author's disposal.

Dr. Alexander Macalister, who introduces the book, says it is astonishing how neglected Peru has been, not merely by the British missionary societies, but also by the American and all other. The ground is fresh and very rich.

Well, the greater the neglect the more the joy of the discoverer. In this book there are many illustrations which are new, and more than that there is a whole new country to add to the geography of the gospel. Miss Guinness shows the way. She inherits the double gift of the missionary and the author.

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*The Doctrine of the Last Things, Jewish and Christian* (Murray; 3s. 6d. net), is the subject of all others upon which Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley is fit to write. And few are fitter. It is quite a popular book that he has written this time, not attempting to untie knots that cannot be untied,

and reducing references to the absolutely essential. It is a book for the beginner in this most difficult of all subjects of theological study. It is an introduction. It does not carry us all the way. But it is reliable.

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Mr. Murray has also published *Select Passages from the Theological Writings of Benjamin Jowett*, edited by the late Professor Lewis Campbell (1s. net). Some of the passages have not been published before.

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The *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* book is published by Messrs. Newnes (5s. net). It contains photographs, hung detachably, of the great pictures, fifty-seven in all. The photographs are the best that modern photographic art can produce. And the volume is in accordance—also the best that modern publishing art can produce. The only writing in it is a Biographical Study of thirty pages, made by Mr. Ernest Radford, and a Table of Dates.

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Messrs. Nisbet have published their three annuals. One is *Nisbet's Church Directory and Almanack* (2s. net); one is *The Church Pulpit Year Book* (2s. net); and one is *The Full Desk Calendar* (1s. net). Each of them is the best of its kind.

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Wonderful value for the money is Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier's 'Living Thoughts' Series (6d. net). Each volume is chosen for its religious and literary worth, and each is a work of twentieth century art in book production. The new volume is *The Great Career*, by the Rev. J. Ernest Rattenbury.

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At the office of the *Open Court* in Chicago Dr. Paul Carus, the indefatigable and the brave, has published five volumes together. Five volumes of most unmistakably religious interest, and each vying with the other in independence. This is the first article in the creed of Dr. Carus—independence. Tradition is nothing, and the idea which so irresistibly sent Newman into the Roman Church, the idea that 'the whole world' cannot be wrong, is pure heresy to Dr. Paul Carus and to those who write for him. The 'whole world' is more likely to be wrong than not. The 'whole world' almost always has been wrong. But, right or wrong, the 'whole world' is nothing to Dr. Carus. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.

These are the titles of the volumes and their authors—*God*, by Paul Carus (4s. 6d. net); *Jesus and Modern Religion*, by Edwin A. Rumball (3s. 6d. net); *What we know about Jesus*, by Charles F. Dole, D.D. (3s. 6d. net); *The Life and Ministry of Jesus*, by Rudolph Otto, translated by H. J. Whitby, D.D. (2s. 6d. net); *Paralipomena*, by Bernhard Pick, D.D. (3s. 6d. net). Now take them in the reverse order.

Dr. Pick gives a translation of all the remains of gospels and sayings of Christ which have been discovered in our day. And so here we have for the first time in one volume the Gospel, the Preaching, and the Apocalypse of Peter.

Otto's *Life and Ministry* we already know. It is a sketch, but it is drawn with firmness and without fear.

Dr. Dole asks the most urgent question of the day. But he has no cut and dried answer. Let every man construct for himself a history of Jesus out of the few fragments of history which a critical reading of the Gospels leaves us.

Again Jesus. But not the Jesus we knew before or ever heard of. Professor Schmiedel's Jesus comes near. But Mr. Rumball is independent even of Professor Schmiedel. He does one thing well. He shows how monstrous a creation is the 'neo-Hegelian' Jesus, the Jesus who is nothing historically and everything ideally.

Last of all and best, Dr. Paul Carus himself on *God*. The book is well worth reading even under such a title.

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The new volume of the International Scientific Series is *Human Speech* (Kegan Paul; 5s.). The author is Mr. N. C. Macnamara, F.R.C.S.

Mr. Macnamara begins at the beginning. He begins with a discussion of what life is. He passes to the structure of protoplasm, the effect of environment on living matter, and he has reached his seventh chapter and hundred and fifteenth page before he touches the vocal apparatus in man and woman.

Thus the book is an introduction to the study of biology, with Human Speech as its chief illustration.

But when the illustration is reached it is comprehended as it would never have been if it

had formed the sole topic of the book. Mr. Macnamara has done his work deliberately after this plan, and he has done it most successfully. His style is precise and not pedantic. The illustrations bring the subject within the comprehension of the least scientifically educated.

John Davidson (he would not thank us for a preliminary Mr.) is a poet. He is a poet in the days when poetry is as precious as the word of God was in the days of young Samuel. He is also a better Christian than he thinks. And you will read his new book, *The Testament of John Davidson* (Grant Richards; 3s. 6d. net), with relish.

Ten sturdy evangelicals have conspired to write a book on *The Church of Christ* (Scott; 2s. 6d. net). One of the ten is the Dean of Canterbury, who introduces the other nine. Each of the nine has his plot of ground allotted to him, and he has skill to cultivate it to advantage. After reading Dr. Orr one wonders what reply a High Churchman can possibly make. After reading Mr. Webb-Peploe one is content without a reply. For the proof of the true Church is the men it produces.

'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,' said Keats, the poet, and the professional architect wholly agrees with him. Mr. Felix Clay, B.A., architect, has written a volume on *The Origin of the Sense of Beauty* (Smith, Elder, & Co.; 6s. net). It is quite in harmony with the simplicity of present-day art that he should speak of Beauty, not of Æsthetics. It is also in harmony with his purpose. For his purpose is to enable the ordinary lover of a picture to understand his own feelings and in understanding to correct and develop them. He is a practical architect. He is also a reader of books. His list of literature is such a selection as will really guide the student to fuller knowledge.

*Alcuin of York* was a considerable personality in his day. He was mixed up with most of its problems and made his own contribution to most of its perplexities. It cannot be said, however, that he made any permanent contribution to Religion or Ethics. He was an ecclesiastical rather than a religious leader. Probably his immersion in the details of administration would have made any substantial contribution to thought impossible, even if his mind had been more fertile of ideas than it was. And last of all, his style of writing was simply impossible. The Bishop of Bristol's Monograph (S.P.C.K.; 5s.) certainly sets down naught in malice, yet it cannot be said to make out a case for absolute greatness. A Church leader, a man of much personal goodness, and an acceptable comforter in sorrow, Alcuin of York will not be forgotten.

Dr. S. H. Mellone has in his *Laws of Life* (S.S.A.; 1s. net) laid down some rules of conduct in their simplest and most intelligible form for those who stand at the very threshold of it.

Messrs. Washbourne have issued a second edition of *The Catechism in Examples* of the Rev. D. Chisholm, Priest of the Diocese of Aberdeen. At least the first two volumes are issued, and the rest will follow. The method is one which has often been attempted with the teaching of catechisms, Protestant as well as Roman, but no one ever attempted it on such a scale. Every doctrine is stated, and then it is illustrated by incidents taken from the lives of the saints. But there is no way like it of teaching a catechism. And it teaches much besides the catechism. The two volumes published are (1) *Faith and the Creed*, (2) *Hope and Prayer* (3s. 6d. net each).

One of the Nobel prizes this year has gone to Jena. It has been awarded to Rudolf Eucken, Professor of Philosophy there. A year or two ago Dr. Boyce Gibson endeavoured to make known to Englishmen this original and suggestive German thinker. That effort is now ably supported by the translation of *The Life of the Spirit*, which has been issued by Messrs. Williams & Norgate in their Crown Series (5s.).

The Reverend Frank T. Lee has been through the Holy Land, noticing the lie of the hills and valleys and the customs of the inhabitants, and he has written *Sidelights on the Bible* (John C. Winston Co.). The old edition of Thomson's *Land and the Book* has it all, but who has the old edition of the *Land and the Book* now? And the three-volume edition is unworkable. So this little book will be appreciated.

# The Symbolism of the Parables.

By the Rev. R. M. Lithgow, Lisbon.

Our studies in the synoptical records of Christ's parabolic doctrine have shown us that Matthew's is the historical and logical presentation of our Lord's teaching in this form, and that a full parallel to the series of parables here related is to be found in those recorded, without regard to their natural order, by Luke, while the few parables reported by Mark fit into and confirm the Matthean sequence. We have further seen that the parabolic doctrine, as set forth in Matthew's Gospel, is in keeping alike with the normal spiritual development in man, and with the course of our Lord's doctrine generally as this is given us in the first Gospel.

Another confirmatory aspect of that sequence of the parables which Matthew gives, with the developing doctrine which it embodies, may be found in the symbolism of the parables here successively set forth. Our attention has already been drawn in this direction, by the position which we found the Parable of the Net to occupy in the thirteenth chapter of Matthew's Gospel. Its appearance at the close of the opening series of parables there recorded, instead of in its more appropriate conjunction with the first two, we could best account for in view of the gradually ascending scale of natural figures made use of in the group of parables to which it belongs.

A very distinct encouragement to find some help in this quarter is given in the fact, that the three parables which alone appear alike in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and that in the same sequence in each, are characterized by this same gradation of their symbols. The first of these is that of the Sower, the essential point in the teachings of which is represented by a variety of soils. The second is that of the Mustard Seed, with its emblem drawn from the vegetable kingdom. The third is that of the Husbandmen, whose human qualities in this case give the point to its teachings.

But this reference suggests the need there is, as an essential preliminary to our present study, to find what one may call the common denominator in our Lord's parabolic teachings. It is quite clear that without this, we can steer no steady course, nor arrive at any illumining conclusion on the subject we are now considering. If emblems which obviously stand for such varied elements in Christ's doctrine, as do the Sower, the Tares, and the Net, are to form the material for our study, and to be put in the same category, then we shall have a most inconsequent task to perform, without any hope whatever of a helpful result. We cannot, however, have given any attention to that development in the parabolic teaching, which Matthew's sequence of the parables presents, without feeling that this preliminary problem is by no means difficult to solve. It is clearly the soul, or man's spiritual nature, the possible developments and final issues of which are set before us here. And hence it is the several symbols by which this is represented that we must now keep in view.

One might say that this matter of the common denominator in the teachings of our Lord's parables is a very mariner's compass for the voyage upon which we are now embarked. One might indeed say even more, for in view of the strange confusion which the lack of it has caused, not only in the exposition, but in the very nomenclature of Christ's parables, one may be pardoned for thinking of it as the very orb of day. Under its light and guidance, our as yet obscure and dubious study becomes, like the dawn-illumined world, at once interesting, suggestive, and instructive.

Of all the Matthean parables, it is in the first alone that we find this human soul symbolically represented in terms drawn from the realm of inert matter. This is done in the several figures of the rocky, trodden, weedy, and tilled soils. Only, too, in Luke's parallel Parable of the Lost Coin, have we another instance of a purely material emblem being employed for this purpose. These soils may have an owner, and that lost coin has had one, and in these implications lies the hopeful side of the two initial pictures. The other two Matthean parables, dealing with the great distinction, are both drawn, as regards their figures, from inanimate nature, these presenting us with the harvests of the land, and of the sea,

respectively in the Wheat and Tares, and in the Caught Fish, edible and unsound. The fish are utilized, not in their live and active, but in their dead and marketable, state. And so, too, the grain, whether we regard it as seed or crop, figures here passively, and in regard to its human value as worth the sowing, and wholesome for food. While these first three emblems alike are all of inanimate objects, their ascending gradation is marked by their being taken severally from the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal kingdoms.

We see something which looks like Matthew's use of our compass, if, because of its symbol the Fish being of a higher order than Mustard and Leaven, he gave those parables precedence of this one of the Net, and so removed it from its logical place. But we cannot credit him with much consistency or a very full intelligence in this matter, any more than we can in the case of some of his Old Testament quotations, in so far as concerns the parables of the Treasure and the Pearl. For these terms, which seem to regulate their place, in Matthew's record, do not denote the main subject of the parables. Our criticism here is, of course, conditional on the accuracy of our theory of the unifying parabolic factor.

The growth group of parables, to which Mark as well as Matthew makes contribution, and the two Matthean parables of which Luke also reports, draws all its emblems from the vegetable kingdom. It was in their passive aspect, and as objects of use and possession, that the natural symbols of the preceding group were set before us. But it is in their vital and more active aspect, that objects from the realm of nature are utilized to convey instruction in the group which deals with growth. Here, in the secretly Growing Corn, in the expansive outcome of the Mustard Seed, and in the wonderfully pervasive Leaven, it is the developing life of the plant world that is turned to account, for the setting forth of spiritual truth. The growth of the individual soul, of the Church of God, and of the Christian spirit are most suitably illustrated in the ripening, the enlarging, and the disseminating processes, identified with the vital development of the Corn, the Mustard, and the Leaven. But with these, the contributions made by the vegetable kingdom to the symbolism of the Matthean parables are brought to an end. This second group of parables is then, no less than the first, marked by the special type of its emblems, while showing a distinct advance also in the character of these symbols.

Matthew's next group of parables presents us with the first set of human figures to be found in the parables he records. These are a Treasure Finder, a Pearl Merchant, and an Upper Servant, who occupies at once the position of a forgiven debtor, and an unforgiving creditor. While the former two are gainers, respectively through chance discovery, and prudent trading, the last man figures alike as a gainer and a loser. The mark common to all is that they gain, severally a hidden treasure, a costly pearl, and the remission of an enormous debt. There is thus a distinct note of resemblance between all three, in keeping with the reference of all these parables to that blessing of grace, not only symbolized, but represented, in the last and expository parable of the group. The freedom of sovereign grace is well portrayed in that humanly uncontrollable aspect of fortune, or rather divine providence in life, which is made to dismiss or subordinate the thought of merit from the conduct of the parties brought before us here.

But if lacking here, the thought of duty and desert is a leading note in the parabolic figures of the succeeding group. These personifying labourers, sons, and husbandmen or tenants, have as their common feature that of men figuring in a dutiful relationship. From the engaged labourers, service is due in view of the pay they look for; from sons under the parental roof, the ready obedience of natural affection; and from the profitably occupied tenants, a just rent for the land on which, and by the fruits of which, they live. The whole scope of the divine claims on man is admirably expressed in the human symbolism of these parables.

There is an interesting and very suggestive character common to all the human figures in the concluding group of the parables recorded by Matthew. It is that of a complimentary relationship. The parties here figure as wedding guests, as bridesmaids, and as the trusted and honoured servants and agents of a great lord. It is not the call of duty, but of friendship, of intimacy, and of a confiding esteem, that has conferred upon them the positions they occupy, with the responsibilities these posts entail. While, too, the relationships and duties here depicted are natural enough, they are none of them such as come to

men by birth, or by mere engagement in the professional or commercial pursuits of life. They are all indicative of favour, or affection, at the hands of an exalted, noble, or loving friend. And just because of this, they are most fittingly employed to set forth the privileges and momentous responsibilities implied in man's acceptance of the divine grace.

Our survey of the symbolism of the Matthean parables has shown us that an ascending gradation of their figures marks their sequence in this Gospel. While the emblems of the earliest parables are furnished by inanimate objects, the symbolism of the last is supplied by individuals enjoying the pleasures, the honours, and the substantial rewards of life. But no less notable than this upward progression, are the marked distinctions characterizing the several groups, into which the development of the parabolic doctrine naturally divides them. Thus we have a group with emblems drawn from inanimate objects, dealing with the good and bad; a second about growth, illustrated from the vegetable kingdom; a third about grace, with emblems drawn from the sphere of human fortune; a fourth about the divine claims, and a fifth about the responsibilities of grace, illustrated respectively by the dutiful and complimentary relationships of life.

In order the more clearly to have these features of Matthew's parabolic record brought before us, we have reserved the consideration of the Lucan parables, but must now deal with them. In doing so, we shall follow that parallel with the Matthean sequence, which we have found it possible to compose from the parables which Luke reports. As this parallel, however, entails quite another arrangement of these parables than that of their order in Luke's Gospel, we can scarcely expect such distinct features here, as our study of the more historic Gospel has revealed. It will indeed be sufficiently satisfactory, if we find enough to confirm our parallel of these parables, with the logical arrangement, and grouping of those recorded in Matthew's Gospel.

The Lost Coin is the one parable in Luke's record in which the human soul is symbolized by a material object, and it is in these 'lost and found' parables that we find the equivalent of Matthew's initial group. The Parable of the Sower, also recorded by Luke, is the first alike in Mark and Matthew. But its parallel, this Parable of the Lost Coin, besides occurring well on in Luke's Gospel, an unimportant matter, is immediately preceded there by that of the Lost Sheep. The reference of the three 'lost and found' parables to the several persons of the Trinity is not without its interest and expository value. And it may be, that a desire to give the Son's work its natural place, before that of the Holy Spirit, and the Heavenly Father, can account for the precedence given here to the living sheep over the inanimate coin, and the consequent departure of Luke from Matthew's sequence in the matter of these respective types of symbols. It is from the animal world that the second emblem in these parables is drawn, but in the third parable, that of the Prodigal Son, we find Christ's first figure taken from human life in the logical order of His parables. Luke's record thus attains to this stage of illustration earlier than either those of Matthew or Mark, but gives us herein the most hopeful element introduced by our Lord into His early teachings regarding man's natural state.

There is what answers to that passive aspect, in which the various emblems of Matthew's initial group of parables are looked at, in the fact that the lost coin, sheep, and son figure in these Lucan parables as all deprived of what has given them their natural value. The coin has lost its currency, the sheep its needful care, and the prodigal son his place in the family and in his father's house.

Luke's three parables on prayer, the means of spiritual growth, forming the natural parallel to Matthew's group on that subject, introduce us to as many distressed members of the human race. There is the Midnight Borrower, in want of bread for a visitor; the Importunate Widow, whose unprotected state exposes her to the neglect and despite of an unjust judge; and the Penitent Publican, whose earnest prayer for mercy presents such a striking contrast to the smug complacency of the self-righteous Pharisee. While representatives of humanity, these characters all figure in undesirable rôles, and remind us of life's sad and unfortunate side. If not, like the emblems of the last group, themselves lost, they each have something lacking which they need and wish to get. We note this, then, as a common feature in the symbolism of these three parables, and one which gives them a suitable place immediately before the Matthean group of parabolic finders.

These finders are recipients of grace, and Luke's parallel parables here deal with the manifestations of its possession, and of its lack. The Good Samaritan, and Two Debtors reveal more or less of grace in active operation, while Dives stands for the typically ungracious man. The relationship, in which the several personages of these parables stand to those they meet with, is distinctly a casual one, creating no more immediate duties than those of humanity and natural kindness. In this the figures here have their resemblance to those of Matthew's third group. There are debtors here, as there was one there, and there are those whom fortune favours and gives chances to, just as it did in the cases of the treasure finder and pearl merchant.

The distinctly dutiful relationship of Matthew's next group is also that of the equivalent parables of Luke's Gospel. In the Farm Servant, and in the royal servants set to trade with their master's Pounds, we have those whose duties are most obvious. The Barren Fig-tree, too, has in its own fashion its duties, in the way of bearing the fruit for which it is kept and attended to, and although alone among the imagery of the later parables, in being drawn from a lower realm than the human one, has had more vogue and currency, as depicting the useless man's cumbering of the ground, than the more intelligent and exalted Tenants of its Matthean parallel.

Just as with this fourth group, so with the fifth and last, a distinct feature, that of complimentary relationship, is common to the figures of Luke's and Matthew's parables. We have here, again, the guests bidden to a Great Supper, although all do not accept the gracious invitation; we have, too, a Steward so trusted that he is enabled to utilize his master's wealth for the benefit of his own personal interests; and a Rich Fool, a favourite of fortune at any rate, if he be not one of wisdom's children. In all these cases, we have those so highly trusted and honoured, as to make it apparent, how fully the making or marring of their eternal fortunes is in their own hands. The divine goodness and grace at least have dealt benignly and most bountifully with them.

In the case of these parables from Luke's Gospel, affording as they do so fair a parallel to the Matthean sequence, we find enough of the same advancing symbolism to encourage that view of them which we have taken, and this in no respect more markedly than in those features distinguishing the several groups into which the developing doctrine here set forth most naturally divides them.

That development, as we have now traced it through the two advancing sets of symbolism presented in the Lucan and Matthean records, has brought us from the contemplation of its initial pictures of man's soul, as abandoned soil, and a lost coin, to see this same immortal spirit represented by figures proclaiming it as the honoured associate and trusted vicegerent of the Deity. Nor could the course of this development, alike on its symbolical and spiritual sides, be at once more natural, reasonable, significant, and inspiring. Nature's progressive advance through the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms up to man as its head, is here beautifully paralleled in that progress, which, starting from the rudimentary morality involved in the conscious distinction between right and wrong, passes through the apprehensive longings of spiritual growth, appreciative reception of grace, and consequent recognition of Godward duty, to the supreme responsibilities and glorious rewards of the divine fellowship and service.

# The Pilgrim's Progress.

By the Rev. John Kelman, M.A., D.D., Edinburgh.

## The Argument.

The passage which follows is not without high value, and there are depths of tenderness and pathos in it. But there is also a state of nerves in which the temper of both men is upon edge, and the tone of the passage is less pleasant than is usual in the story. One wonders what Bunyan's reason may have been for introducing so apparently unnecessary and disagreeable an element, which deals with petty misunderstandings between great spirits. The answer must be that this daring

realist in homespun knows that that is the sort of thing that happens, and that many men find it more difficult to bear themselves like Christian gentlemen among little things than among great.

The trouble rises from a retort of Christian's, intended for a jest, but spoken in irritation. Hopeful's wonder that Little-faith did not sell or pawn his jewels called forth the announcement that Hopeful was talking like a chicken with its head in the shell. It was not a very brilliant piece of humour; but humour was not Christian's forte. He jokes clumsily, and sensitive people should keep out of the way of elephantine sport, whose weight is apt to impress them more than its brilliance. Those who incline to such facetiousness would do well to remember that its cost in friendship is often greater than its reward in amusement, and that afterwards it is apt to appear unmannerly.

Bunyan appears to be rather on the side of Christian in this episode, for his side-note in the original edition is 'Christian snubbeth his fellow for unadvised speaking.' Everybody knows how provoking a sensible man finds the fatuous remarks of one who has nothing to say and yet insists on speaking. Christian was one of those clever and serious men who 'cannot bear idiots,' and Hopeful's talk about selling the jewels struck him as mere stupidity—the sort of thing a man says without thinking of the meaning of his words.

Yet there is a deeper reason for the tartness than appears in that explanation. The jewels stand for all that a man has of worth and hope for eternity, and to sell them is to seal his doom for ever. It is one thing to be a coward and a weakling, but it is another thing to hold lightly the gift of eternal life. That it should have occurred to Hopeful even as a possibility that Little-faith should have sold his jewels,—that it seemed a quite natural thing for a man in his circumstances to do,—offended Christian's sense of proportion in spiritual things, and put a touch of temper into his reply. In this light the incident shows a particularly deep insight into character in the author.

Yet in spite of this, Hopeful's words are not so stupid as they seem. There are two arguments involved in Christian's impatient expostulation:—

1. *Nobody would value the jewels enough to buy them.* Men of the world esteem lightly the Christian's treasures, as the cock in the fable who found a diamond and wished it were a grain of corn. But, as a matter of fact, though such men do not delight in the Christian's treasures, they do delight in seeing the Christian sell them. Little as they covet such spiritual wealth, it irritates them to see another man endowed with it; and his parting with it, by putting him on a level with themselves, appears to justify their poverty.

2. *The appalling loss which such parting with the jewels must involve, in excluding the seller from his eternal inheritance, is so great that no man would knowingly incur it.* But facts are again on the side of Hopeful. Spiritual suicide is not impossible; it is not even of rare occurrence. Had Bunyan thought of Spira he would have remembered a case in point. In times of dejection men often cast away all that is best in character and plunge recklessly into sin.

Thus it was not wholly Hopeful's fault that this conversation had become somewhat acrimonious. As Offor remarks, Hopeful is not the first to be 'almost angry' in an argument about the perseverance of the saints. And if it be asked why both of the men are in so bad a mood, Christian tart and Hopeful inclined to anger, we have only to recall familiar instances in our own experience, of nerves too highly strung and unexpected petty worries that easily rasp them, after a season of specially exalted religious communion. Christian ends the dangerous incident without apology, and Hopeful is big enough to accept his fellow's terms and 'pass that by,' without demanding the last word. So they pass from personalities to the abstract question in dispute. Yet Christian's subsequent exposition still shows a tendency to become personal, which a less gracious spirit than that of his friend might not unjustifiably have resented.

## Esau.

The conversation passes on to that perennially interesting study, the character of Esau in contrast with that of the godly but imperfect man of faith. The usual contrast is between Esau and Jacob: here it is between Esau and Little-faith. The two types, thus standing over against Esau, have much in common. Both are comparatively dull and uninteresting, and each has moral peculiarities which compare unfavourably with the dashing figure of the huntsman, whose very sins have a

primitive picturesqueness about them which throws into all the meaner light the craftiness of Jacob and the pusillanimity of Little-faith. The late Professor A. B. Davidson had a very characteristic saying that 'There are some modern critics who prefer Esau to Jacob, and Saul to David, and Judas Iscariot to the Apostle John.' Possibly he may have referred to such a writer as Charles Kingsley, whose fellow-feeling for the sportsman led him to shield Esau from the general attack. Such men of letters as De Quincey and Ruskin, as well as many others, might be quoted as representatives of the same general tendency and point of view. Large-hearted and broad-minded humanists are apt to find the champions of a high spirituality too severe in their judgments of the natural man. There is much to be said on that side, and it is certainly wise to cultivate a habit rather of lenient than of severe judgments.

Yet Christian cannot be expected to make any such allowances. To him Esau is a wholly despicable character, a *caitiff*, and there is no more to be said. For Christian's mind is not a subtle one, nor, where the one grand issue is concerned, can he see any of the minor issues. For him the dividing line of life runs clear and unmistakable, the line between nature and grace, between the converted man and the unconverted. The lionizing of the natural man is but delusive trifling to him, whose eyes can never for a moment stray from that sharp and infinitely significant distinction. And if he had been taxed with any unfairness to the more interesting and brilliant aspects of the character of the natural man, he would have answered that in the end it is reality and depth that tell. For him, he is interested in the root of the matter, and all surface and showy things may well be left to take care of themselves.

### Hopeful's Judgment of Little-faith.

Hopeful is hard on Little-faith. He himself is not a character of gigantic strength, but he has the imaginative delight in strength which is often found in the weak, and which sometimes keeps them from compassion. His very freshness and sunny geniality have their defects. His nature is a simple one, and his experience has been simple. In some respects he is but too like Little-faith, though the two are so opposite in others. Neither of them knows the world well, nor is deeply versed in the varieties of character and experience which it presents. They are a pair of children, and Hopeful's judgment has all the unwitting harshness of a child's. For him, Little-faith's plight presents small difficulty. Had he been there he would have fought the three, who were evidently cowards, and of no account. It was this air of superiority to a good man who had been sorely pressed and had failed, that Christian found provoking. Perhaps John Bunyan, writing this passage, may have had in his mind some reminiscence of a great passage from his beloved volume, Luther upon Galatians (vi. 1), where he had read these sentences—'The kingdom whereunto ye are called is a kingdom not of terror or heaviness, but of boldness, joy, and gladness.' Yet, 'Paul, therefore, addeth this earnest admonition that the pastors should not be vigorous and unmerciful towards the offenders, or measure their own holiness by other men's sins.'

### Christian's Judgment of Little-faith.

This is a rare and classical passage. The native chivalry of Christian rises in arms at once against anything that seems to be unfair or excessive censure even of a very sorry pilgrim. He remembers how unpopular such a type of character is, and how lonely his battles are therefore sure to be. No one came to this lonely and weak man's help, neither Great-grace nor any other of the King's champions, and it touches Christian's heart to think of him fighting alone, with neither aid nor sympathy. So he at once takes his part and does this vigorously all along. It is a most tender and sympathetic plea for the 'weak brother.' It must be confessed that such a plea is needed, for the weak brother is a very provoking person. Stevenson tells us that he is 'generally the most worthless of mankind,' and those who have wearied their souls in futile attempts to help him in spite of himself are tempted to acquiesce in the sweeping censure. But this man was after all 'only weak, not bad,' and in all Christian's defence we perceive a man whose pity is founded on a serious view and a serious experience of human life. He has felt and has not forgotten the supreme difficulty of being a strong and worthy character. So long as a man is trying for that, and going forward, in however uncouth or despicable a fashion, Christian will deal gently with him.

He never quite admits his rudeness to Hopeful, but he has not forgotten his friend's reminder, and here and there one can perceive him finding it a

little difficult to be courteous, and yet trying to keep his speech in check. It was hardly becoming in one who had recently lived through the experiences of Doubting Castle and its grounds to condemn a weak brother so uncompromisingly as Hopeful did, and an obvious retort was open to Christian. But he suppresses that, and passes on to more worthy lines of speech.

His plea for the weak brother is long and somewhat discursive, repeating some of its arguments as is the way of a man in an hour of expansive talk. But the entire discourse moves between two points well worth noting and remembering. These are (1) his sense of danger; (2) his allowance for the limitations of the weak one.

1. *His sense of danger.* He knows the terrible power of these assailants. It is all very well, from the point of view of a distant onlooker, to say how the battle might have been better fought. It is quite true that Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt were cowards after all is said. But yet they are hard to fight and conquer for all that. It is cheap to underrate another man's conflict, as many passages from Rudyard Kipling's songs and stories of soldiers remind us. It is a different thing to stand up face to face with even such despicable enemies and to play the man.

Besides, these enemies are but 'journeymen thieves,' and all the powers of hell are at their whistle. To John Bunyan, as to Martin Luther, the devil is alive and personal with a vengeance, and 'he is never out of hearing.' We would refer again to Professor Masson's well-known essay on *The Three Devils*—an essay which every reader of the *Pilgrim's Progress* should study. This personal agency and power of Satan and his hosts was a thought that haunted Bunyan, and gave their significance for him to all departments of experience. And certainly, whether one is prepared to accept John Bunyan's demonology or not, the fact which these recurring words express is but too familiar to us all. In times when mistrust and the sense of guilt have got at the spirit, a whole host of temptations usually come to back them, and whatever the explanation be, the fact is terrible enough.

What gives point and earnestness to Christian's speech is the fact that he himself has had to fight these enemies. The reference is probably to the Valley of the Shadow of Death, which Christian is not likely soon to forget, and to the previous fight with Apollyon. His armour had all been needed to save his life that day—what wonder if he pities the plight of this unarmed pilgrim? His armour had been necessary, yet such armour is a challenge to the enemy; and he cannot but feel an additional compassion for this simple and quiet traveller, challenging nobody, and only desiring to lead a gentle life, yet so cruelly and gratuitously assaulted. 'He laughs at scars who never felt a wound,' and young and callow Christians are often more severe as judges than those who are, in Patrick Walker's covenanting language, 'Exercised, painful, and disciplined believers.' In the famous passage about 'such footmen as thou and I are,' which follows the description of Job's horse, Bunyan has said the last word that the Christian heart needs to hear upon this subject. He himself could speak in this line from experience. He had been a soldier in the Civil War, and he had a soldier's fear of battle. If we want to get at the truth of actual war, it is not to the imagination of poets or of arm-chair critics that we go. For the full horror of battle, we turn to such a book as Lord Roberts' *Forty Years in India.* And for the true estimate and account of spiritual conflict also, we may well turn to Bunyan as to one who knows. None of all God's wise men has made a more systematic or constant habit of turning experience into conviction, and gathering insight into the things of God, and compassion for his fellowmen, from his own conflicts with the devil.

A further point which emphasizes the sense of danger, is the remarkable passage about Great-grace, and the difficulty which even he had found in this encounter. We had taken it for granted, from the fact that the thieves fled upon the mere rumour of him, that this must be one of those unconquered men—heroes that had never known defeat, or even been compelled to take their fighting seriously. One of our great Scottish stories is that of him who, carrying a famous heart for burial in Palestine, by way of Spain, was passing through Seville. A Spanish knight, noticing that his face was free from the marks of wounds, asked him in wonder how that had come to pass, and received the answer that all his life his hands had been able to keep his cheeks from scars. Such had not, however, been the fortune of Great-grace, as the 'scars and cuts' upon it gave demonstration. He can manage his weapons excellently as long as he can keep his enemy at sword's point

distance, but once the enemy gets 'within,' the chances are against even Great-grace. At close grips, even he is no more invulnerable than other men, and we hear a distant sound of moaning and groaning and roaring from far-off centuries, heard distinctly still across so great a gulf of time. It is Great-grace, whom his foe has got *within* his sword-play—Great-grace in the person of Paul, and David, and Heman, and Hezekiah, and Peter. Who that has heard that sound, and lifting up his eyes has caught sight of all those scarred faces of the older world, will forget the sight, or will ever again speak foolishly in the style of Hopeful?

2. *Christian's allowance for the limitations of the weak brother.* He reminds Hopeful that the natural build and disposition of a man must be taken into account in judging others. In character as in physique there are limitations beyond which it is impossible for a man to go. To expect Little-faith to show the mettle of Great-grace would be to blame a wren for not displaying the strength of an ox. This is especially relevant in the matter of courage, which is largely a physical and constitutional quality. This is not a champion, and he never will nor can be one. He is not a great man nor a hero of any kind. Fortunately this does not deliver him from being one of God's true pilgrims. We cannot all be champions, and from such men this is not expected. The passage reminds us of Thomas à Kempis: 'Thou art a man, and not God; thou art flesh, not an angel. How canst thou look to continue always in the same state of virtue, when an angel in heaven hath fallen, as also the first man in Paradise?' It is but this exposition of the Scriptural assurance that a man shall be judged according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not.

It is a kindly doctrine, and full of the considerateness and compassion of Christ. Yet it is only for some men that it is legitimate, and it is often taken advantage of by those who have no right to it. There is a curious anticipation of Darwin in the sentences, 'Some are strong, some are weak . . . this man was one of the weak, and therefore he "went to the wall."' The steadily increasing acceptance with which the doctrine of evolution has met from the modern mind has been one of the most illuminative influences in our times. But undoubtedly one of the dangerous elements which it has brought in with it is a tendency to fatalism consequent upon a too exclusive attention to the doctrine of natural selection and the survival of the fittest. The weak are apt to excuse themselves from effort on the plea of this weakness, until a fatalistic paralysis of will and distrust of their powers sets them wholly at the mercy of outward circumstances and inward moods. So much is this the case that one becomes almost afraid to show any compassion for the weak brother, or to acknowledge the fact of his constitutional weakness, lest he trade upon the sympathy and cease to strive.

The tenderness of Christian,[1] however, is, as Dr. Kerr Bain points out, rested not upon a sentimental but upon a moral basis. The tenderness is based on Christian's good opinion of the man, not the good opinion based on the tenderness. He is no Great-heart, but he is an emphatically good man—a man of genuine and sincere character. That is what appeals to Christian, and enlists his strong regard. In spite of his begging, and his lifelong grievance, Christian cannot forget that he was still going forward even while he begged and complained. Cheever finely says in this connexion that 'God brings not a pair of scales to weigh your graces, and if they be too light refuse them: but He brings a touch-stone to try them, and if they be pure gold, though ever so little of it, it will pass current with Him.'

The whole passage has been aptly called 'a monologue on Christian tenderness,' and it has been remarked that the effect of it is strengthened by the fact that the story is not part of his actual experience, but only a matter of hearsay to him. This subtle touch given by throwing the passage into indirect history, adds to our sense of Christian's chivalrous nature. His habit is to speak kindly of those who are in fault. 'If ever there be a shade of harshness in Christian when he is face to face with (false pilgrims), it is well to note that there is little trace of this, but oftener a tone of lowly charity, when he is speaking of them to others.' There is an old story, told by that curious moralist Mr. Todd, in his once famous *Students' Manual*, of a man who habitually stayed to the end of any gathering in which he happened to be. When asked his reason for always being the last to leave the room, he replied that it was because he had noticed that the talk always went against the person who had just gone from the company.

[1] Compare the fine passages on this subject in Dr. Kerr Bain's first volume, pp. 428, 430, etc.

Christian is never seen in a better light than in his defence of an absent brother.

The descriptions of Leviathan and Job's horse are introduced in a somewhat odd fashion. The former is understood by Bunyan as a symbol of the devil, while the latter is apparently irresistible from its sheer literary strength and vividness. From the Book of Enoch downwards, these picturesque passages have tempted the allegorist; and, as Ewald says, 'the strangest things have been imported into the description.' Job is a wonderful piece of writing even as a book of nature. It touches upon the ways of many birds and beasts, among which are the war-horse and the Egyptian crocodile; which, as Leviathan, we see here on its way towards those many conceptions of dragons which delighted the imagination of the Middle Ages. In the Book of Job the argument is simply, 'If the creature God has created be so terrible, who will stand before God who has created him?' Bunyan does not pause to define the original meaning or connexion of these brilliant descriptions. It is their brilliance that has fascinated his ear and eye, and he brings them in because he enjoys them so. In the notes to Professor A. B. Davidson's Commentary on Job there is a remarkable rendering of Renan's translation of the two passages, which is well worth reading.

It is well for us that the happy thought of introducing these figures occurred to Bunyan, for it led him to the closing passage of the whole narrative of the discussion—undoubtedly one of the finest pieces of writing that ever came from his pen. The author of *The Heavenly Footman* gives us his plea for humility in 'such footmen as thou and I are.' It needs no comment, and once read it can never be forgotten. It is a masterpiece of appreciation of a soldier's humility. And it closes with two practical advices which sum up the moral of the entire story. First, never to go out unharnessed, and especially never to leave one's shield behind. Second, never to go alone. And the latter advice falls back into the teaching of the 23rd Psalm, 'I will fear no evil; for thou art with me.' The ultimate defence of every Christian man is the presence of God with his soul. No wonder if that closing note breaks out into Bunyan's most unrestrained eloquence.

# The International Critical Commentary on 'Esther.'[1]

By Rev. J. A. Selbie, D.D., Aberdeen.

The most diverse opinions have been held about the Book of Esther. No book of the Bible has secured a stronger hold on the affections of Jews, none has been more repugnant to the feelings of Christians. Luther uttered a characteristically hostile judgment regarding it, and it would be a real relief to many if the book had never obtained admittance to the Canon. Yet, in spite of many objectionable features, and the absence of any positive moral or religious value, the Book of Esther possesses significance for the study both of Judaism and of Comparative Religion; and even the ordinary reader of Scripture may study it with profit if he apprehends its standpoint and aim. To guide him to the latter he will find a welcome aid in Professor Paton's Commentary, regarding which we have no hesitation in saying that it is the first work of the kind which has made it possible for English-speaking students to understand the Book of Esther.

After treating of the place of Esther in the Hebrew Bible and in the Septuagint, respectively, Professor Paton deals at length with the text. The special feature in this department is the presence in the Versions (LXX, Old Lat., Vulg., Pesh.), Josephus, the Talmud, and Targums, of a number of remarkable additions to the Massoretic text. These additions, which have hitherto not been readily accessible to the student, have been collected by Dr. Paton, and introduced (in translation) at the appropriate places in the Commentary. In this he has certainly rendered a valuable service, and has added materially to the interest of his pages. Passing to the sphere of

[1] *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther.* By Lewis Bayles Paton, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of O.T. Exegesis and Criticism, Hartford Theol. Seminary, Hartford, Conn. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908. Price 10s. 6d.

'Higher Criticism,' our author first gives an outline of the book, and then proceeds to discuss the identity of Ahasuerus, by whom the writer is shown, beyond all reasonable doubt, to have intended Xerxes. The purpose of the book is 'to commend the observance of the feast of Purim, by an account of the way in which this feast originated.' There has never been much controversy about the unity of the larger part of the book, but reasonable doubts have been expressed as to whether the section $9^{20}$–$10^{3}$ comes from the same hand as the rest of the narrative. The reader will find this question carefully discussed by Professor Paton. Little difference of opinion prevails as to the propriety of assigning the date of the book to the Greek period, and, as our author shows, the later part of that period has stronger claims in its favour than the earlier. The author was certainly a Jew, and, it is suggested, may have come from Persia to reside in Judæa. The historical character of the book is subjected to a careful examination, as the result of which 'the conclusions seem inevitable that the Book of Esther is not historical, and that it is doubtful whether even a historical kernel underlies its narrative.'

Owing to the importance of the Feast of Purim in the Book of Esther and in later Judaism, one turns with interest to Professor Paton's examination (p. 77 ff.) of theories of the origin of this feast. The various theories of a Jewish origin (theories which, from widely differing standpoints and for very different reasons, can claim in their support names like Bleek, J. D. Michaelis, Cheyne, Johns, P. Haupt) are pronounced unsatisfactory. Nor will a Greek origin meet the case. Much more plausibility belongs to theories of a Persian or a Babylonian origin. Here we meet with Lagarde's and Schwally's identification of *Purim* with the Pers. *Farwardīgān*, which Dr. Paton is disposed to question. More striking are the attempts of Jensen and others to connect Purim with Babylonia, and to find the prototype of the story of Esther in the Gilgamesh Epic. Dr. Paton's conclusion, after a survey of all the various theories, is that, 'while the feast of Purim is probably borrowed either directly from Babylonia, or indirectly by way of Persia, no certainty has yet been reached as to the precise Babylonian feast from which it is derived.'

The next sections deal with the canonicity (where attention is called to the well-known absence of the name of God, and to characteristic Jewish attempts to evade this damaging admission) and the interpretation of the book (where all the relevant literature is catalogued); and then comes the Commentary proper, which for clearness and good sense leaves nothing to be desired. Last but not least come the three indexes, which will materially facilitate the use of the Commentary and add to its value. These include: (1) Hebrew words; (2) names of authors and books cited; (3) subjects; (4) Biblical passages.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF DEUTERONOMY.

DEUTERONOMY xxxiii. 27.

**The eternal God is thy dwelling-place,**
**And underneath are the everlasting arms.**

EXPOSITION.

**'The eternal God.'**—The God *of old*, literally *aforetime*. The word denotes what is ancient rather than what is eternal. It is often used of the Mosaic age, or other distant periods of Israel's past (Ps $44^{1}$ $74^{2.\ 12}$, Is $51^{9}$, Mic $7^{20}$), and even of a former period of a single lifetime (Job $29^{2}$). It is used also of mountains (Dt $33^{15}$), the heavens (Ps $68^{33}$). Besides the present text it is used of God in Hab $1^{12}$, Ps $55^{19}$ (where the R.V. is 'he that abideth *of old*').—DRIVER.

**'Thy dwelling-place.'**—The word 'thy' is not represented in the original [Driver accordingly has the more general translation, 'a dwelling-place']. The word translated 'refuge' in A.V. is a feminine form of the word translated 'dwelling-place' in Ps $90^{1}$, 'Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations.' That Psalm is also attributed to Moses, the man of God. The same word is used of the 'habitation of Jehovah' in heaven (Dt $26^{15}$).—WALLER.

**'Underneath are the everlasting arms.'**—Not only is God a dwelling-place for His people, He is also their unfailing support. His almighty arms are ever beneath them, bearing them up, and sustaining them, alike in their prosperity and in their need. For the figure, see Hos $11^{3}$, Is $33^{2}$ $51^{5}$, Ps $44^{4}$ $89^{22}$.—DRIVER.

## The Sermon.

### The Eternal God thy Refuge.

*By the Rev. John Hunter, D.D.*

I. This text is one of the loftiest utterances of Hebrew religion. Its great assurance was most fitting and inspiring under the circumstances in which it was first given. The children of Israel were about to lose the presence and guidance of Moses. He was leaving them, he said, but he was leaving them with God.

II. Given by Moses as a promise to his people, it was also the assurance in the strength of which he himself met the supreme moment of his life, and in dying conquered death. His strong wish in that hour was to be alone—alone with nature, alone with God. As he leaves the society of his fellows, the noise of the camp for the silence of the mountain-top, from which he is to come down again no more, we hear him saying not only to his people, but to his own soul: 'The Eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms.'

III. Is it the expression of the faith of only a few souls of exceptional devoutness? No. These ancient words interpret a universal and indestructible need of humanity. We have outgrown some of the needs of ancient Israel, and we have new needs of our own. But we have not done away with sorrow and sin. We have not outgrown the need of Divine protection. Sooner or later of all substitutes for God a man says, 'Miserable comforters are ye all.' Religion is God; God is religion.

IV. To bring men to find refuge in eternal God is the purpose of all Divine revelation, discipline, and teaching, and of all Christian ministries. In the Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul twice calls Moses a mediator. He is the minister of God to bring men to rest in Him. This is what Emerson meant when he wrote:

> O friend, my bosom said,
> Through thee alone the sky is arched,
> Through thee the rose is red;
> All things through thee take nobler form,
> And look beyond the earth:
> Me, too, thy nobleness has taught
> To master my despair;
> The fountains of my hidden life
> Are through thy friendship fair.

V. But there is a higher mediator than Moses. There is One whose supreme office it is to make the eternal God our refuge. He came forth from God to lead us to God. He lived and died that our faith and hope might be in God. His love is the assurance of the Divine love. His sufferings and death are the revelation, in time and space, of the eternal passion and sacrifice of God.

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### The Consolation of the Bereaved.

*By the Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster.*

What consolations can we offer that will nerve the hearts of rich as well as poor to bear the burdens of life and especially the agony of bereavement?

I. First, there springs to our lips the great key-word that more than any other interprets the mystery of our human life—the word Sacrifice. Of one who has seen his comrade fall by his side, the poet-primate of Armagh sings:

> And thoughts beyond his thoughts the Spirit lent,
> And manly tears made mist upon his eyes;
> And to him came a great presentiment
> Of high self-sacrifice.

But there is not only the sacrifice of him who falls. Look at that mother who kisses her boy for the last time, and commends him to God. He is her sacrifice. There is a joy in having been allowed to give.

II. This consolation were true even if death closed the story, even if there were no recognitions and restorations in another world. This is a true consolation; for sacrifice does not barter. But though it does not look for wages, it obtains its reward. The other great word of consolation is Resurrection. We cannot prove it, but we know that we shall not wholly die. And then there is the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the nearest thing to a logical proof that we can conceive of. We know because Christ has brought life and immortality to light by the gospel.

III. But where is consolation to be found for those whose loved ones have been plunged unprepared into eternity? In face of this question I dare solemnly to repeat the words of our text: 'The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms.' For what does it mean to have crossed the narrow stream?

1. It does not mean a wholly new beginning. There is no break in character.

> I looked behind to find my past,
> And, lo, it had gone before.

2. Nor does it mean an absolute fixity. I cannot believe the theory—for it is but a theory—that the moment of physical death is the moment in which a man's state is eternally and unalterably fixed. I cannot find that in my Bible: all nature, all analogy is against it. It cannot be.

## Illustrations.

**'Underneath.'**—May I give you an incident which I heard a father tell of his little child whom he dearly loved, and who was his everyday companion? One night word was brought to him that the child seemed restless and troubled, and was moaning in her sleep as if in pain. He went up to her room, and found it was as he had been told. He quietly approached the bed, put his arm under his child, and she fell back at once into an untroubled, peaceful sleep. Thinking that she had wakened for an instant, and then had gone to sleep, knowing that he was near her, after a while he left her as quietly as he came. In the morning, when he questioned the child, she had no knowledge that he had been in the room. Yet the presence of love was there, unknown, but felt; unconsciously realized, but realized.

Joseph N. Blanchard.

A minister was requested to visit a sick girl who lived alone with her mother in a small apartment. The family was evidently poor, but not in need, save of comfort and friendship. The daughter was an art student; but she was a frail little body, with a weakness of lungs that had always threatened a short life. She had taken cold, and was now very sick. The minister talked and prayed in the hope that he might give them a feeling of friendship in their loneliness and of hope in their sorrow. This he succeeded in doing; but the incident which made the deepest impression upon the sick girl, and, through her, upon the minister himself, was something very light and wholly unpremeditated. He noticed that the girl looked most uncomfortable as she lay propped up in bed. The pillows had sagged, and she had slipped down until her position seemed anything but restful. 'Let me lift you into a little more comfortable position,' said the minister. He lifted her easily, for she was frail and he was strong. While he held her clear of the bed, he directed the mother to draw the sheet tight and tuck it under without wrinkles, and to shake and turn the pillows and place them on the other side of the bed. Then he laid the girl back upon the cool side of the bed, on the freshly turned pillows, and she fell asleep. A nurse was arranged for, and though she did her work faithfully and well, she never quite succeeded in bringing back the sensation of that first day. The minister did not see the girl again until he came to attend the funeral, but both the mother and the nurse told him how, every day, she had recalled the feeling of comfort and of peace with which she lay back on the pillows on the occasion of his visit to them. 'There was such a sense of comfort and security,' she said, 'to be lifted up by some one so strong that it seemed no strain, and to be laid back so gently. I never had such a feeling of perfect peace, and it made me think of the uplifting strength of my Heavenly Father.'

**My Refuge.**—The late Rev. C. H. Spurgeon in the *Treasury of David* refers to a personal incident which had a great effect upon his mind. 'In the year 1854, when I had scarcely been in London twelve months, the neighbourhood in which I laboured was visited by Asiatic cholera, and my congregation suffered from its inroads. Family after family summoned me to the bedside of the smitten, and almost every day I was called to visit the grave. I gave myself up with youthful ardour to the visitation of the sick, and was sent for from all corners of the district by persons of all ranks and religions. I became weary in body, and sick at heart. My friends seemed failing one by one, and I felt or fancied that I was sickening like those around me. A little more work and weeping would have laid me low amongst the rest; I felt that my burden was heavier than I could bear, and I was ready to sink under it. As God would have it, I was returning mournfully home from a funeral, when my curiosity led me to read a paper which was wafered up in a shoemaker's window in the Dover Road. It did not look like a trade announcement, nor was it, for it bore in a good handwriting these words: "*Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation, there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come near thy dwelling.*" The effect upon my heart was immediate. Faith appropriated the passage as her own. I felt secure, refreshed, *girt with immortality*. I went on with my visitation of the dying, in a calm and peaceful spirit. I felt no fear, and suffered no harm.' From the moment he felt that the eternal God was his dwelling-place, and underneath were the everlasting arms, he felt that all was right.

**'The everlasting arms.'**—I like that dream of Josephine Butler's, when her life passed into deep shadow, amid many frowning and threatening besetments: 'I thought I was lying flat, with a restful feeling, on a smooth, still sea, a boundless ocean, with no limit or shore on any side. It was strong and held me up, and there was light and sunshine all around me. And I heard a voice say, "Such is the grace of God!"' Let the Church even dimly realize the force of this tremendous ally, and she will move with a strength and quietness which will give her the secret of perpetual conquest.—J. H. Jowett.

**In His arms.**—John Burns occupies a humble place in the world of men, for he is poor, and only a policeman, in a section of a great city where vice is rampant. In his home there has been much to dishearten, but a confident trust in Divine providence lightens all his burdens. One morning I hailed him with friendly inquiries about his loved ones. He told me of the sickness of his daughter, dangerous, costly, and of the illness of his wife that bore as great a weight on his thought, together with the struggle to keep out of the clutches of debt. 'But through it all,' he said, 'God takes care of me and bears me up. This morning in front of the drug store there at the corner, I came upon a drunken man who had found a sparrow, just a little one that had fallen out of its nest somehow. The man said he was just playing with the little thing, but I saw he didn't know how rough he was, and that he would surely kill it. I tried to get him to give me the poor bird, but he wouldn't give it up, and kept on saying that I could have it when he was done

playing with it. Maybe he didn't intend any harm, but the sparrow kept crying so loud, I begged and begged until the man gave the little bird to me. Then I took it, and put it in one of my big hands, and put the other one over it. And don't you know, just as soon as I did, the bird seemed to know that it was safe, and it began to sing as bravely as it could. This made me happy, and as I walked through the store to find a place where I could put the sparrow out of the reach of the cats, with the poor bird singing so joyously all the time because I was protecting it, I thought that God took care of me, just as I carried that little bird. And I prayed that He would always hold me in His arms just as I had that sparrow in my hands.'

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# Contributions and Comments.

## Christianity and Mythology.

IN the December number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES reference is made to Mr. J. M. Robertson's lecture in Glasgow on 'Christianity and Mythology.' Do British ministers of religion really understand that the R.P.A. is making the most desperate attempt to destroy in the minds of the young all belief in Christianity? Much of their literature is puerile, and carries its own condemnation with it to all really thoughtful people. But much of it is subtle—unscrupulously subtle—and appears to be convincing and unanswerable.

I refer chiefly to the parallels which Rationalists draw between 'Pagan Christs' and the Christ of the gospel. Mr. Robertson sets forth a great array of virgin births, resurrections, ascensions, and the like, all in pre-Christian times, with the expressed intention of proving that Christianity is nothing more than Mithraism, etc., under another form, and that its chief figure is purely mythical.

*We* may smile at all this, but the educated youth of our time are being smitten with it, and their faith often perishes. *This needs answering*, not with invective nor contempt, but with facts, critically set forth. The principles of criticism have been applied to the Bible; they need applying to the stories of Mr. Robertson. This mass of legend, alleged to be the source of Christianity, needs subjecting to a rigorous examination by competent scholars. All the *facts* adduced by Mr. Robertson must be cheerfully admitted, but his deductions from them must be critically repudiated. Who is to do this work? It must be done, and that at once. While we sleep the enemy is busy sowing the tares. The average overworked pastor cannot do this work. It must be done for him by leisured scholars. It is an urgent and imperative duty. And here let me say that the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* is a veritable gold mine.

FREDERIC C. SPURR.

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## St. John i. 41.

I.

I DESIRE to call attention to a very interesting variant in the Syriac of Jn $1^{41}$ in the Sinai Palimpsest, which is corroborated by three of the Old Latin manuscripts. And I have little hesitation in saying that it probably restores to us the original reading.

Dr. Burkitt has translated the passage, 'And he, Andrew, saw Simon his brother on that day, and saith unto him: "My brother, we have found the Messiah."' My own translation, published in 1896, is nearly the same, for I followed the transcript of the Syriac text on that page made by Dr. Burkitt in 1893, which said: ܒܗܘ ܝ[ܘܡܐ] 'in that day.' The brackets have disappeared from the first word in his new edition of the Cureton text, where it is given as one of the Sinai variants.

My photograph of that page, taken in 1892, shows clearly that this is wrong. The first word of each short line, in that column, appears on the margin of the later script (the Lives of Holy Women), and in this case the word is blurred by

dirt. Hence the brackets. But out of the dirt there appears, in the photo, the last letter of a word, ܕ. After the ܕ there is no ܘ, and the next word is ܝܘܡܐ. This gives the reading 'of the day,' the ܝ being clearly legible.

Dr. Burkitt cannot therefore have got the two words from my photograph. He copied it from the MS. as ܝܘܡܐ ܘ[ܕ], and the MS., during my sixth visit to Sinai in 1906, has told me a different story.

I touched the margin with the re-agent. To my great surprise, there came up clearly the word ܕܨܦܪ, 'at the dawn.' The next word needed no chemical treatment, for even in 1892 it reproduced itself in my photograph as ܝܘܡܐ, 'of the day.'

I communicated this, along with other emendations, shortly after my return home, to several Syriac scholars. It attracted no particular attention, however, till quite lately. As the sheets of my new edition of the Sinai Gospels were passing through the press, I printed on the page containing Jn $1^{41}$ corroborations which I had found in the published text of two Old Latin MSS, the Codex Veronensis (*b*):

'Inuenit autem mane fratrem Simonem et dixit illi: Inuenimus Messiam.'

and the Codex Palatinus (*e*):

'Et mane inuenit fratrem suum simonem et ait illi inuenimus messia.'

It becomes at once evident that behind the Syriac of the Sinai Palimpsest, and behind the Latin of *b* and *e*, stood the same Greek word πρωΐ, which an early copyist mistook for πρῶτον. Hence we have 'Andrew first findeth his brother Simon, and saith unto him,' etc.

That the new reading is a good one goes almost without saying. Read vv.$^{40.41}$ either in the English version or in the Greek text, substituting προΐ for πρῶτον, or 'at the dawn of the day,' *i.e.* 'in the morning,' for 'first,' and you will see that the chronological sequence becomes correct. 'On that day,' would be hardly natural; for if the meeting between the brothers took place some considerable time after the tenth hour, the word 'evening' would have been used. Dr. Nestle at once advised me to ascertain if there is not a similar reading in the Old Latin Codex Usserianus ($r_1$). I examined the text of Dr. Abbott's edition (1884), and found that the page which contains Jn $1^{41}$ is imperfect, the first syllable of every line having disappeared, but before 'fratrem suum' stands printed the letter *e*, showing that the missing word was *mane*, not *primum*. I thereupon wrote to Professor Wilkins of Trinity College, Dublin, requesting him to examine the manuscript, and to see if he could not detect any further trace of *mane*.

Professor Wilkins did so, in company with the editor, Dr. Abbott. To their great regret they found that the *e* has disappeared, the edge of the leaf being very crumbly. But Dr. Abbott is certain that it *was* there when he copied it. He formed no theory as to what word it stood for.

How did a copyist mistake πρωΐ for πρῶτον? At first we thought that there might have been a contraction (either in the original or in an early copy), which was wrongly expanded into πρῶτον. I imagined that the ι of πρωΐ might have been written so close beneath the ω as to be mistaken for a τ. But I am told that *iota subscriptum* is never found in early MSS.

Dr. Wilkins has made the plausible suggestion, that the copyist who made the mistake read the dots over an uncial ϊ as the upper stroke of a τ. Having once written πρωτ, he was almost obliged to add ον to make sense out of it.

If the reading πρωΐ be in truth the original one, some very interesting questions occur to us. i. Was the Sacred Autograph written in an uncial script, or in a cursive? Papyrus and vellum would doubtless be costly. The Evangelists and the Apostles were men of slender means; it is therefore permissible to think that if they used uncials, these must have been very small ones.

ii. If so curious a mistake as πρῶτον for πρωΐ crept into the Gospel text before the fourth century, may not the same kind of accident account for small discrepancies between the four records of our Lord's life? and may there not be similar mistakes still undetected in the text of the Gospels?

It must be remembered that Codex Veronensis and Codex Palatinus both belong to either the fourth or the fifth century. Their claim to a high antiquity is therefore quite as good as that of the Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus; and they are translations into Latin from still older MSS not now extant. The same may be said of the Syriac palimpsest on Mount Sinai, which is probably the earliest translation of the Gospels into any

language. It is indeed marvellous that we should thus be able to get behind the oldest of Greek texts, and to detect its slight corruptions.

But how does this affect the question of inspiration? If we believe that the New Testament was dictated, word for word, by the Holy Spirit, it would of course be fatal. But such verbal dictation is out of harmony with God's other ways of working. His gifts to man are like the pure water springing up in the mountains, or like the pure air which man has the power to preserve pure, or to taint. No special providence watched over the copyists. Both the Old and the New Testaments are records of the revelation of Himself which God made to man gradually, as man was able to receive it. Our faith in its moral teaching is therefore not shaken by any mistakes of copyists, nor even by mistakes, if there are any, of the inspired Recorders.

There are some men who expect absolute accuracy from the Protomartyr Stephen, quite forgetting that he spoke in the midst of a wild and angry crowd, most of whom held in their hands the stones which they were impatient to throw at his head. And the men who copied the Gospels did not always work in the seclusion of a college library, nor even in that of a monastic cell. They were doubtless, many of them, those of whom the world was not worthy; who, we are told in the Epistle to the Hebrews, dwelt in dens and caves of the earth. Possibly, in the second and the third century, the blood-stained sheep-skin cloak of some martyr scribe was carefully turned into parchment, for the reception of those words of life which its owner had died to preserve for us.

AGNES SMITH LEWIS.

*Cambridge.*

II.

With regard to πρωΐ versus πρῶτον in Jn 1[41], it is interesting to note that in the *Odyssey* (xxiv. 28) πρῶϊ has been restored instead of πρῶτα, the vulgar reading, by Kayser, Ameis, La Roche, Faesi, and Monro. This is a case very closely parallel with ours.

I think the autograph may have been written in such small and very neat uncials as those of the papyrus of Hyperides, of which Dr. Kenyon gives a facsimile in Plate II. of his 'Classical Texts, from Papyri in the British Museum, with autotype facsimiles of MSS' (1891), and which he dates as '*very early, and perhaps of the 2nd century B.C.*' There in the middle column, in the second and third lines (*et passim*), you will find *iota* and *tau* written thus:

ɹ (like a J) τ (like a J).

The little toes turned westward in each case being exactly similar, so that πρωɹ and πρωτον might easily be mistaken.

*If such a dainty-toed iota had two dots written above it, it would pass for a tau anywhere.*

Of course, defenders of πρῶτον could easily say that the Sinai Palimpsest and the three Latin Codices omitted τον after πρω by an error of haplography or ablepsia; but πρωΐ is the harder reading, and therefore the more likely to be original. And πρωΐ will account for the variants πρῶτος and πρῶτον; the scribe of ℵ, finding what he mistook for πρωτ gave it a termination in agreement with the subject of the verb, οὗτος; while the scribe of A gave it a termination in agreement with the object of the verb, τὸν ἀδελφόν.

GEORGE WILKINS.

*Trinity College, Dublin.*

## Yahû or Yahw?

IT is well known that the original pronunciation of the name Jehovah has long been lost. The Jews substitute for it the term *'Ădhōnāy* ('My Lords,' a *plur. majestatis*); and our word 'Jehovah' (*Y'hōwah*) is a curious hybrid representing the Massoretic combination of the consonants of the original term (YHWH) with the half-vowel and the two full vowels of the substituted term [יהוה, אדני = יְהֹוִה]. If *'Ădhōnāy* occurs along with *Yhwh*, the latter is pronounced with the vowels of *'Ĕlōhîm*, thus *Yĕhōwīh* (יְהֹוִה). Without prejudice as to the inquiry into the ultimate derivation of the name (for it may not be Hebrew, but Babylonian or Kenite for example), most scholars hold that within the area of Hebrew as a living language the original pronunciation was *Yahweh* (יַהְוֶה). This is supported by the occurrence of the name in Samaritan rhyming verses, and by such transliterations as Ἰαβε, Ιαουέ.

Now in the recently discovered Aramaic papyri relating to the Jewish colony in Egypt, the name is nearly always represented by the consonants (of

course unpointed) YHW (יהו). The editors invariably vocalize these as *Yahû* or *Jahû*.

But what connexion is there between Yah*weh* and Yāh*û*? The question seems worth the asking, because these papyri take us back to half a millennium before the Christian era. And can it really be considered likely or even possible that two such different-sounding names for God were used by the adherents of the same religion? Can the sound *û* (*i.e.* presumably the sound of *oo* in *loop*) be regarded as a natural or reasonable abbreviation of, or a substitute for, the sound *weh* (almost like the sound of *we* in *went*)?

A distinguished Assyriologist tells me that there is nothing at all in Babylonian writing to suggest *Yahweh*, and that there is everything to suggest *Yāhû* and *Yah*, these two last words representing Babylonian transcriptions, or transliterations. I desire, however, to limit the inquiry to the field of Hebrew and Aramaic,—and Hebrew *as a living language*, not as written and pointed by the Massoretes long after it had become a sacred and literary instrument alone. The gap between Babylonian and Hebrew is so appreciable as to render any argument based on ultimate derivations or on the 'Babylonizing' of Hebrew words somewhat precarious. But Hebrew and Aramaic — such Aramaic especially as we find in the Bible and also in these Egyptian papyri — are closely related. And what seems hard to realize is that Jews in Egypt spoke of *Yāhû*, while Jews in other places spoke (on the current theory) of *Yahweh*.

Kautzsch (in *Enc. Bib.* col. 3321) regards *Yāhû* as an abbreviated form rising out of *Yahw* (יְהוֹ). *Yahw* is a true abbreviation of *Yahweh*, but it seems difficult to regard *Yāhû* in the same way. Is it not rather a substitution?

It will of course be said in reply to such objections that יהו must be vocalized יָהוּ because in many O.T. proper names compounded with the sacred name the termination is so pointed by the Massoretes, *e.g.* Jeremiah, *Yirm*ᵉ*yāhû*. But the same objection applies here. If the name *Yahweh* was in actual use, and if it was desired to add it in some form to a personal name, why should the termination be so effectually disguised? Is it not possible that the Massoretic vocalization of proper names embodying the Divine name is as unscientific as their vocalization of the name itself? To point יו was natural enough. If they took it as a vowel-letter it must be pointed either *û* or *ô*. In Jehoshaphat, *e.g.*, it is *ô*. If the Divine name had now become unknown, and if there were no clear tradition about it, words embodying its consonants would naturally be pointed on the analogy of ordinary and familiar words. Arguments based on the M.T. reading *Yāhû* seem about as reasonable as the assertion that 'Jehovah' may after all be nearly right, since you get your first syllable letter-perfect in *Yᵉhōshāphāṭ*!

I would respectfully ask the experts to tell us what there is definitely against the supposition that *the letter* ו (*waw*) *is as truly consonantal in YHW as in YHWH*. If this is so, then the abbreviation of YHWH to YHW is a real abbreviation. *Yahweh* will become *Yahw*. Substract the sound *eh* from *Yahweh* and the remainder is a one-syllable word ending in two sounded consonants. Pronunciation of *w* as *v* would perhaps be clearer to us in the West.

Such an abbreviation as *Yahw* or *Yahv* would be an intermediate form between *Yahweh* and *Yah* which is of course frequently found, and found outside the Hebrew and Aramaic *locale*. And it would of course suggest the modification of the Massoretic text in such words as Jehoshaphat (which would on this theory become *Yahw-shāphāṭ*), and in the apocopated forms of some ל״ה verbs. For example, וישחחו would be pronounced *way-yish-taḥw*, which would be a true apocopation, instead of *way-yish-tá-ḥu*, which would have the same number of syllables as the non-apocopated form.

I realize that the whole question is complicated, and that the point of view possible from the Hebrew Grammar alone is one that needs supplementing, in regard, at all events, to the original form of the name YHWH. But I would venture, nevertheless, to ask whether we are justified in pointing YHW as *Yāhû* if the tetragrammaton was pronounced *Yahweh*? I shall hope to see something in these columns which may throw light upon the problem.

H. F. B. Compston.

*King's College, London.*

## Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan.

Pressure of work has prevented me from noticing sooner some difficult words in sections G, l. 10, and

M *b*, l. 1, of this work. As far as I know, no satisfactory explanation of נשחט and חנתא in these lines has yet appeared. To me it seems certain to be the *Niph'al* of the Egyptian word *sḫt*, 'to weave.' See Brugsch, *Hieroglyph-demot. Wört.*, p. 1302, *Suppl.* 1115. On the equation of the hieroglyph, which Brugsch represents by *t*, with the Hebrew ט, see Erman's *Egyptian Grammar*, § 25, end, and the list of consonants in Brugsch, *op. cit. Suppl.*, p. 2.

The sense of חנתא, again, can only be decided when we know exactly what נסכא, in the same line, means. The reader will find instructive notes on the subject in *P.S.B.A.*, vol. xxv. p. 202 f., and *Répertoire D'Epigraphie Sémitique*, i. p. 378 f. In the latter work Clermont-Ganneau maintains that the suggestions hitherto made cannot find support from Semitic etymology. The latest and, to my mind, the soundest view of the matter is that of Lidzbarski, who says that חנתא must be a portable article and perhaps an Egyptian word (*Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1908, p. 238 f.). As נסכא may mean a *caster* or *melter* of metal, I suggest that חנתא is equal to the Egyptian word *ḫnti*, 'statue,' 'Bildwerk' (Brugsch, *op. cit.*, p. 1112).

N. Herz.

*London.*

## Christ Healing in the Temple.

In reply to Dr. Nestle's question in last month's Expository Times under this heading, I must confess with sorrow that I did overlook Mt $21^{14}$. I most certainly consider that this passage contains instances of miracles of healing in the temple; and I have no excuse to offer for the oversight. I am grateful to Dr. Nestle for 'pulling me up.'

W. O. E. Oesterley.

*Hatch End.*

## The Forty Martyrs at Sebaste, in Armenia.

In the last number of The Expository Times (p. 168), in one of the illustrations for the Great Text, the stage of the martyrdom of the 'forty wrestlers for Christ' is placed in 'Northern Gaul.' Now, even for edifying purposes, preachers ought to be as historical as possible. In this case we are in the fortunate position of having an original document of first rank: the very testament which the martyrs made before their death. The most convenient place where it is to be found is probably O. v. Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta* (Berlin: Duncker, 1902), or R. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyrcracten* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1901; Collection of G. Krüger, ii. 2). Knopf gives only the testament; v. Gebhardt also the account of their passion. Their date is the 9th March; in the Roman Church, Innocent x. transferred it to the following day. J. Wordsworth (*The Ministry of Grace*, 1903) has the day in his Calendar; why it is neglected in *The Calendar of the Anglican Church*, Illustrated (Oxford and London, 1851), I do not know. Surely this testament is worthy of being generally known; we find in it the uncanonical saying of Christ, 'Where I find thee, I will judge thee.'

Eb. Nestle.

*Maulbronn.*

## Elisabeth.

The explanations of Professor Ed. König on this name (on p. 185) do not exhaust, broad as they are—excuse this outburst of feeling—the possibilities:

1. Lagarde (*Register und Nachträge*, 1891, p. 69) saw in ΕΛΙCΑΒΕΘ a transcriptional variation of ΕΛΙCΑΒΕΕ, like *zenith* for *zemth*, *Monsun* for *Mousim*; I may add NAYH for NAYN.

2. The explanation suggested by Professor König, confusion with *Sabbat*, is attested by Luther, who explained the name *quies Dei*, immo *requies Dei* (1516, *Works*, i. 60), who will have taken it from some mediæval source (*Onomastica sacra*, ed. Lagarde, 190, 37): Ἐλισάβετ κυρίου ἀνάπαυσις ἢ πλησμονή.

3. The change between $\theta$ and $\tau$ is the same as in Nazareth, Loth, etc.; we even find Elisabel (see J. Denk in *Biblische Leitschrift*, 4, 191 f.). *Tesabille* perhaps for the first time in an inscription of the fifth or sixth century in Montemor-o-novo (see *Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Christianæ*, supplementum No. 324).

4. I suppose the last letter was added because the bearer of the name was a woman, to mark it as of the feminine gender.

Eb. Nestle.

*Maulbronn.*

# In the Study.

**Professor Sanday's Article 'Bible.'**

Professor Sanday has finished his article BIBLE for the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. This article, which will appear in the second volume of the Encyclopædia, will direct and enrich the study of the Bible as surely as the article by the same author in the second volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* influenced the study of Christ and the Gospels.

**The Encyclopædia and the Preacher.**

The Rev. James Donald, M.A., D.D., Parish Minister of Keithhall, Aberdeenshire, has already read the whole of the first volume of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. He has not only read it, he has also compiled a complete index of its Scripture texts and other references. Like others he says he has been impressed with its extraordinary value to the preacher.

Dr. Donald drew up the list of texts and references for his own use. But he has sent a copy to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. We propose to publish the first portion of it next month.

**Abaddon.** [A Subject and a Sermon.]

1. The name of Abaddon has scarcely any place in English literature. It has almost dropped out of the English tongue. Its place has been taken by the name of Apollyon, which is mentioned as its Greek equivalent in the only passage where the word Abaddon occurs in the Authorized Version, Rev $9^{11}$.

This is due to the genius of John Bunyan. 'Bunyan's Apollyon,' says Swete, 'is in all but the name a creation of his own.' And it is such a creation that Apollyon, and not Abaddon, is familiar to us from our childhood as the name of the angel of the bottomless pit. It is due to Bunyan alone. For Milton does not use the name Apollyon, and he does once use Abaddon (*Par. Reg.* IV. 624).

The earliest occurrence of the name in English is in Wyclif's translation of the Bible (*c.* 1382). But it is much disguised. This is his translation of Rev $9^{11}$: 'And thei hadden upon hem a kyng, the aungel of depnesse, to whom the name bi Ebru, Labadon, forsothe bi Greke, Appolion, and bi Latyn hauynge the name Destrier.' Purvey's revision of Wyclif's translation (*c.* 1388) does not improve upon the spelling—'the name bi Ebrew is Laabadon.' Tindale dropped the initial L, but ignored the second 'd' (a mere dot in the Hebrew even when pointed). The earliest occurrence of the name in its proper spelling is in the Geneva N.T. of 1557. It had, however, already been used in Scotch. Murdoch Nisbet has Abaddon in his *New Testament in Scots*, which was written as early as 1520, though not published till issued by the Scottish Text Society in 1901.

To complete the history of the word in English: In the Preface to the R.V. of the Old Testament, the Revisers say: 'It may be mentioned that "Abaddon," which has hitherto been known to the English reader of the Bible only from the New Testament (Rev $9^{11}$), has been introduced in three passages (Job $26^{6}$, Pr $15^{11}$ $27^{20}$), where a proper name appears to be required for giving vividness and point.' And then there is Tennyson's allusion in 'St. Simeon Stylites,' where Abaddon is linked with Asmodeus, the echo of an old but mistaken identification:

> Devils pluck'd my sleeve,
> Abaddon and Asmodeus caught at me.
> I smote them with the cross.

2. Besides the history of the name in English, Abaddon has a place in the history of interpretation, and in the development of religious thought in Israel.

To begin with the development of religion. It is late in the history of Israel before Abaddon appears. The Hebrew word is confined to the Wisdom literature. The passages in which it is found are Job $26^{6}$ $28^{22}$ $31^{12}$, Ps $88^{11}$, Pr $15^{11}$ $27^{20}$. At first it is simply another name for the abode of the dead, usually called Sheol. We see this in the parallelism of Job $26^{6}$:

> Hell (Sheol) is naked before him,
> And destruction (Abaddon) hath no covering.

and perhaps more clearly in Ps $88^{11}$:

> Shall thy lovingkindness be declared in the grave?
> Or thy faithfulness in destruction (Abaddon, R.V. Destruction)?

But in process of time the meaning of the word (from Heb. '*abhadh*, 'to perish') asserted itself, and Abaddon came to signify 'a lower deep,' 'a place of punishment,' 'the abode of the wicked.' For some

time, however, it was distinguished from Gehenna, as a place of punishment somewhat less severe, representing, as Shailer Mathews expresses it in the single-volume *Dictionary of the Bible*, 'the negative element of extreme loss, rather than that of positive suffering.' But in post-Biblical Hebrew it is spoken of as the house of perdition (Targum on Job $26^6$), and is looked upon as the lowest and worst part of Gehenna.

But side by side with this development, which was a kind of degeneration, there went on another process of evolution. The name Abaddon, really an abstract term meaning 'destruction,' came to signify, as we have already seen, the place of destruction. Then the place was personified, just as Hades itself is personified in Rev $6^8$, until in the Apocalypse, as well as in Rabbinic literature, Abaddon becomes the personal designation of a fallen angel, the king of the locusts, the angel of the bottomless pit.

Thus in this unfamiliar word we see the Hebrew mind working along the lines of revelation, or what we should now call its own peculiar genius. It is interested in religion. It is also interested in morality. There comes a time when the necessity is felt of recognizing that sin has its wages and that the wages of sin is destruction. The departed are no longer to be thought of as living indiscriminately in Sheol. They who rejected the friendship of God here are deprived of it in the hereafter. And can there be sorer suffering than the sense of the want of fellowship with God? In the lowest deep there is a lower deep, and that lower deep is Abaddon.

3. But Abaddon has no less important a place in the history of interpretation. When Erasmus paraphrased the whole passage in the Apocalypse about the locusts and their king Abaddon, he had no hesitation in saying that the locusts are 'false teachers, heretykes and worldlye suttell prelates,' who 'flie with their pardons and bulles, even as it wer with winges, over hilles and dales, over sea and land, and poison more noysomly unto death, than they should do with very bodyly weapons.' And the Roman Catholic translators of Rheims are ready with their retort. In the margin to the passage in the Apocalypse, Abaddon, they say, is 'the cheefe Maister of heretikes.' We have passed from that. We understand that in every place he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him, in every place and in every communion. In his *Galatians*, in a note on 'Abba, Father,' Bishop Lightfoot recalls the other two examples of a double name, one Hebrew and one Greek, in the New Testament—'Satan, Diabolus' in Rev $12^9$ $20^2$; 'Abaddon, Apollyon' in $9^{11}$—and he says these phrases are 'a speaking testimony to that fusion of Jew and Greek which prepared the way for the preaching of the gospel to the heathen. Accordingly St. Paul, in both passages in which he uses "Abba, Father," seems to dwell on it with peculiar emphasis, as a type of the union of Jew and Gentile in Christ.'

Abaddon and Apollyon, a type of the union in Christ! But we do not obliterate the distinction between the saint and the sinner, either in this life or in that which is to come. It may be true that we have been reversing the process of development of the ancient Israelite. While he turned Hades into a person, we have been turning Abaddon back into a locality or a state, and denying the very existence of angels. But we do not mingle good and evil indiscriminately. A Bible Dictionary of the year 1806 (its title is *Bibliotheca Sacra*) reminds us that 'Judas was called the son of perdition *or destruction*.' Judas is Abaddon, as every servant is that betrays his master, and every master that browbeats his servant. And more than that, we still hold that the relation of one man to another is a reflexion of the relation of a man to God. And we know no deep lower than the place which is deprived of the enjoyment of the love of God, no punishment more terrible than destruction from His presence.

LITERATURE.—The articles in *D.B.*, *Encycl. Bibl.*, *S.D.B.*, and especially the art. ABYSS in the *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*.

**Rev $9^{11}$, 'His name in Hebrew is Abaddon.'**

What is the meaning of all the marvellous imagery in which the writer of the Apocalypse wraps up his message? No doubt it has come to him partly by tradition; it belongs to the stock-in-trade of Apocalyptic writers.[1] But it has not come to him entirely in that way. He lives in a stirring time, and his own imagination has been awakened to keenest intensity and utmost daring. When issues are sharp, when persecution is at the door to-day, and death or exile to-morrow, a man has to take sides. There is a difference between right

[1] W. Sanday, *J.Th.S.*, July 1907. See also *Exp. T.* xix. 49.

and wrong, between right and wrong men, between God and the devil. It has always been so in times of stress,—with Luther at the Reformation, with Milton at the Revolution, with Bunyan at the upheaval in his own personal life. It is then that a man understands the Apocalypse. It is then that he not only uses traditional language, but also beats out new imagery of his own. Startling, appalling imagery, as of locusts like horses prepared unto battle, with the faces of men and the hair of women, of a bottomless pit or abyss belching smoke till the sun and the air are darkened, and a king of the locusts, the angel of the abyss, whose name in the Hebrew is Abaddon.

His name in Greek is Apollyon, and that is the more familiar name. Apollyon is familiar in our mouths since childhood through the genius of John Bunyan. The name of Abaddon is scarcely to be found in English literature. But there is meaning in Abaddon too.

1. *The History of the Name.*—When it first appears in Scripture, Abaddon is simply a name for the place of the departed. It is a synonym for Sheol. But when once Israel had been led to grasp the idea that there is life still for those who have departed this life, it was but a step to the making of a distinction in the next world between the good and the bad. Abaddon became the place of punishment in the other world. The last step was its personification. The Hebrews have always had a genius for personifying. They have had no difficulty in so vividly realizing a state or place as to give it the functions of an individual. Isaiah can say of the king of Babylon, 'Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming' (Is $14^9$); and St. John completes the figure when he says, 'And I looked, and behold a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him' (Rev $6^8$). Abaddon, the bottomless pit, has become its angel, and king over the avenging locusts. The Israelites were led to this by a vivid imagination. And it is in line with the truth of things. For first, there *is* a distinction in *all* worlds between him that doeth good and him that doeth it not. And next it is no place or state that makes the distinction; it is in the man.

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.[1]

[1] *Par. Lost*, i. 254 f.

2. *The Meaning of the Word.* — The word Abaddon means 'destruction'—not annihilation, however; the sense is rather 'perdition,' 'privation,' 'loss.' Thus the first conception of punishment in the other world is not the active infliction of castigation, it is the suffering that is due to the sense of loss. The wicked are deprived of the presence and the favour of God. And they know it. That makes Abaddon for them, deeper than Sheol, deeper at last (in the thoughts of the Rabbis) than even Gehenna—in the lowest deep a lower deep. It is so still. It is the great modern thought of punishment, the truth of which is eternal and unassailable; and if it is slower in its working than the fire and brimstone of a rougher time than ours, it is more persuasive in the end. To the writer of the Apocalypse, however, Abaddon is a person, active and aggressive. The name corresponds to the Greek Apollyon. There is an addition in the Vulgate. After 'Apollyon' the words are added — 'Latine habens nomen Exterminans,' which Wyclif translates, 'bi Latyn hauynge the name Destrier.' The gloss is not unwarranted. For the loss of God's favour must either recover or harden. And if it hardens it becomes an active agent in opposition to God.

3. *What Abaddon is to us now.*—Two things. (1) First, Abaddon has a double name, one Hebrew and one Greek. He has been born too late. The gospel has come—the gospel that is to speak to Hebrew and to Greek indifferently; the gospel that is to bring Hebrew and Greek into harmony; the gospel under which there is to be no distinction, but all are to be one in Christ Jesus. (2) Secondly, it is significant that Abaddon, although he is the angel of the abyss, is sent out to make war upon the enemies of God; not upon God's own people, but only upon such men as have not the seal of God upon their foreheads (Rev $9^4$).[2] If a kingdom is divided against itself, said Jesus, that kingdom cannot stand. The kingdom of Satan is always divided against itself. Unity in evil-doing is a contradiction in terms. Outside fiction and folklore thieves are always suspicious of thieves, and robbers are always ready to betray robbers. The kingdom of Satan cannot stand, because it is the kingdom of Satan. And, more than that, it is God Himself that sends Abaddon to do this work. Professor

[2] G. H. Gilbert, *The First Interpreters of Jesus*, 359.

Driver[1] has been reminding us that as early as the Book of Deuteronomy, Jehovah is represented as allotting to the heathen the gods they worship (Dt $4^{19}$). For He is always King, and has never let even the devils out of hand.

**A Sky Pilot.** [*The Life of James Robertson.* By C. W. Gordon. Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.]

An abbot of Iona, the ninth, lay dying. He commanded them to bear his body eastward. Nor stay until the withes by which the coffin hung should break. The withes broke at the foot of a precipitous rock on the north bank of the Tay. There they laid the body to rest, and from the breaking of the withes, *dhullan*, they named the spot Dhull. At Dhull, now spelt Dull, the 'Sky Pilot' was born in 1839. His name was James Robertson.

He attended the village school. Gaelic was his mother tongue, but he became good at book English, good at Latin also, best at arithmetic. When he was about sixteen, a problem that had given some trouble in Edinburgh was sent down to the schoolmaster at Dull. The schoolmaster gave it to Robertson. When his father was going to bed that night, he said, 'Are you not coming to your bed, lad?' 'Yes, after a while,' replied the boy, scarcely looking up from his slate. Next morning the father came in to light the fire, and James rose from the spot where he had been left sitting the night before, with the solution of the problem in his hands.

In 1855 the family emigrated to Canada and settled on a clearing near Woodstock in Ontario. Work had to be done on the farm, school was six miles distant and attendance not quite regular, so the schoolmaster objected when James Robertson wished to sit the examination for a teacher's certificate. But what Robertson wished he accomplished always. He sat the examination, gained the certificate, and became a schoolmaster at the age of eighteen.

Then came his first communion. With a young friend he set off early for the two-mile walk to the church. 'We started as usual to walk two miles to church. As we went along the Governor's Road there was a bush, "Light's Woods," on the south side of the road. Robertson suggested that we turn aside into the bush, not saying for what purpose. We penetrated it a short distance when, with a rising hill on our right and on comparatively level ground, the tall maples waving their lofty heads far above us, and the stillness of the calm sunny day impressing us with a sense of the awful, we came to a large stone. Robertson proposed that we engage in prayer. We knelt down together. He prayed that he might be true to the vows he was about to take, true to God and ever faithful in His service, and then he prayed for me also.'

The discipline at the Corner School was good, and Robertson obtained a larger school near Innerkip. At Innerkip he made the resolution to study for the ministry, and at Innerkip he fell in love for the first and last time. The young girl with whom he fell in love at first sight was the daughter of a farmer. The biographer of the 'Sky Pilot' thinks that her force in the evangelization of Canada was not less than her husband's. It was shown in waiting at home while he went afield —waiting and praying, training the family, and receiving him back to die. She tells the story of the courtship. 'It was in the fall of 1859 that my future husband, then a young man of about twenty-one years, came to our section to teach school, where he used his talents and influence for the good of all with whom he came in contact. He was an excellent teacher, loved and respected by parents and pupils alike. He soon found his way to my father's and mother's home, for the former teachers had not been strangers there. He said afterwards that when he saw me for the first time that day in my own home, he determined that I should be his. The task proved to be not as easy as may have seemed; but he had made up his mind, and, in after years in more important matters, when he won in spite of difficulties, so it was then. He poured forth his wealth of love and affection and compelled me to love him in return as I had never loved before. Of course he had to wait, but the time did not seem long. It was unalloyed bliss. Three years of school, of walks and talks, and when he left for college there were the letters, the visits, the hopes and aspirations and preparations, and with all at times a tinge of sadness, lest I was not quite worthy of it all.'

Robertson studied at Knox College, Toronto, at Princeton Theological Seminary, and at Union Seminary, New York. On September 23, 1869, they were married. He had worked, and she

[1] S. R. Driver and W. Sanday, *Christianity and other Religions*, 1908, 35.

had waited for twelve years. A few weeks after the marriage he was ordained and inducted into the pastoral charge of Norwich, a small village in the south-east of Oxford County in the Province of Ontario. At Norwich, as everywhere else, he was remembered as a man who never did things by half. One Sabbath evening, after the service had begun, the fire bells rang. Mr. Robertson dismissed the congregation. A neighbouring hotel was on fire. The minister immediately took command of the situation, organized the crowd, and suppressed the fire. In gratitude for his services, and in sympathy with his exhausted condition, the hotel-keeper brought him a bottle of brandy with which to refresh himself. 'Never will I forget,' writes a member of his congregation, 'the manner in which he seized that brandy bottle by the neck, swung it round his head, and dashed it against the brick wall, exclaiming as he did so, "That's a fire that can never be put out."'

But he had heard the call of the West. Far up in the interior were mining and ranching communities almost entirely neglected by the Presbyterian as by the other Churches. It is not strange, therefore, that men mingling with native races descended to the level and often below the level of those pagan people, and, forgotten by their Church, themselves forgot their fathers' religion and their fathers' God. Certain it is that, many years after, their sons were discovered, grown to young manhood, who had never heard except in oaths the name of Jesus, and knew nothing of the story of man's redemption. 'It was no easy task to secure missionaries for Western Canada. The country was remote, the field was hard, distances were great, privations many, isolation trying. Occasionally a man broke down and retired to the East. Nisbet dropped at his post, and ever as the Presbytery met rumours were exchanged of settlements still beyond, unreached by the message of the gospel.'

On the evening of Tuesday, December 30, 1873, a young minister from the country, tall and spare of form and rugged of face, stood in the Union Station at Toronto, facing the westward trail. It was the Rev. James Robertson of Norwich. In ten days he was in Winnipeg. The journey can be done now in two nights and a day, in a Pullman car, with dinner on board. 'Accommodation was tolerable to Moorhead,' writes Robertson, 'but in the three staging days things were intolerable. I never tasted butter; beef and potatoes only kept me alive. Bread was an outrage on the name. Potatoes were good if left whole, but when you mashed them you did not know what you had. The beef would do for patent-leather soles; you could eat it, but rubbing it on a dirty plate and cleaning a dirty knife and trying to cut it, you ate your peck of dirt certainly.' His face is to the West, but his heart is at home. 'How are you all? I went to the post-office today to see if there might not be something, but was disappointed, as I might expect, for you have had no time yet. How I would like to look in on you all and see how you are doing. Tina and Willie will be just about going to bed, and what about "Ba Buddy"? I feel lonesome already without you all. How shall it be before July? You must write me often and regularly, else I am afraid I cannot stand it.'

He was called to Knox Church, Winnipeg. Streams of emigrants passed through on their way to the farther West. Sometimes he went with them part of the way; sometimes his heart went farther than his feet. Years after, away in the far West, a man drove up one day to a comfortable homestead, and in the house he 'found an old Scotch lady and her two sons, fine young fellows. I mentioned the name of Dr. Robertson, and at once the shrewd old face took on a different look. It seemed to fill up with kindness, and she began to talk. She had a remarkable story to tell. Twenty-one years before, she, with her husband and two baby boys, had come to Winnipeg. They had not much money, and all they had they invested in an ox team wagon and general outfit. They spent a Sunday at the immigration sheds in Winnipeg. The Presbyterian minister came down to preach to the emigrants in the afternoon. The place was uncomfortable and crowded. Her baby was fretful, and so the mother sat outside the door—it was a warm spring day—and there she listened to the sermon. She could not see the preacher's face, but she gave me a good bit of that sermon. The theme was Abraham and his north-west adventure, and the parallel was drawn between him and these people who were about to seek their fortune in the West. The two main thoughts that the old lady carried with her for these twenty years were these: "God is going with you. Do

not be discouraged. Never give up hope," and "You are going to make a new country—build your foundations for God." She remembered the grip of the minister's hand as next day he went with them far out on to the prairie to set them on their westward journey, and how, standing there, he bade them a cheery farewell and watched them almost out of sight.'

After seven years' work in Winnipeg, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, having received a petition from the Presbytery of Manitoba praying for the appointment of a Superintendent of Missions, 'unanimously determined that James Robertson, presently pastor of Knox Church, Winnipeg, be appointed Superintendent of Missions, in the North-West, his salary to be two thousand dollars, this to cover all expenses, while he may be labouring in Manitoba or the immediate neighbourhood; journeys to distant points, such as Edmonton, to be paid by the Assembly's Home Mission Committee.' He received the appointment by wire. He wired acceptance.

His business was to gather congregations and then find ministers for them. Late on Saturday evening he comes to a settlement where the largest building is the hotel, and the largest room the bar. He inquires of the hotel man—

'Is there any place where I can hold a service to-morrow?'

'Service?'

'Yes, a preaching service.'

'Preaching? Oh yes, I'll get you one,' he replies, with genial heartiness.

Next day Mr. Robertson comes into the bar, which is crowded with men.

'Well, have you found a room for my service?' he inquires of his genial host.

'Here you are, boss, right here. Get in behind that bar, and here's your crowd. Give it to 'em. God knows they need it.'

Mr. Robertson catches the wink intended for the 'boys' only. Behind the bar are bottles and kegs and other implements of the trade; before it men standing up for their drinks, chaffing, laughing, swearing. The atmosphere can hardly be called congenial, but the missionary is 'on to his job' as the boys afterwards admiringly say. He gives out a hymn. Some of the men take off their hats and join in the singing, one or two of them whistling an accompaniment. As he is getting into his sermon one of the men, evidently the smart one of the company, breaks in.

'Say, boss,' he drawls, 'I like yer nerve, but I don't believe yer talk.'

'All right,' replies Mr. Robertson, 'give me a chance. When I get through you can ask any questions you like. If I can I will answer them, if I can't I'll do my best.'

The reply appeals to the sense of fair play in the crowd. They speedily shut up their companion and tell the missionary to 'fire ahead,' which he does, and to such good purpose that when he has finished there is no one ready to gibe or question. After the service is closed, however, one of them observes earnestly—

'I believe every word you said, sir. I haven't heard anything like that since I was a kid, from my Sunday school teacher. I guess I gave her a pretty hard time. But look here, can't you send a missionary for ourselves? We'll all chip in, won't we, boys?'

A missionary is sent in, and it is not long before a strong congregation is established in that community.

It was more difficult to find men than congregations. It was most difficult of all to find money. The story is here. In his early student days Robertson went out one morning to a preaching engagement. 'We came to a part of the road that was through bush. The horse could not trot for water, stumps on one side, quagmire on the other. Judging that the chances lay in favour of the superior resistance of the stumps, we tried the quagmire, and succeeded in all cases in getting to the other side.' This became a habit. All his life he succeeded in getting to the other side. In 1887 the Presbyterian College of Montreal conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Ten years later he had to come home. 'It will be quite a treat,' wrote his wife, 'to have him with us during the Christmas season. Never *once* since 1881 has he been at home for the holiday season.' He died in 1902.

### Pampsychism.

In the second edition of Professor Carveth Read's *The Metaphysics of Nature* (A. & C. Black; 7s. 6d. net) the most noticeable change is a series of appendixes. In one of them there is some exposition and discussion of that amazing new doctrine of a universal consciousness. The stone

and the tree—they are conscious also. The next step? That they have a conscience, perhaps.

'I read so slowly,' says Professor Carveth Read, 'and therefore so much less than most other students, that I was not aware when the first edition of this work appeared that several contemporaries agree with me in this doctrine of the universality of consciousness in Nature. Having learnt better, it is with the greatest satisfaction that I refer the reader for a fuller exposition of it to C. A. Strong's brilliant volume, *Why the Mind has a Body*, and to F. Paulsen's *Einleitung in die Philosophie* (see especially ch. i. § 6). Indeed, so rapidly has the doctrine spread that it has obtained a name: it is Pampsychism; and I, to my astonishment, am a Pampsychist. Misfortunes that could not be foreseen and cannot be evaded must be borne with resignation.'

**Nor the Power of God.**

The Rev. W. Garrett Horder has published a small volume of sermons on *The Other-World* (Macmillan; 3s. net). The sermons were preached not to prove that there is another world, but to say as much as can be said about the nature of it. Not much can be said. Many things that are frequently said in the pulpit, and quite comfortably believed in the pew, have no foundation either in Scripture or in common sense. Mr. Garrett Horder is willing to own that his ignorance is more portentous than his knowledge. Still he has some things to say and to stand by. And his book will be the more appreciated that it is written under restraint.

He takes it for granted, as we have said, that there is another world. How can a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ have any doubt about it? But some men doubt it. Some men are courageous enough even to deny it. With all that Mr. Garrett Horder says about the other world, the most striking thing in his book is a letter from Mr. John M. Robertson, M.P., in which that clever apologist for unbelief gives his reasons for not believing in any world to come.

And what do you think his reasons are? He has just one reason, and he got it when he was a boy. When he was a boy he read something in Dickens about a woman who had lost her husband early and who had now grown old. Had the husband grown old also? If not, how should they receive one another when they met? He himself had lost a little brother. The difficulty was insurmountable. So he gave up all belief in another world; like the Sadducees, 'not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God.'

**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. J. K. Douglas Bedwell, Cambridge, to whom a copy has been sent of Macgregor's *Jesus Christ the Son of God.*

Illustrations for the Great Text for March must be received by the 1st of February. The text is Dt $34^{5.6}$.

The Great Text for April is Rev $1^{5.6}$—'Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood; and he made us to be a kingdom, to be priests unto his God and Father; to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.' A copy of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* or Rutherfurd's *St. Paul's Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for May is Rev $1^{10}$—'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.' A copy of Clark Murray's *Handbook of Christian Ethics* or of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for June is Rev $1^{17.18}$—'And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the Living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of Hades.' A copy of Fairweather's *The Background of the Gospels* or any recent volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for July is Rev $2^{7}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God.' A copy of Adeney's *Greek and Eastern Churches* or of Rutherfurd's *Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

'The Christian Faith has had to justify itself to different ages in different ways.'

The Bishop of Southwark has made this discovery. He has made it as a preacher, not as a professional apologist. He has set it down at the beginning of the Preface to a small volume of sermons, of which the title is *The Fulness of Christ* (Macmillan; 1s. 6d. net). For if the Christian faith has had to justify itself to different ages in different ways, it has to justify itself in some particular way to the present age, and the justification is the business of the ordinary preacher of the gospel.

The Christian faith justified itself to the early centuries, says Dr. Talbot, 'by the evidence of its response to the hopes and intimations of the Jewish Scriptures, and by the joy and constancy in suffering which it was able to create.' In the days of the decline and fall of the Empire, it justified itself by its power to curb and to civilize. In the eighteenth century it justified itself by its abstract moral and religious value. The demand to justify itself to our time is greater, says Bishop Talbot, than any demand that ever was made upon it. It is vital that we should know how to make it meet that demand.

Dr. Talbot sees a strong resemblance between the condition of things in the Imperial period when the Faith first made its way and the condition of things in that period in which we are now living. Rome had demolished the local centres of force and tradition. It had attracted men of many sorts, religions, and habits to a focus in the City. And it had produced a fusion and mixture in which what was peculiar tended to vanish, and what was universal to emerge. This compelled men to grasp at ideas of what was natural and universally human. The Stoics personified Nature, and almost deified it. And lawyers as well as philosophers tried to find expression for their new conceptions of a cosmic commonwealth of gods and men.

Then Christianity came. It came in entire independence and along a road that was all its own. But it came as a universal religion. And it was found to be congenial—Dr. Talbot says providentially congenial—to the temper of its time, as it would not have been congenial if it had appeared in the time of the Roman Republic or of the Greek autonomies.

The situation in our day is kindred in character. It is kindred in character but far wider in range. In place of the Mediterranean area, we have (approximately) the whole face of the globe. For the Pax Romana we have a period of general

peace. For the network of Roman roads we have steam and electricity and universal travel. 'In the world of action and in the world of thought everything touches everything, and all become aware of the things of each other. Religious systems and national customs are each other's critics. What is peculiar, local, and partial attracts indeed any amount of curious interest and study; but it tends to disappear, or at least we see what is universal undermining and transforming it. The tendencies of the time point to and require that which is of universal scope, and especially that which is simply, broadly, and comprehensively human.'

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That is the demand. Is the Christian religion, is the gospel of Jesus Christ, fit to meet it? In its origin it belongs to a particular period of the history of the world, and a period that is long past. It had to clothe itself in the languages of Greece and Rome. Though it sprang from a Semitic people, and from a land more Oriental than Western, it has been the religion mainly of Europe and the West. Is it then really a local and ephemeral thing? And is it to be swallowed up along with other ephemeral things in that fusion of cults which is to bring about the universal religion of the future?

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The Bishop of Southwark does not think so. Of course he does not. But he sees very clearly that it is the duty of the believer in Christ not only to be ready to give an account to every man of the hope that is in him, but to see to it that the account which he gives is one that will meet the necessities of this very time.

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In the history of God's dealings with the people of Israel it is a strange place that is occupied by the Gibeonites. The story of how they 'did work wilily, and went and made as if they had been ambassadors,' completely outwitting the princes of the congregation of Israel, is told with almost humorous simplicity in the Book of Joshua ($9^{3-27}$). And on the whole our sympathy is with them. But when they are mentioned again, the situation is changed. The narrative is not so simple. The incident is at the furthest remove from humour. And our sympathy is divided very perplexingly.

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They are mentioned again in the lifetime of David. 'There was a famine in the days of David, three years, year after year. And David inquired of the Lord. And the Lord answered, It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites' (2 S $21^{1}$). There is no record of this slaughter in the history of Saul. We know nothing about the occasion of it, and its motive is difficult to understand. It is simply stated that 'Saul sought to slay them in his zeal for the children of Israel and Judah' (2 S $21^{2}$). But the perplexity is greatly deepened when we read that, to avenge their wrong, the Gibeonites demanded, and David granted them, seven men of Saul's family that they might 'hang them up unto the Lord' ($21^{6}$).

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Our sympathy begins at once to depart from the Gibeonites when we read this. They may have been cruelly and even treacherously dealt with by Saul. But they are taking a cruel revenge. If Saul did them wrong, they seem to be returning wrong to the sons of Saul. Our sympathy passes to the seven young men and their mothers. And when the historian proceeds to tell the story of Rizpah, we can scarcely abstain from emphatic denunciation of the whole proceeding.

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But we cannot help seeing that our righteous indignation has no encouragement in the narrative of the Bible. It is there distinctly stated that the seven men were hung up 'unto the Lord,' and that after their bleached bones were gathered and buried, 'God was entreated for the land.'

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Here therefore is a portion of the Word of God which it is very difficult to use for edification. It has its fascination. Tennyson's 'Rizpah' is the literary artist's response to the universal appeal it

makes. But we cannot preach about it. Professor W. G. Jordan tells us that one day recently in a Conference of ministers he endeavoured to discover how often the story of Rizpah was taken as a text. There were young preachers at the Conference, and there were preachers who had had long and varied experience. But none of them had ever preached on Rizpah.

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It was not always so. There was a time when this narrative, like every other narrative in the Bible, could be used for homiletical purposes without a quiver. Being in the Bible, it must be meant for edification. And if the edification was not evident on the face of it, a little ingenuity could always adapt it. Professor Jordan takes Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, as it was published in 1863, as representative of what 'the old-fashioned apologetic could do with such awkward material.'

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The article is on the Books of Samuel. First of all the story is admitted to be a 'horrible' one. For this Dictionary was a little before its time, and even then inclined to yield something to the demands of human nature. But the author is convinced that 'God did not command this,' though he has no explanation to offer of words like 'the Lord answered,' 'and God was entreated for the land.' Finally, it is suggested that the whole transaction was due to political motives. David availed himself of this religious pretext in order to remove from his path those dangerous 'sons' of Saul.

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No such article could be written now. How different is the article which Professor W. G. Jordan contributes to the *Biblical World* for January 1909. He does not call the story horrible. It has a sad pathos, he says, a tragic interest; but to call it horrible is to obliterate time. It is futile also to say that God did not command the deed to be done. And that David was moved by a mere political motive is to save the situation at the expense of David's character. 'We can no longer regard David as the kind of saint that he was pictured to be by the later ages. He was not a saint of the Jewish and mediæval type. He did not spend all his time in composing psalms and conducting Church festivals. But we have too much admiration for the real David to believe him capable of anything so devilish as this.'

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Is there, then, nothing that can be done with the story of Rizpah? These things were written aforetime for our edification; is this incident, almost thrust into the artist's hand, beyond the possibility of treatment by the preacher? Professor Jordan has written his article for the very purpose of recapturing it for the pulpit.

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The story stands by itself. It is a separate fragment, preserved among the records of the life of David, but without any place in their chronological order. If that is not evident on the face of it, the application of the rules of criticism will bring it out. These rules and their application do not belong to the pulpit. They belong to the study. The pulpit enjoys the result of them. And the result of them is that the story has its place in the early days of the history of Israel. Its exact date does not need to be mentioned or even ascertained. Its authenticity is of no account. For modern homiletical use the attention may therefore be given wholly to the ideas which the narrative contains. It is certainly of the utmost importance that its ideas should be regarded in their setting. Without that regard the older exegesis went astray. That is the secret of all the success which the newer method obtains. But it is enough that the story belongs to the time of David. A more exact determination of date or circumstance is unnecessary in order that its theology may be understood and applied. And the theology is the thing. It is for the sake of its theology that the Bible was written.

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Now the first thing which comes clearly out of this narrative of the Gibeonites' vengeance is a

certain theological conception of nature. There is a famine in the land. It is the cause of great distress. In accordance with the view of nature which prevailed, the famine is traced to the direct action of God. He has sent it as a punishment for some definite offence that has been committed.

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Professor Jordan calls this theology primitive. He admits that it still exists, and that it is still preached from some of our pulpits. For it is a portion of that rigid system of theology in which some of the preachers of to-day were trained. But it is a mistake to preach it to-day.

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In the middle of last century Christian teachers and men of science proclaimed that such visitations as cholera and typhoid were tokens of the anger of God. They did well. But why was God angry? Because of the neglect of those laws of cleanliness which He has impressed upon His world. They did well to propitiate God by prayer and sacrifice. They did well also to attend to their drains.

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That is the first thing. It is a lesson most suitable for pulpit use, most edifying. In the universe of God, God Himself does all things decently and in order, and we must do all things decently and in order. And commonplace as it may seem to be, when it is apprehended and applied it records a complete revolution in the thoughts of men concerning the ways of God. Should famine or earthquake befall a nation now, we are to believe that it is due to the hand of God, as our fathers did, but not that it is sent as punishment for a sin with which it has no connexion. The massacre of the Gibeonites will find its own reward. The famine is due perhaps to the selfish neglect of forethought for the poor; the earthquake perhaps to criminal carelessness in the choice of a place to live in or the use of materials to build with.

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This is not to contradict the Bible. It is to interpret it. For we have been enabled to see that the truths of the Bible are true for all time, but that they need interpretation. To interpret David's idea of natural events to our time is to strip it of those imperfections which necessarily cling to every attempt at explaining phenomena in a pre-scientific age. To David, and probably even to Rizpah, there was no degradation of God in associating Him with an act of atonement like this. The appearance of degradation is due to our notions of the 'timelessness' of Scripture, about which, as Dr. Jordan says, we occasionally hear much brilliant nonsense.

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But there is another great truth in this story. It is the truth that God is a God of justice. Separate the idea again from the form in which it happens to appear, and you see that this idea of justice is a lofty one. It is the idea that God, the God of Israel, demands the fulfilment of a promise made by Israel to an alien. A vow is binding always, and not merely so long as it is politically expedient to observe it. Faithfulness is universal; it is not limited by sect or nation. It is one of those great prophetic truths, says Dr. Jordan, for which we are indebted to the Hebrew race. The circumstances may seem unfamiliar to us. But however uncouth the frame, this story of revenge for Saul's disregard of the promise made to the Gibeonites is in pictorial form the great thought, so clearly taught by Amos, that the God of Israel values righteousness more than He values Israel's political life.

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And there is yet another truth. It is the truth, true for all time, that a mother's love is quenchless. We feel for Rizpah. Probably we feel for her most where she herself felt the cross she carried least. We lament the cruel injustice that took her sons from her to avenge another's wrong. She probably acquiesced in that. She was a secondary wife, a piece of Saul's property; she had few rights and few possessions. She could not call her sons her own, though she could consume in grief for the loss of them. What she did feel probably was that

they had not been buried. And when David heard of her long sad vigil, and came and buried the bodies, Rizpah went home in peace.

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It has been suggested (chiefly, we think, by Dr. Schechter, formerly Professor of Hebrew in University College, London, now President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America) that the picture of the Pharisees in the Gospels is an exaggeration, and that even our Lord is represented as a little unfair to them.

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It may be so. That is to say, it may be that the impression which the behaviour of the Pharisees in the Gospels makes upon us now, is more unfavourable than it should be. For the Gospels give no complete history of any of the sects mentioned in them. They are made up of selected incidents. More than that, when we have once obtained our unfavourable estimate of the Pharisees, we are apt to forget their better examples, and let our minds rest upon the worse. Nevertheless, it is not a matter of very great consequence. It is not denied that there is much that is unlovely in the Pharisaic character as it is presented in Judaism itself. The Christian spirit is a spirit of fairness. And it will be satisfied by receiving the hint to keep in mind in the future the fact that the rich young ruler, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Gamaliel were Pharisees.

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But when the charge is made that St. Paul deliberately misrepresented the Jewish feeling for the Law, that is a different matter. Should the Pharisees be made to recover a little of their lost estimation, there is no good Christian but will rejoice. But the burden of the Law is the opportunity of the Gospel. If the average pious Israelite could keep the Law; if he did keep it, and even took great delight in keeping it, where is the opportunity for the grace of God in Christ Jesus? St. Paul says that Christ came to redeem us from the curse of the Law. How could that be if the Law was not a curse?

It is, again, Dr. Schechter who says that the Law was not a curse. It is he who says that the keeping of it was a perpetual joy. He has published another volume of essays on Judaism, calling it *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (A. & C. Black; 7s. 6d. net). Much of the material he works with belongs to the New Testament times, some of it, as he believes, to the lifetime of St. Paul. And from first to last he has it in his mind to show that St. Paul, for his own purposes, made out the Law to be a burden when it was the very opposite of that, a daily satisfaction and delight.

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Dr. Schechter would not admit that he has any difficulty in proving this. But he is honest enough to begin with a statement which it takes him some time to get over. It is a statement of Rabbi Simlai, that 'six hundred and thirteen commandments were delivered unto Moses on Mount Sinai, three hundred and sixty-five of which are prohibitive laws, corresponding to the number of days of the solar year, whilst the remaining two hundred and forty-eight are affirmative injunctions, being as numerous as the limbs constituting the human body.'

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This, he says, is one of the statements that have been used to show the burden under which the scrupulous Jew must have laboured. But Dr. Schechter does not believe that the numbers were meant to be taken seriously. Rabbi Simlai was writing for edification. He wished to make his congregation feel the force of two important lessons. The first was the fact that each new day brings its new temptations, which can be resisted only by a firm 'Do not.' The second was the fact that to the service of God man must give his whole being, each limb or member of his body being entrusted with the execution of its own particular office.

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In proof that Rabbi Simlai did not himself take the numbers seriously, Dr. Schechter quotes the end of the sermon. It runs thus: 'David came

(after Moses), and reduced them (the six hundred and thirteen commandments) to eleven, as it is said: Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle?' 'Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly,' etc. (Ps $15^{2-5}$). Then Isaiah came, and reduced them to six, as it is said: 'He that walketh righteously,' etc. (Is $33^{15}$). Then Micah came, and reduced them to three: 'He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly,' etc. (Mic $6^{8}$). Then Isaiah came again, and reduced them to two, as it is said: 'Thus saith the Lord, Keep my judgments, and do justice' (Is $56^{1}$). Then Amos came, and reduced them to one, as it is said: 'Seek the Lord, and live' (Am $5^{6}$). Whilst Habbakuk (also) reduced them to one, as it is said: 'But the just shall live by his faith' (Hab $2^{4}$).

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But it is not to be forgotten that even so great an authority as Maimonides understood the number literally. Still Dr. Schechter is not to be disturbed. This proves nothing, he says, for the 'burden' theory. For by the time of Rabbi Simlai and even earlier, many of the commandments were already obsolete. They were originally addressed to local and immediate circumstances which had passed away, such as those that have to do with the furnishings of the tabernacle or the conquest of Canaan; or to particular classes and individuals, as the Nazirites, the Judges, the King, and the High Priest. And in any case, Dr. Schechter does not believe that the ancient Israelite was troubled about the keeping of the separate commandments in the Law. In his mind he distinguished the Law from the commandments which compose it, just as a Christian will separate the Church from its members. He might not keep all the commandments, but that did not prevent him from finding his delight in the Law.

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But then, on the other hand, when the Israelite took delight in the Law, he took delight also in keeping such of the commandments as he could. There is a story which comes down perhaps from the very time in which St. Paul was writing of the Law as the strength of sin. It relates to a law, which is found in Dt $24^{19}$, that a sheaf forgotten in the harvest field belonged to the poor, the owner being forbidden to go again and fetch it. This law was called 'the commandment of forgetfulness.' It was the one and only law that a man fulfilled by forgetting. For if he remembered it, he would also remember the sheaf.

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This then is the story. It is found in the Tosephta. 'There was a Chasid or saint who forgot a sheaf in his field, and was thus enabled to fulfil the commandment of forgetfulness. Whereupon he bade his son go to the temple and offer for him a burnt-offering and a peace-offering, whilst he also gave a great banquet to his friends in honour of the event. Thereupon his son said to him: Father, why dost thou rejoice in this commandment more than in any other law prescribed in the Torah? He answered, that it was the occurrence of the rare opportunity of accomplishing the will of God, even as the result of some oversight, which caused him so much delight.'

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And Dr. Schechter will not let us answer and say that this story is an ancient matter. He has seen the same joy in our own day. 'I myself,' he says, 'had once the good fortune to observe one of those old-type Jews, who, as the first morning of the Feast of Tabernacles drew near, used to wake and rise soon after the middle of the night. There he sat, with trembling joy, awaiting impatiently the break of dawn, when he would be able to fulfil the law of the palm branches and the willows.'

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There is no man that we know of, not even Professor Sanday himself, who seems to have a more appropriate message for our day, or seems able to deliver it better, than Professor W. G. Jordan of Queen's University, Canada. Already this month we have noticed one article of his. Now let us notice another.

It is found in the *Methodist Review*, a quarterly which belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and is ably edited by Dr. Gross Alexander. The title of the article is 'Israel's Second Exodus.' But its subject is the Exodus from Houndsditch.

For Professor Jordan has no mere scholar's interest in the history of the past, not even in the past history of Israel. He is a critical student of the Old Testament, and he has come to the conclusion that 'the fact of the Exile cannot be questioned.' But much as the relief will be which that statement will bring to trembling Uzziahs, Dr. Jordan is not overwhelmed with its significance. It is to him of far more consequence that we should share with him the Exodus from Houndsditch than that we should believe Israel enjoyed an Exodus from Mesopotamia.

What is the significance of the Exodus from Mesopotamia? The Exodus from Mesopotamia turned the Jewish nation into a Jewish Church. And then it came out that the Exile had done three things for the Jew which had never been done before.

It made him a man of letters. There was writing before the Babylonian Exile, but the return from the Captivity called the Scribes into being and gave them a perpetual occupation. Since that time the Jew has taken his share in the literary and philosophical movements of the world. And his contribution to literature has worked for the general good.

It made him a missionary. Greece furnished a language that was more fitted than Hebrew to be an instrument of missionary effort, and then the synagogues of the dispersion, in spite of their narrowness and grim legalism, became centres of light for reverent God-seeking men of many nations; and in the natural order the gospel knocked first at the door of the synagogue.

It made him a trader. After the Exile the Jew became a merchant, and Dr. Jordan has no doubt that some cynic anticipated the remark which has been made of the Scotchman, that 'he kept the ten commandments and everything else he could lay his hands upon.' But those who have denounced the Jew have often first driven him to this line of life, and then denounced him from envy of his success in it. Even on the commercial side of his life the Jew has been a servant of humanity, a minister of civilization and culture.

Thus the Exodus from the land of the willow trees was a blessing to Israel and to mankind. But how much greater would the blessing be if the Exodus could take place from Houndsditch. It is Carlyle that speaks of the Exodus from Houndsditch. Why did he not become its leader?

The time was not ripe. First there had to come the scientific study of the ancient religion and of the Old Testament, 'in so far as such study is the servant of devout, reverent faith.' For in the new Exodus men must be one with the past in its faith, its hope, its love; but separate from it in respect of its local form and colour. The new Exodus must be separate in respect of the things that can be shaken, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain with it.

The time was not ripe. That was one thing. And Carlyle was not ready. That was another. He had not faith enough. He was still in the captivity. He looked up to the silent stars and said, 'He does nothing.' And he despised the present in the light which his imagination threw on the past. The past was peopled with heroes; the present was occupied by creatures whose misery well matched their meanness.

Carlyle could not lead the Exodus out of Houndsditch, much as he longed that the Exodus would take place. 'If we were well out of Houndsditch,' he said, 'bringing our own with us.' What a pathos there is in the words.

'Bringing our own with us'? Surely. Let us leave nothing behind that is our own. If our heart goes out, let our head go also. And the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—He also is ours. But let Him go out with us not exactly and only as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for that would be no Exodus from Houndsditch, but as the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

# The Religious-Historical Movement in German Theology.

By the Rev. J. M. Shaw, M.A., Edinburgh.

## I.

For the understanding of the present religious-historical movement in Germany we must start with Albrecht Ritschl, the pivotal figure of later nineteenth-century theology. In his early days an enthusiastic disciple of Hegel and Baur, he yet came to feel that the speculative construction of Christianity offered by the method of the Hegelian dialectic failed to do justice to the facts of Christian faith and history. The Hegelian interpretation of the significance of Jesus Christ in particular offended his feeling for historical reality; and so, guided by a new theological method, Ritschl made a determined attempt to re-establish for faith the absolute value of the personality of the historic Jesus. Of this new method the two essential principles were—(1) that religious knowledge is to be distinguished from scientific and philosophical knowledge as practical from theoretical—as knowledge, that is to say, essentially relative to faith, consisting in 'judgments of value' or 'worth' (*Werturteile*), which are not so much to be theoretically proved as practically experienced; and (2) that the source and norm of this practical or faith-knowledge is to be found in the Divine Revelation given in the fact of the historic Jesus, as this fact is represented and interpreted in the believing witness of the New Testament.

In the working out of a system, however, on the basis of these principles, Ritschl, and, after him, his followers of the Right—especially Kaftan—betrayed the weakness that is apt to attend on all reactions. In the tendency, on the one hand, to isolate the revelation of God given in Jesus Christ as a fact *sui egneris*, altogether different from anything that might be called revelation elsewhere; and, on the other, to insulate the Christian faith based on this revelation, so making it less or more independent of, or indifferent to, the results of scientific, historical, or philosophical criticism,—Ritschlianism, in the enthusiasm of its opposition to the Hegelian construction, was in danger of losing sight of the great truth for which Hegelianism with all its one-sidedness stood; and in so far it set itself against the main trend of the thinking of the time. This was the thoroughgoing application to every department of knowledge of the category of evolution which bids us see everywhere not sudden inbreaks of creative power, but continuous progressive change from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher, by means of an immanent power working according to certain observable laws. Fruitful in the world of nature this scientific conception became increasingly applied to the sphere of history, converting an atomistic into an organic view of things; until in the latter half of the nineteenth century, largely through the influence of Hegel and his school, its thoroughgoing application in the sphere of religion gave rise to the Comparative Science of Religion and the new understanding of religious history which his has brought about. Marred in the case of the Hegelians by a too *à priori* speculative method of procedure, the comparative evolutionary study of religions received new impetus through subsequent investigations carried out in a more purely scientific spirit—investigations alike in the fields of philology, archæology, ethnology, and anthropology.

The result was a great widening of the horizon of interest in, and knowledge of, civilizations and religions outside the Christian; which in turn had the effect of suggesting considerable modifications in the old methods of regarding Christianity. A number of the younger theologians of Germany (many of them former pupils of Ritschl, who grew to be dissatisfied with the positions of their master), under the influence of the new scientific historical spirit, asked: Why should Christianity be studied as if it were something unique and apart, 'a holy island in the sea of history,' the only true supernatural religion in the midst of a religious development which throughout is the subject of uniform law? Historically, it is said, Christianity is only one of the many forms which the religious consciousness has assumed in the course of its development, just as European culture is but one of the many forms which civilization has assumed in the long history of the human race. Is it not unscientific —such was their question—to take a section of religious history, call it 'sacred,' 'supernatural,' or 'revealed,' over against all other religions which, as the product merely of men's thought or imagination, were denominated 'natural'; and in Ritschlian fashion, through an inner attestation in heart and conscience,—a 'faith-witness' or 'faith-knowledge,' —claim freedom for it from the scrutiny which historical criticism applies to other religions. Away with all presuppositions as to its peculiar or unique character—presuppositions with which for too long men have been accustomed to come to the investigation of Christianity. Let it be studied by the same method as has proved fruitful elsewhere, a method which, as defined by Troeltsch of Heidelberg,[1] consists essentially in the application of three principles—(1) the principle of *criticism* or the repudiation of all traditional authority; (2) the principle of *analogy* by which phenomena of one part of religious history are estimated by comparison with similar or analogous phenomena elsewhere; and (3) the fundamental principle, of which analogy is but an implication—the principle of the *correlativity* of phenomena, according to which all that happens in history forms one great stream, in which nothing is isolated but everything stands in mutual relation with other things, and ultimately with the whole. In its application to Christianity this method—the historical, or, as it is usually called in Germany, to define its particular reference to the sphere of religion, the *religious-historical* method (*die religionsgeschichtliche Methode*) — means the demand that the religion of Jesus Christ, including its old Testament preparation, be considered in its place in the stream of religious history, and in essential connexion with religions chronologically and geographically adjacent to it. Only so, it is said, will the true nature of Christianity as an historical religion reveal itself; only so can the superiority of Christianity to other religions, if superiority there be, be rationally established.

For an adequate or complete understanding of the nature of Christianity as an historical religion, however, one thing more is necessary. We have not only to set it in the confluence of history and observe the results deposited in the course of its progress — in the form of doctrines, cults, and Church institutions—we must trace the stream of Christianity back to its source, and observe it as it bubbles up in all its native freshness from the depth of the personal life. Harnack had already shown the importance for the proper understanding even of the doctrinal development of Christianity in any period of a living realization of the religious life and situation of the time.[2] The impulse thus given to the study of the religious life as such found further and fuller expression in the works of Duhm, Gunkel, Weinel, and others; and, aided by the increasing attention devoted, especially in America, to the psychology and pathology of religion, a new interest gathered round the attempt to get behind the Christianity which is formulated in creed and doctrine and institution, and psychologically reconstruct and realize the elementary religious experience of the first Christians.[3] 'The first and proper object of theological science,' says Weinel,[4] 'is religion.' Back, therefore, from the study of Christian doctrine and cult, back to the study of the inner religious life itself, of which these are but the deposits and excrescences—

[1] *Theol. Art. u. d. Rhein. wiss. Predigerverein*, 1900, p. 104 f.

[2] In his *History of Dogma*. Cf. what he says in the *Theol. Literat.-Zeitung*, 1899, Kol. 513: 'Eine Skizze der eigentümlichen Art des religiösen Erlebnisses und der Frömmigkeit sollte in allen Perioden die Grundlage bilden für das Verständnis der Lehrentwicklung.'

[3] The self-consciousness of Jesus in particular has been made the subject of careful psychological analysis and reconstruction.

[4] *Die Wirkungen des Geistes u. der Geister im nachapost. Zeitalter*, p. v.

back, above all, to the sympathetic realization and presentation of the primitive Christian religious experience in its free original unformulated simplicity.

The religious-historical movement, then, as the outcome of the new interest, on the one hand, in the comparative study of religions, and on the other in religious psychology, stands for a twofold demand—(1) that right be done by Christianity as an historical religion entering history at a certain time and in a certain situation, and (2) that this historic Christianity be investigated not primarily as a doctrinal or ecclesiastical system, but as religious life and experience. The theology governed by this twofold aim, and based upon or regulated by the religious-historical method as above defined, will, it is claimed, in one important respect especially, differ from previous theology. It will be scientific, non-dogmatic, an historical-psychological discipline guided not by presuppositions of Church or dogma, but solely by considerations of historical truth and reality (*Respekt vor der nakten Wirklichkeit*). Besides that of Troeltsch, the chief apologist or *Systematiker* of the movement, the best known names are those of Gunkel, Bousset, Heitmüller, Weinel, Wernle, and Wrede. These thinkers, if they cannot strictly perhaps be called a 'school,' yet all represent a common tendency or movement (*Bewegung*), viz. the introduction of the religious-historical method in the twofold sense defined into every department of theological thought and activity —exegetic, apologetic, and systematic; and a remodelling of the theological faculty on this basis.[1]

## II.

As applied in the sphere of *exegesis*, the claim is that the Biblical religion and theology can only be understood when seen in vital connexion with the main currents of contemporary religious thought and history, and therefore should be studied as a section of the general ancient history of religion.[2]

In the early 'eighties Wellhausen in Germany, and Robertson Smith here, had pointed out analogies and resemblances between the religion of Israel, especially in its early development, and other surrounding Semitic religions. And more recent archæological research, especially in the sphere of Assyriology and Egyptology, has brought forward with a new emphasis the question of the influence on Israelitic-Jewish religion of Oriental mythology, particularly the Babylonian and Egyptian. But such questions once raised could not be confined to the Old Testament. The characteristic of the later part of the nineteenth century is the transference of the interest even of Old Testament scholars to the New Testament,[3] and the application to the central writings of Christianity of critical methods which were first applied to the Old Testament preparation. With the consequent deepened realization of the syncretistic character of the age in which Christianity had its rise, the fact has been emphasized that the New Testament cannot, as Ritschl had maintained, be understood simply as the direct outcome of the Old Testament. Chiefly through Schürer's monumental work on *The History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus*, and the subsequent researches in this field of experts like Baldensperger, Johannes Weiss, Spitta, Gunkel, and Bousset, the necessity was realized for the understanding, especially of the Gospels and the teaching and self-consciousness of Jesus, first of the study of late Judaistic extra-canonical literature—particularly the Apocalyptic—and then through this of the literature of the whole contemporary religious *milieu*. Harnack, in his *History of Dogma*, had made an energetic attempt to understand the development of Christianity in the post-apostolic and ancient Catholic age by relation to the pagan environment in which it found itself,—seeing in it 'the work of the Greek spirit on the soil of the Gospel.' To this extent he was the forerunner of the more specifically religious-historical method of investigation. But under the influence of his master Ritschl, who held that the New Testament was free from the atmosphere of pagan thought, and was conditioned throughout solely by Old Testament presuppositions, Harnack had at first refrained from carrying such a method of consideration backwards to the investigation and interpretation of the beginnings of Christianity. The widening of the horizon of our knowledge of other religions, however, and a truer understanding of the variety of the influences that contributed to form the intellectual and spiritual

[1] The question of remodelling has, it would seem, fallen largely into the background. The vigorous criticism of Harnack in his *Rektoratsrede* of 1901, *Die Aufgabe d. theol. Facult. u. d. altgem. Religionsgesch.*, dealt a severe blow to the proposal.

[2] See the Programme of the series, *Forschungen zur Religion u. Literatur d. A. u. N.T.*, edited by Bousset and Gunkel.

[3] *e.g.* Wellhausen and Gunkel.

environment in which Christianity arose, brought forward the question of the influence on the development even of early Christianity—the Christianity of the Apostolic Age—of religions of foreign origin (both Occidental and Oriental). In particular the study of the mythology of non-Christian religions—Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, and others—led to the attempt to understand much in the New Testament through analogies and parallels drawn from these sources. And the common attitude of the religious-historical movement in the field of New Testament exegesis may be fairly represented by the thesis of Gunkel in one of his works,[1] that 'in its origin and shaping (*Ausbildung*), in important, even in some essential points the religion of the New Testament (through Judaism) stood under the influence of alien religions.'

This means a new interest in the question of Christian origins and antecedents, and the rise of a new genetic or embryological study of Christian conceptions. Hitherto the attention of Biblical scholars was directed primarily to textual and literary criticism — to questions of authorship, structure, composition, and date of the Biblical writings. But this, it is now held, is only a preparation for the work of historical criticism proper, viz. the investigation of the antecedents of Biblical thought and language in general religious history. This involves an immense widening of the province of Biblical exegesis and theology. The old standpoint, according to which for the Bible student there existed only the Old Testament and the New, is broken through; and the sphere of investigation enlarged to include not only Jewish extra-canonical religion and literature, but the whole religious literature of the time—Jewish and non-Jewish alike. No longer is it held to be enough for the explanation of a Biblical idea or phrase to take all the scriptural passages where it occurs, and by induction from these arrive at its general meaning. It must be investigated in the context of general religious history. The religious-historical investigation of the Biblical phrase 'in the name of Jesus,' for example, by Heitmüller,[2] means the elucidation of its meaning and usage in the New Testament by the bringing forward of analogies in Babylonian, Persian, Mandean, and other forms of religions and worship where the name of the Deity is thought of as itself a part of the divine essence, the mere utterance of which acts as a kind of charm. So Gunkel[3] places the whole Christ-picture of the New Testament—not only the Christology of Paul and John, but the Gospel narratives of the Infancy, Baptism, Temptation, Transfiguration, Resurrections and Ascension—in the wide-flowing stream of religious history, and undertakes to explain the New Testament representation of Christ by the help of mythological conceptions diffused throughout the Orient, and derived chiefly from Babylonia.

Now in the religious-historical method as applied in exegesis we have a factor the importance of which cannot be overlooked by theologians of whatever school. Biblical theology in the past has too much suffered from the violence of exegesis which was 'dogmatic' or unscientific in the sense that, influenced by certain ecclesiastical or doctrinal considerations (*e.g.* a certain theory of inspiration), it investigated the Bible to support certain modern preconceived doctrines or views; and was intent rather on finding these its own modern views in the old writings than on recognizing there views utterly strange or foreign to it. In this sense much of the Ritschlian exegesis was dogmatic. The idea, *e.g.* which Ritschl made the regulative principle of Christian theology—the Biblical conception of the 'Kingdom of God'—was interpreted in the modern ethical sense; and scant justice was done to the eschatological ideas which are now known to have formed such an important part of the New Testament religious world-view. As opposed to such a procedure, religious-historical exegesis insists that the first necessity for a truly historical understanding of the Bible is the historical sense, which realizes the difference between the ancient and the modern view-points, and seeks sympathetically to realize and enter into the original, historical, and psychological situation of the writer and his correspondents. What is essential for the historical understanding of Paul's ideas, *e.g.*, is that 'the interpreter should come to his words through the modes of thought and feeling belonging to Paul's

[1] *Zum religionsgesch. Verständnis des N.T.*, p. 1. For an English statement of the position, see Cheyne's *Bible Problems*. 'There are parts of the N.T. which can only be accounted for by the newly discovered fact of an Oriental Syncretism which began early and continued late' (p. 19).

[2] *Im Namen Jesu—eine sprach. u. religionsgesch. Untersuchung zum N.T.*, 1903.

[3] *Ut supra*, pp. 64, 89–95. Cf. Pfleiderer, *The Early Christian Conception of Christ*, 1903. Pfleiderer's whole life-work paved the way for the new movement.

own time, rather than through the fabrics of doctrine which theologians of a later day have reared upon them.' Only so will he find out what the author meant by his words and ideas, and what the first readers understood by them, as opposed to what subsequent ages have read into them. The result of this historical and psychological realism—this sustained endeavour to get behind formulæ of doctrine or worship to the inner realities of thought and life—has been a new impression of the genuinely historical character of the Biblical religion and literature. By investigating this religion and literature, not as a thing isolated and apart, but in intimate relation to the environment of general religious history, modern exegetical study lets us see how many ideas even in the New Testament are conditioned by, and essentially relative to, the historical circumstances and psychological atmosphere of the time. Thus many expressions and conceptions which are strange to our modern ways of thinking have become intelligible to us for the first time through religious-historical exegesis.[1] Especially is this the case in such a book as 'the *Apocalypse of St. John*'—the New Testament book to which this style of exegesis was first applied, where the peculiar apocalyptic symbolism of the ancient world-view, which formed such a stumbling-block to the old psychological allegorical methods of interpretation, plays such a prominent part. We see the author as a genuine ancient, a man of his time breathing its mental air and sharing in large measure its psychological presuppositions. Even Jesus in His words and teaching has become for us in this sense a new historical reality.

The *danger* is that, in reaction from the earlier exegesis which too much overlooked the difference between the old and the new, the religious-historical should exaggerate the resemblance between the Biblical and other ancient religions and literature, and overlook what in the Biblical is new, original, and unique. This manifests itself in various ways—chiefly in the tendency (1) to argue from similarity of form to identity of content, (2) to translate what is at most analogy into a relation of genealogy or dependence. The tendency ever is to lay undue emphasis on the primitive elements in Christianity, on the rudimentary ecstatic manifestations, *e.g.*, which are common to it with other religions.[2] But this means an insufficient appreciation of what is *new* in the religious experience of the Biblical authors and writers. Analogies, even relations of dependence, between Christianity and other religions cannot be ruled out beforehand as inconsistent with a certain preconceived view of revelation and inspiration. More harm than good is done to Christianity and Christian truth by such a procedure. The first of Christian truths, as Pascal reminds us, is that truth must be loved first of all—from whatever quarter it comes. This question of dependence is a question for the expert and the specialist to decide, and must wait on the investigation of the facts. But to trace the origin or antecedents of a Biblical conception or phrase does not in itself settle the question of the meaning or significance of this conception or phrase in the Biblical writings. Ideas not at first specifically Christian may have been taken up into the Pauline formulation; but, in being so taken up, they have entered into a new context, the context of a new religious experience, through relation to which they have become transmuted, and filled with a new, a Christian content.

Take, what Bousset[3] calls 'the foundation-pillar of religious-historical exegesis,' the New Testament—in particular the Pauline—view of the Sacraments. The results of the investigations of Heitmüller,[4] who, following Eichhorn, has made this his peculiar province, is that at the root of the Pauline conception he finds a physical, or quasi-physical, view of the Sacraments which is traceable to the influence of pagan mystery-conceptions. In opposition to Kähler, he maintains that the Sacrament with Paul was fundamentally a ceremony which by its mere outward performance (*ex opere operato*) secured to mankind a supernatural spiritual good independent of the personal, ethical, and religious attitude of the believer.

Now analogies or parallels there may be between the sacramental ideas of Paul and the mystery-conceptions. The Pauline ideas may even, in

[1] *e.g.* the reference to 'baptism for the dead' in 1 Corinthians. In the matter of language, special reference should be made to the recent researches among the Egyptian papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions—on the part of such men as Deissmann in Germany and Moulton here—which have shown that the language of the N.T. is practically the common colloquial Greek of the first century.

[2] So specially in Gunkel's and Weinel's investigations into the N.T. doctrine of the Spirit.

[3] *Theol. Rundschau*, 1904, p. 315.

[4] *Im Namen Jesu*, 1903; *Taufe u. Abendmahl bei Paulus*, 1903.

certain aspects, reflect the influence of these mystery-conceptions. That is a very doubtful supposition, yet the question is one for experts to decide. But even supposing such as earlier collocation or derivation proved, this is far from explaining their distinctively Pauline usage and content. 'Tears,' says Balzac, 'I have decomposed them, they contain a little phosphate of lime, chloride of sodium, mucin and water.' That is all the analysis of chemistry may find in them, but to God and man they are more than lime + sodium + mucin + water. They are tears; and the whole divine and human meaning of them remains after the analytical chemist has done what he can to explain them. So the antecedents, by reference to which the new exegesis seeks to explain the Pauline ideas, are not adequate to the interpretation of their proper meaning or content. That meaning is revealed only to the man who realizes as the central organizing or synthesizing principle of the apostle's thought the new experience which was his through relation to a new fact.

And the root mistake of much of what is called religious-historical exegesis is that it is guilty of *a new kind of isolation*—an isolation which, in its results, proves much more serious than the old. In its anxiety to interpret Biblical thought and language in the context of ancient contemporary extra-Biblical religion and literature, it is apt to forget the immediate and primary psychological context—the context, viz., of the personal experience of the author.[1] This is the central determinative thing making thought, language, practice—all things new. It is the failure to do justice to this creative worth of personality and personal experience that is at the root, *e.g.*, of such a judgment as that of Gunkel, 'that the Christianity of Paul is a syncretistic religion.'[2] As Reischle[3] observes, we can only speak of 'syncretism' when the elements of different religions are admitted on equal terms. But in the Pauline thought foreign elements, if present, are but the form or mould into which his genius has poured a new spiritual content. And the first essential for a true exegesis of the Pauline writings—and of the Biblical in general—is a sympathetic understanding and realization of the new experience which is determinative of this new content. Back, therefore, of an exact knowledge of recent philological, archæological, and anthropological investigations, back even of a trained historical imagination, the fundamental requirement for true exegesis is a personal relation to Jesus Christ. Only the man of Christian experience can aright interpret Christian thought and language. This it is the more necessary to emphasize, inasmuch as exegesis is in danger at present of falling largely into the hands of those who are first of all experts or specialists in some one province or field, archæology, philology, anthropology, or mythology; and who, coming, from this extra-biblical or even extra-religious study to the interpretation of the Bible, are apt to proceed as if historical criticism here were, what it is not, an abstract scientific instrument which can be detached from the personal relation of the investigator to the facts examined.

(*To be concluded.*)

[1] In case of N.T. exegesis this leads to the minimizing of the influence of specifically O.T. thought and language on the Biblical authors.

[2] *Zum religionsgesch. Verständnis des N.T.*, p. 95.

[3] *Theologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 36.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF DEUTERONOMY.

DEUTERONOMY XXXIV. 5, 6.

**'So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.'—R.V.**

EXPOSITION.

**'There in the land of Moab.'**—He had looked upon the land which the Lord had promised to the fathers, for which he had been yearning, and to which all his work had been directed all these years; and now he has had to die, as the text puts it with such pathetic emphasis, 'there in the

land of Moab,' having no part in the fair inheritance.—MACLAREN.

THE spot referred to can be fixed, at least approximately, with tolerable confidence. The tableland of Moab descends gradually to the Jordan valley by a multitude of irregular mountain ridges, intersected by numerous wadys. Among these ridges there is one which bears the name of Neba. Neba is doubtless the ancient Nebo. The ridge terminates in a projecting spur, whence the slopes fall steeply on all sides down to the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, 3568 feet below.—DRIVER.

**'According to the word of the Lord.'**—The Hebrew is 'according to the *mouth* of Jehovah.' *Mouth* in the sense of *command* is a common Hebrew idiom; nevertheless the Jews understood it here literally, and from the paraphrase in the Targum arose the Rabbinic legend that Moses died by the kiss of God.—DRIVER.

**'And he buried him.'**—Though Hebrew idiom would permit the verb to be fairly represented in English by 'they buried him,' or 'he was buried,' yet, in view of the second clause of the verse, the subject intended is doubtless Jehovah. —DRIVER.

**'In the valley over against Beth-peor.'**—That is, in the very ravine in which Israel at the moment was: probably the Wady Hesban.—DRIVER.

BETH-PEOR was in Reubenite territory (Jos $13^{20}$), but Moses' burying-place was outside the boundary.—GIRDLESTONE.

**'No man knoweth of his sepulchre.'**—The first instance on record of the providential obliteration, so remarkably exemplified afterwards in the gospel history, of the holy places of Palestine; the providential safeguard against their elevation to a sanctity which might endanger the real holiness of the history and religion which they served to commemorate.—STANLEY.

## THE SERMON.

### The Death of Moses.

*By the Right Rev. J. R. Woodford, D.D.*

Two great pictures of the death of God's saints are set forth in the Old Testament. One in its surroundings is intensely human; the other is enveloped in an atmosphere of the most mysterious solemnity and awe. The first picture is of the death-bed of Jacob; the death of Moses is the other. There are three kinds of events in Scripture—those that take place in the course of nature, those that are above the usual laws of nature, and between these a third class, which though possibly not supernatural are involved in a darkness which baffles our endeavours to penetrate it. The death of Moses is of this mixed character. The New Testament references deepen the mystery. Moses appears in glory along with Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration; and then St. Jude alludes to a contest between Michael the archangel and Satan over the body of Moses, as though the burial of the dead prophet by the angels of God had been opposed by the powers of evil.

I. The death of Moses at the very borders of Canaan must have been to Israel a sore perplexity. The man, so grand in his faithfulness, touched with his feet the borders of the promised land, but might not enter in. One hasty speech opposed an insuperable bar to his sharing what thousands of inferior spirits were to enjoy. The truth which such a providence must have forced upon their minds is *the certainty of a reward out of this world.* We find no positive mention in the Pentateuch of a future life; yet never perhaps was the verity of a rest remaining for the children of God after death preached more emphatically to a nation than from the mountain upon which the marvelling tribes sought for Moses and found him not. Thus the death of Moses at the beginning of the history of Israel finds its counterpart in nothing less than the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

II. But besides the general connexion of Moses' death with the doctrine of life everlasting there comes out with sharpness another point—*the personal dealing of the Lord God with the dying man.* The Lord spake unto Moses in that self-same day, saying, 'Get thee up into this mountain and die.' And then the last record of all—'and he (God) buried him in a valley in the land of Moab.' What a coming forth out of the thick darkness here. It assuredly brings God very nigh. The words which hang around the departure of Moses are the words addressed to Abraham: 'I, even I, am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward.'

III. There are two things here. (1) How distinctly we are drawn away from the notion of mere temporal success as the reward of Christian effort. Moses' reward is not here, but hereafter; it is not Canaan, but God. (2) The death of Moses teaches us something about preparation for our own departure. It tells us that on the one hand we cannot wholly dispense with ordinances; and on the other hand that they may not be to us all in all. Unassisted in his last extremity by earthly aids, Moses warns us that the source of our strength in our appointed hour must be in God.

### The Death in the Desert.

*By the Rev. Adam Scott.*

'We must needs die,' said the wise woman of Tekoa. But why must we needs die? There is

no answer but one. It is God's will. Nor was the death of Moses the result of decayed powers. It was God's will that he should die even then and there.

I. In the death of Moses we see the 'severity' of God. How earnestly Moses pleaded that he might 'see the good land.' But God is not to be trifled with. Sin is a reality, and Moses had sinned.

II. In the death of Moses we see God's desire that men should put their trust not in man but in Him. The Book of Deuteronomy closes with a high eulogium upon Moses. Some books conclude with an ascription of praise to God. This is the only book that ends with the commendation of a man. We know not who wrote the words of commendation, but no doubt they expressed the universal feeling of Israel after his death. Had he been spared to bring them into the land there might have been a temptation to enthrone the creature in the place of the Creator.

III. In the death of Moses there is witness to the kindness of God. He could not enter the land, but he was permitted to view it. This was the act of a father to a child; it was the substitution of a lesser blessing for an unattainable greater. Moreover, in the last illness God Himself became his nurse. I heard a daughter say, speaking of her mother's long and fatal illness, 'I am so thankful I was able to nurse her and do everything for her with my own hands all the way through to the end.'

IV. In the death of Moses we see the glory of the grace of God. Of Moses it might be said, 'Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it.' He was marvelled at for his meekness, and this great grace grew with the years. At the last he was at his best.

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## Illustrations.

There is a tradition connected with the battle of Marathon that a peasant fought with great prowess on the side of the Greeks, using a ploughshare for a weapon. When the battle was over he was nowhere to be seen, nor would the oracle divulge anything beyond this—'Care for no man at all. Say but just this: "We praise one helpful whom we call the holder of the ploughshare."'

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**'Burial by God.'** — I have often put to myself the question: Suppose this fragment of the Bible had been lost, should we drop any flower from the garland of revelation? I think we should. I think there is one thing revealed here which is quite unique and which is planted here alone; I mean the fact that there is such a thing as burial by *God*. Some of the deepest distresses of bereavement come from the denial of funeral rites. Where the body is buried in the mine, where the body is engulfed in the sea, where the body is stretched on the battlefield indistinguishable amid the mutilated slain, there is a deeper tone added to the heart's knell. It is a note which Christianity has rather increased than diminished, for the doctrine of resurrection has consecrated the body and made its very dust dear. To such a state of mind what comfort this passage brings! Here is an explorer lost in the mountain snow. His friends know he is dead; and it adds to thei pain that no human lips have consecrated his dust. And to them there comes this voice: Ye that weep for the unfound dead, ye that lament the burial rites denied, know ye not that there are graves which are consecrated by God alone!—George Matheson.

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**'No man knoweth of his sepulchre.'**

By Nebo's lonely mountain,
On this side Jordan's wave,
In a vale in the land of Moab
There lies a lonely grave.
And no man knows that sepulchre,
And no man saw it e'er,
For the angels of God upturned the sod,
And laid the dead man there.

That was the grandest funeral
That ever passed on earth;
But no man heard the trampling,
Or saw the train go forth—
Noiselessly as the daylight
Comes back when night is done,
And the crimson streak on ocean's cheek
Grows into the great sun.

O lonely grave in Moab's land!
O dark Beth-peor's hill!
Speak to these curious hearts of ours,
And teach them to be still.
God hath His mysteries of grace,
Ways that we cannot tell;
He hides them deep, like the hidden sleep
Of him He loved so well.

C. F. Alexander.

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**Nunc Dimittis.**—Your dear Archbishop who has left you was from first to last a soldierly man. He was a soldier at the beginning of his long career; he is a soldier at the end. You could see his soldierly character not only in the erectness and dignity of his bearing, not only in the completeness of his humility, but also in the directness and simplicity of his faith. He fulfilled his duty as a man under authority. He felt that he had a Master who called him and commanded him, and it was his duty, quietly, simply, and without ostentation to do what he was told. But perhaps he was never so much the simple and dignified soldier as he was when he laid down his charge. Those familiar words which we have sung to-night, the 'Nunc Dimittis,' are the words of an old soldier. They mean in the Greek: 'Master, now

lettest Thou Thy servant retire from his guard.' And the whole life of the Archbishop for these last few months in his inward soul has been saying the 'Nunc Dimittis' of an old soldier. . . . As I know from my talks with him spiritually, he was a man looking in the face of his Commander, recognizing that the word had been spoken, that his guard might now be left, the charge handed back to Him who gave it, and it was with simplicity of faith, with the directness and dignity of a gentleman, a soldier to the last, that he has gone into the quiet of his resting days.—From the tribute of Archbishop LANG to his predecessor, reported in *The Guardian*, January 27, 1909.

**'He appeared in glory.'**—That Divine hand, which locked up this treasure, and kept the key of it, brought it forth afterwards glorious. In the Transfiguration, this body, which was hid in the valley of Moab, appeared in the hill of Tabor; that we may know these bodies of ours are not lost but laid up, and shall as sure be raised in glory as they are laid down in corruption.—Bishop HALL, *Contemplations*, vii. 5.

Here,—here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,
Lightnings are loosened,
Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,
Peace let the dew send!
Lofty designs must close in like effects;
Loftily lying,
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying.

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# The Development of the Religious Consciousness.[1]

BY PRINCIPAL THE REV. ALFRED E. GARVIE, D.D., NEW COLLEGE, LONDON.

MANY views are held regarding the origin of religion: it is not the intention of this paper to discuss any of these theories in detail; but, after a brief statement of some of the opinions held, to discover, if possible, the method of inquiry to be pursued, and by application of this method, when found, to fix as accurately as can be what may, with some degree of probability, be regarded as the beginnings of religious thought.

## I.

Comte derived all religion from *fetishism*, which, however, he used in a wider sense than is now current, the belief of man that all phenomena were caused by material objects, which evoked his interest, curiosity, fear, or hope. Tylor seeks to explain all religious belief and worship by *animism*, the attribution of life to the phenomena of nature. Tiele further defines this as 'the belief in the existence of souls or spirits, of which only the powerful acquire the rank of divine beings, and become objects of worship,' and distinguishes two forms of it—*spiritism*, in which the spirits are conceived as moving about freely, and *fetishism*, in which they are localized in an object. Herbert Spencer 'traces religion back to the worship of ancestors under the guise of ghosts as its sole factor.' Pfleiderer agrees with A. Réville in distinguishing between 'the worship of animated nature (*Naturism*)—which,' he holds, 'must certainly be placed first as the earliest in time—and the belief in spirits (animism, spiritism) developed out of the former,' and reckons 'as a subdivision of the latter the worship of the spirits of ancestors' (*The Philosophy of Religion*, iii. p. 11). In his Gifford Lectures, however, he modifies this view, and regards the belief in God as 'formed out of the prehistorical belief in spirits,' to which he now assigns 'two sources—external nature, and the soul of man,' for he regards the belief in ancestral spirits as being as primitive as the belief in nature spirits (i. 103–104). Jevons declines to

[1] A paper read at the Congress of the History of Religions in Oxford on September 17th, 1908.

admit the common assumption that the religions of savages represent the primitive religion, and denies that evolution must necessarily be progressive, and that therefore the lowest forms of belief and worship must be the earliest. He represents primitive man as investing natural objects with a personality like his own, and even with supernatural powers. He speaks of *totemism*, the alliance of a human tribe with a class of animals or plants as its god, as primitive. He thus credits primitive man with the distinction of the natural and the supernatural, the consciousness of self as spirit separable from the body, the conception of classes in natural objects, the sense of tribal unity. It is evident that when such differences of opinion in explaining the origin of religion exist, it is necessary for us not so much to discuss whether this or that theory is the more plausible, but whether the method of inquiry has been determined with sufficient care, in the hope that the right method may not only put an end to this confusion, but assign to each of these forms of the religious consciousness, regarded as primitive, its proper place in the development.

## II.

In criticizing these opposed views it is important that we should define the method of inquiry as rigidly as possible. How can we see with the eyes, hear with the ears, think with the mind, or feel with the heart of the primitive man? One method of recapturing the distant past has already been under our notice. Tiele assumes that the savage may represent him: this Jevons denies. This is the method of comparative ethnology and prehistoric anthropology. But John Stuart Mill has pointed out that savage life shows indications of degeneration rather than primitiveness, the vices of moral depravity rather than the qualities of immaturity. Where the life of the uncivilized races shows less moral corruption, contact with Europeans so quickly brings about changes, that it is difficult to fix the native beliefs and customs by accurate observation and exact description before they have disappeared. These peoples have many centuries of life behind them, and there is no guarantee that there has not been an evolution, though not progressive, as of the civilized races. The primitive man was the ancestor of the civilized man as of the savage; in him then were the possibilities of progress or of deterioration; it is not likely that stagnation could continue generation after generation. Change is almost certain; and whereas in some conditions change meant progress, in others it resulted in deterioration. It is certain the savage is not the primitive man. It must be pointed out, however, that the theory of animism as an early phase of the religious consciousness does not depend on this assumption. Pfleiderer's earlier view that naturism passed into anthropomorphic polytheism without this as a stage of development is contradicted by the fact that in the religions of civilized races traces of animism can be found. Religious beliefs and customs are persistent, and the lower forms survive in the popular, when the official religion has left them behind. If the primitive man cannot be identified with the savage, still less can we think of him as capable of such advanced thought and feeling as Jevons assigns to him. The beginnings of religion must have been very simple. If we have not an instance of such simplicity in the savage, have we not got it in the child? Thus a second method is offered to us.

As the child physically recapitulates the history of the race, so it may be assumed mentally, morally, and religiously. Hence in recent years the study of the child has become one of the most important branches of psychology. An additional reason why the study of the child is so important is this, that in its purer and more gracious forms religion is so largely a childlike attitude of dependence on, confidence in, and submission to the divine. The child-life has more of the characteristics of the religious life than that of the adult. The study of the child yields certain definite results for our guidance. The child feels before he thinks or wills. He feels pleasure or pain; he wishes and hopes for the good which will make him feel happy, he shuns and dreads the evil that makes him suffer. With this emotionalism there goes the spontaneous activity of the imagination. What he has dreamed is real to him: he does not distinguish fact and fiction; he delights in personifications and exaggerations. It is very slowly that he learns to speak only the truth. He likes to pretend, and it is an accommodation to the ways of grown-up people that he calls his playing a part pretending; to himself it is much more than that. But the world around as it is, not as he would have it be, soon compels his attention, and he is driven to try and know and understand it. His intellect

begins to be active. The curiosity of children is proverbial: their habit of asking questions, and not being easily satisfied with the answers given to them, has caused many parents not a little difficulty, if not irritation. The child wants to know what a thing is, how it is, why it is; the categories of substance, causality, purpose are implicit in his thinking. Gradually the society of home or school, to which he belongs, with its prohibitions and requirements, its restraints on his wishes, and its constraints of his actions, evokes his conscience, his sense of right and wrong, of inclination as different from duty. As he becomes conscious of himself as a person, and of others as persons, faith as the evidence of things not seen becomes possible to him. And thus his mental, moral, and spiritual development begins.

The child, as the modern psychologist observes him, grows in a rational, moral, religious environment; not only is the process of development shortened by the contact of the child with the parents and teachers, but the child takes over much from his surroundings that he would not have gained for himself. He cannot then without qualification be regarded as exactly similar to the primitive man. We must, therefore, have recourse to a third method. What enables the observer and inquirer to interpret the religious consciousness of the savage or of the child, to understand it better than the subject of it does himself, to make explicit what is so largely implicit, to lay bare the process of reasoning that is involved in an intuition, instinct, impulse? Is it not his own consciousness? It must be frankly admitted that in all attempts to recover the earliest phases of the religious consciousness the personal equation is to be reckoned with. We cannot here expect the objectivity of physical science; the subjectivity of the thinker will betray itself. It is hard to understand how those to whom religion is one of the strange errors into which mankind has fallen can possibly do justice to the religious consciousness. Sympathy would seem to be a condition of intelligence. We may then admit as a legitimate method the thinker's reflexion on his own religious life, and the elements of which it is composed, his remembrance, so far as he can command it, of the stages through which he has passed, his valuation, mental and moral, of the contents of his faith. It is not a logical resolution of the contents of religious consciousness into 'bloodless categories,' such as Hegel's Logic appears to be to the superficial observer that is here needed; it is rather a psychological divination, which will realize the living facts of religion in their sources and connexions. We can analyze the complex experience into its simpler elements; we can recognize that development is gradual, and so trace the links between the more prominent and diverse features of religion which have successively appeared. It is to be hoped that by a combination of these methods, each applied with its necessary limitations, and each supplementing, and where necessary correcting, the others, we may be able to restore the religious consciousness in its earliest phases. Before attempting to do this, the writer may be allowed to make two remarks regarding the personal equation in this inquiry so far as he is himself concerned. He assumes that religion does correspond with the reality of the world, it is the response of man to that which is in his environment, it is the fulfilment by man of a promise of his nature. He assumes, in the second place, that there has been a progress in religion, that at each stage of the development of the religious consciousness the response of man to his environment has brought his thought and life into closer correspondence with the reality of the world, and so man has been becoming more truly what he ought to be. But in such a process, the end can alone interpret the beginning, and in reconstituting the past history we may be guided by the movement towards this end.

## III.

Pfleiderer's earlier view that the belief in nature as animated preceded the belief in spirits commends itself as the more probable. The child is aware of living, and thinks of all around him as living before he has any conception of 'self' or of a soul as distinct from a body. It is only gradually that the totality of experience is resolved into its elements, that the self distinguishes itself from the world around, and from its body. We cannot begin with a simpler consciousness than the sense of being alive in a world also alive. In the distinction of objects in the environment the attention was directed by the selective interest. Objects that caused pleasure or pain would first of all attract attention. It is not unlikely that the sun with its light and warmth would be one of the early objects of closer observation. What gratified the wishes

on the one hand, or what inflicted suffering on the other, would be most considered in order to secure or to avoid. Whether fear or hope predominated would depend on whether nature was gracious or hostile. The primitive man had no conception of his personality, but slowly the sense of self would emerge, and there is not a little probability in the assumption that it was the experience in dreams while asleep that first suggested the distinction of soul and body, and even the possibility of a separation of the soul from the body, and that this idea was transferred to the dead. After death the return of the soul to the body as in sleep was expected; only reluctantly was the separation recognized as final, and yet the soul so separated from the body was regarded as still existing. When such a conception of soul or spirit had been reached, then the vague belief in nature as living, or *animatism*, as it has been suggested that this phase of thought should be called, could be more fully and clearly defined. Natural phenomena were due to the action of *spirits* similar to the human. But here two ways of looking at the relation of the spirits to the phenomena seem possible. The spirit may be conceived as taking up its abode in an object, and as necessarily confined to that object, so that its activities could not be detached therefrom. Thus the feather, the stone, or the block of wood might be supposed to possess power because of the spirit localized in it. This way of thinking may be called *fetishism*, although this is a word of ambiguous meaning. To secure the presence of the spirit in such an object among certain savage peoples, a fixed rite must be observed. The object selected is usually some trifle which has been invested casually with significance. A feather blown across the path, a stone on which the foot stumbles, a bit of wood of curious shape may thus attract attention. Fetishism is not the earliest form of religion, and it is a bypath, and not the main road of development. The other way of thinking is this. As the soul can in dreams leave the body, and is thus distinguished from it, so the spirit may be conceived as controlling the natural object without being confined to it. This may be called *spiritism*, or, as that is a term which might suggest ancestor-worship, rather *dæmonism*. As there is no conception of the unity of nature, but an impression of the multiplicity of things, the spirits are many, and so we have *polydæmonism*. These spirits live and act; power is their distinctive attribute. The question thus forces itself upon us: how was that power thought of? The description which Jevons gives of the mental process by which the natural was distinguished from the supernatural seems an anachronism. We are better to avoid these terms in this connexion altogether. It may be conceded that what happened regularly, unless the selective interest already spoken of directed attention to it, did not so challenge the curiosity of the primitive man, and call for the only explanation he could offer, the activity of a spirit, as what occurred suddenly or seldom, awaking his surprise or wonder. Soon too would he learn what he could do or could not do, just as we can now see children learning the humbling lesson. As the boy thinks of his father as bigger or stronger before he thinks of him as wiser and better, so probably man thought of the spirits as more powerful than himself, and able to do what he could not. The boy tries to imitate his father without any conscious intention of rivalling him. Magic originally may be not a substitute for religion, or an attempt to get power over the spirits to compel them to do man's will, but an experiment to do what a man believed himself quite capable of doing before he found out the limits of his power. When man did recognize that he could not do many things that were done in the world around him, and done, therefore, as he believed by the spirits, he would try to get on friendly terms with them by his gifts and by his prayers. It seems unnecessary to assume, with Jevons, that the possibility of such an alliance was suggested to him by his intercourse with his dead.

Just as man only slowly distinguished himself from the world around him, and his soul from his body, so the distinction between the animal and the human was only gradually recognized. Man felt and thought himself akin to all living creatures, and he, therefore, conceived the spirits whom he acknowledged as greater, and whose help he sought, in animal as well as in human forms. Polydæmonism is not exclusively *anthropomorphic*, it may be described as *therianthropic*. Traces of this development are found in the religion of Egypt conspicuously. Some gods have animal bodies, others only animal heads. Some are entirely human, but have some animal closely associated with them. It is at this stage in the discussion that *totemism* may be most fitly con-

sidered, although it cannot be regarded as nearly as primitive as Jevons seems to represent it as being. It is doubtful, too, whether it can be regarded as a stage through which all religions have passed. It involves two features which point to a later stage of human development. First of all, it is not an individual animal (or plant) that is chosen as the tribal god; but a class. This implies not only observation, but some powers of generalization. Secondly, the sense of tribal unity is strong; and we cannot assume that this involved no gradual development. Jevons derives the first feature from the second; man conceived of animals and plants as tribes, even as he himself belonged to a tribe; but even if this were so, what has been said about the mental process involved still holds good. Other spirits were still recognized, but the totem was exalted to be the tribal deity. The totem animal was regarded as so closely akin to his human worshippers, that stories were told of the descent of the tribe from the animal. As on the one hand the family became conscious of a separate unity within the tribe, and as on the other hand man distinguished himself more thoroughly from the animal, ancestor-worship may be supposed to have appeared. That there was belief in the spirits of the dead long before ancestor-worship became a definite form of religion may be assumed. Man's consciousness of himself as distinct from, superior to, all other creatures influenced his conception of the spirits he worshipped. His religion became more *anthropomorphic*. As his knowledge of nature grew, his sense of the greatness of the spirits who ruled nature also developed, and *polydæmonism* passed into *polytheism*. The god was less closely attached to the natural object with which the spirit had at an earlier stage been connected. He was conceived more distinctly as human in form and character; and as the natural object could not now represent him, art, however rude at its beginnings, sought to place before the worshipper some semblance of the deity. Thus the god and the idol seem to be related.

One other phase of the development must yet be noted. The multitude of spirits was still believed in, but a tribal deity, whether always a totem is doubtful, was given the first place. Thus there was a crude monotheism or rather monolatry. The union of tribes in a nation arrested this development. The tribal deities were combined in a national pantheon. Where the resemblance between the local gods was close enough, then there was syncretism, the fusion of the two deities in one with probably various names. When in such a national movement, one city or district took a lead, the god of 'the predominant partner' enjoyed a supremacy over the other gods, as Amon-Ra in Egypt, Marduk in Babylon, and Ashur in Assyria. Besides this monarchy in the pantheon, two other instances of tendency towards monotheism may be noted. The one is *henotheism*, as Max Müller calls it, and the other is *pantheism*—the former due to piety, the latter the result of speculation. The worshipper so concentrated his attention on, and was absorbed by interest in, the one deity he was addressing that, for the time at least, he thought of no other god, and endowed the god worshipped with all the attributes and functions of deity. The Vedic hymns offer examples of this henotheism. When men began to reason about the gods, it was impossible for the mind to rest in multiplicity, and so in the speculations of priests in Egypt and Ascetics in India not only the unity of the divine, but also the identity of god and the world, became the supreme article of faith. One exception to this anthropomorphic polytheism with its modifications in henotheism or pantheism there was. The tribal deity of the Hebrews—Yahweh—came in the course of the religious development of the nation to be regarded as the sole and absolute deity, endowed with perfect moral character. This 'ethical monotheism' has been inherited by the Christian Church; it is still the possession of Judaism, and Islam with some modification of the conception has become its fervent champion. It is certain that if belief in the divine is to survive in modern times, it must be conceived as unity. The issue of the future seems to be between the monotheistic and the pantheistic representation of that unity; but it would not be proper to the purpose of this paper to advocate the one or the other.

This attempt to reconstruct, from the indications that the materials collected by the science of comparative religion in regard to men's religious thought and life afford us, the development of the religious consciousness cannot claim more than probability. But it is an attempt worth making; as the danger here is towards specialism on the one hand, or speculation on the other. Some are content with collecting the facts without seeking their bond of

union; others are ambitious to prove a thesis by the use of the facts. The writer has attempted 'to think things together' without ignoring any of the relevant facts. Although the expression of personal belief would be out of place in a gathering such as this is, yet he cannot close without expressing his conviction that this search after God, so persistent and often so pathetic, cannot have been in vain, but that God has indeed been found wherever sincerely sought.

# Literature.

## *A NEW COMMENTARY.*

A Commentary on the Holy Bible. By Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow, M.A. (*Macmillan.* 7s. 6d. net.)

The first thing that every one will say who looks at this book is that there is plenty of it for the money. But the book must be carefully examined. And every one who examines it carefully will say, next, that it is the best single-volume commentary that has been written in English.

The editor is a clergyman of the Church of England. He has given himself to this single enterprise for the last eight or ten years. For what he would do he would do thoroughly. He did not dream of writing the whole commentary himself (has he written a word of it?); but he enlisted the best men who would write for him, and he has so watched the progress of the work that it is now before us, a well-printed, consistent, up-to-date, reliable single-volume commentary on the whole Bible.

May we risk a word of criticism? There were good reasons for using the Authorized Version, but why is so much space spent on printing the readings of the Revised? This is the comment on Rev $22^{11}$: Cp. Ezk $3^{27}$ $20^{39}$, Dan $12^{10}$. *Unjust*] R.V. 'unrighteous.' *Be unjust*] R.V. 'do unrighteousness.' *Be filthy*] R.V. 'be made filthy.' *Be righteous*] R.V. 'do righteousness.' That is an extreme case. But there is much that is somewhat like it. Space would have been saved considerably if we had been recommended to use the commentary with a copy of the Revised Version in our hands.

There is a series of essays at the beginning of the book, occupying 150 pages. They deal with subjects like 'The Laws of Hammurabi,' 'Belief in God,' 'The Person of Jesus Christ.' They are all well written, some of them with distinction. Then comes the Old Testament Commentary, which fills about 600 pages, followed by the New, which occupies 400. The standpoint is critical but not continental. Thus the editor of St. Matthew adopts 'the now widely accepted view that the demoniacs of the N.T. were insane persons under the delusion that they were possessed with devils.' But the same editor decides that the 'sign of Jonah' was not Christ's preaching, but His resurrection from the dead.

The exposition generally avoids the obvious, and it is frequently forcible. Thus, we know that at the time when the Authorized Version was made the verb to *follow* was much stronger than it is now, and often meant to 'pursue,' as in Shakespeare's 'I have ever followed thee with hate.' There is an instance in Ps $23^{6}$, 'Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life.' The comment is, 'Goodness and mercy, like two angels, pursue the Psalmist, determined, as it were, to run him down.'

## *THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM.*

The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform. (*Funk & Wagnalls.* Two Vols.)

This is a second edition. But it deserves more attention than can usually be given to second editions. For, as the Preface assures us, it is not the old edition revised, but a completely new book. There are some, indeed there are several, articles retained as they were, but the great majority of them seem to be new, and altogether the book deserves the attention which should be paid to a new book.

It is an encyclopædia of Social Reform. That is a very different thing from what an encyclopædia of Socialism would be. Socialism, whether in theory or in practice, must be banished from the

mind as utterly as possible. Who stands first and foremost in the plate pages of portraits? Who but the Emperor of Germany. And he is not a Socialist. It is an encyclopædia of all the things that men and women are interested in as they seek to fulfil the second of the two great commandments of the law: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

The first question is, Who is my neighbour? That is answered in articles dealing with factories, mines, breweries, the London docks, and the like. And with that answer comes the answer to the other question also: 'How am I to show my love to him?' Every scheme of every reformer in every land is described. For this new edition is in comprehensiveness a great advance on the old, and seems at last to have left little out.

Nevertheless we have one or two hints to give. First of all, the British Supplement is placed at the beginning of the first volume, when its information should have been found under the proper articles in the body of the book. Next, that same British Supplement is too meagre. The articles in it are just getting into their subject when they come to an end. And they are too few. Thus there are in the book articles on the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. movements, but they are occupied entirely with America. Clearly there is still an opportunity left for a third edition when this one is exhausted.

## *THE OXFORD CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS.*

TRANSACTIONS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. (*Clarendon Press*. Two Vols. 21s. net.)

These handsome volumes recall to those who attended the Congress one of the most inspiring experiences of life. To meet the men, to hear the papers, perhaps to share the discussions, to feel the glamour of 'that beastly *old* place' (as the American tourist called it, or is falsely reported to have called it)—all combined to make an undying and most gratifying memory.

The study of the volumes, even though many of the papers are given only in abstract, will do much for those who could not be present. To some they will be a great surprise. So many men, the most honourable in the ranks of scholarship, and all so absorbed in the study of—Religion! The study has come in such volume, and some of us have been so behind and unprepared for it, that the sections into which the book is divided will be bewildering. There are nine sections in all—Section I., Religions of the Lower Culture; Section II., Religions of China and Japan; Section III., Egyptian Religion; Section IV., Religions of the Semites; Section V., Religions of India and Iran; Section VI., Religions of the Greeks and Romans; Section VII., Religions of the Germans, Celts, and Slavs; Section VIII., the Christian Religion; Section IX., Method and Scope of the History of Religions. But the bewilderment slowly dissipates; there are avenues from the one section to the other; there is a broad stream of humanity; at last all roads lead to Christ.

Two of the papers (only summarized here) have been published in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. Let them stand as examples of the book's contents. And let it be remembered that this is the study of the future and that it is already with us.

## Among the Books of the Month.

*The Monthly Visitor* for 1908 (68 Hanover Street, Edinburgh) is as welcome as ever. It carries no gossip from house to house. It 'has pity on the multitude.'

Messrs. Blackie's 'Red Letter' Library now contains *Poems*, by Russell Lowell (1s. 6d. net).

Messrs. Burns & Oates are the publishers of *The Catholic Directory* (1s. 6d. net). Like other directories it is half built of advertisements. But even they are worth reading. And for the rest, no Protestant, not even the least polemical, can be without it.

The University of California has sent a selection from its Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology. They are (1) *Types of Indian Culture in California*, by Dr. A. L. Kroeber. Dr. Kroeber is the highest authority on the religion of the Californian Indians. (2) *The Earliest Historical Relations between Mexico and Japan*, by Miss Zelia Nuttall. Miss Nuttall knows only Mexico and Central America (she once told us), but she knows

them thoroughly. (3) *Indian Myths of South Central California*, by Dr. A. L. Kroeber. (4) *Navaho Myths, Prayers, and Songs*, by the late Washington Matthews and Mr. P. E. Goddard. Again, Washington Matthews was the one great authority on the Athapascans of the South, but Mr. Goddard has come into his knowledge and stands unrivalled now. (5) *The Religion of the Luiseno Indians of Southern California*, by Miss Constance Goddard Dubois. The name of Miss Dubois is new to us. This is a great essay, however. And California is great enough to admit of more than one worker. What a revelation of the mind of man it is to come upon books like these. The beginner in the study of primitive religion is greatly to be envied. How many are the intellectual surprises; how warm is the feeling of fellowship for man in his great struggle. Ever as we read, the words of St. Paul keep ringing in our ears: 'If haply they might . . . find Him.'

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When the World's Sunday School Convention took place in Jerusalem the members were fortunate in finding there, as director of the American School of Oriental Study and Research, Professor Paton of Hartford. They made him their guide to the city; for they could find no other man or book trustworthy or intelligible. Whereupon Professor Paton resolved to write an account of *Jerusalem in Bible Times*. The chapters of it were first contributed to the *Biblical World* of Chicago; the volume is now published at the Chicago University Press ($1). Besides its absolute accuracy (for Professor Paton is one of the most reliable scholars of our day), it is noticeable for its illustrations, some of which are from photographs by the author himself.

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Among the lecturers at the Congress of Religions in Oxford was Mr. L. H. Jordan, the author of *Comparative Religion*. Mr. Jordan's topic was the same as the subject of his book. He has now published the paper through the Oxford University Press (1s. net).

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To the 'Oxford Poets' Mr. Frowde has added *James Thomson* (2s.), edited by Mr. J. Logie Robertson, M.A.

Mr. Frowde has also issued a small-type thin-paper edition of *Hymns*, by Horatius Bonar (1s.).

Does Mr. Frowde mean to issue a new series of Commentaries? Or is the Rev. A. S. Walpole's *St. Mark* (1s. 6d.) a solitary venture? It is the text of the Revised Version with the shortest, simplest notes, and with very useful apparatus of maps and illustrations.

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We are offered a new edition of the Prophets. The title is *The Hebrew Prophets for English Readers* (Clarendon Press; vol. i., 2s. 6d. net). The editors are the Rev. F. H. Woods, B.D., and the Rev. F. E. Powell, M.A., both thoroughly equipped for the work. They have taken the Revised Version and printed it in the form of poetry, where it *is* poetry. More than that, they have divided it into paragraphs with headings, and they have added notes in explanation. The conspicuous feature is the paragraph or strophe division. That gives the book distinction. Notice also that when they prefer the margin of the Revised Version, the editors mark it with an obelus. There will be four volumes. The first volume contains Amos, Hosea, Isaiah i.–xxxix., and Micah.

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A volume has come from the Clarendon Press which has far more significance in its existence than in its contents. And yet the worth of its contents is great. For it contains six lectures delivered by men so eminent as Professor A. J. Evans, Dr. Andrew Lang, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor F. B. Jevons, Professor J. L. Myres, and Mr. W. Warde Fowler. Yet the writing of these men, each handling the subject he knows best, is not so important as the mere fact that the University of Oxford did, through its Committee for Anthropology, invite them to deliver lectures on the subject of *Anthropology and the Classics* (6s. net) during the Michaelmas Term of 1908. The University of Oxford has discovered that Greek and Latin can no longer be profitably studied apart from the study of the lower cultures, apart from those studies which are conveniently if vaguely embraced under the name of Anthropology. The men chosen to lecture had already made that discovery. They are men who are distinguished for a knowledge both of the Classics and of Anthropology. Is it the Classics only that have to be rescued from the tread-mill by the comparative method? The study of Theology must be rescued also.

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The surprise of the new volume of *The Christian*

*World Pulpit* (James Clarke & Co.; 4s. 6d.) occurs at the very end of it. It is a sermon by a lady. And by a Scotch lady, by the wife of a minister of the United Free Church of Scotland. Moreover, it is a very good sermon, short, social, intelligible. It has two texts, the juxtaposition of which shows understanding—'forgetting those things which are behind' (Ph $3^{13}$), and 'Strengthen the things which remain' (Rev $3^{2}$). Otherwise the volume is remarkable that it opens with a great sermon by Professor Peake on 'Christ's last Temptation,' and that in the middle of it there is an equally great sermon by Professor George Adam Smith on 'Christianity and Islam the Battlefield of the Future.'

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The Rev. F. Warburton Lewis, B.A., of Cambridge, is keenly interested in the study of the Bible, and when he preaches he has always some fresh thought to unburden his mind of. In the new volume, *The Work of Christ* (Culley; 2s. 6d. net), these new thoughts are more in number and more suggestive, we think, than ever before. The sermons are chosen to be read consecutively. Then there will be found one great thought, new and very fruitful, running throughout the volume.

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The disciples said, 'Lord, teach us to pray.' And when He taught them He intended that they should go and teach others. So here is the Rev. A. E. Balch, M.A., teaching to pray with much reasonable persuasiveness. His title is simply *Prayer* (Culley; 1s. net).

But when He taught them He taught them by means of the Lord's Prayer, as we call it. So, by means of *The Lord's Prayer*, the Rev. John T. Waddy, B.A., teaches others to pray (Culley; 1s. 6d. net). It is a small book, but it is the result of much prayer and study.

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To the marvellously cheap series of 'Materials for the use of Theological Lecturers and Students,' selected by H. Lietzmann, and published in an English form at 6d. each by Deighton, Bell, & Co., Cambridge, Professor Swete has recently added a very useful number containing *Two New Gospel Fragments*. The first of these is an edition with commentary of the fragment of an uncanonical Gospel discovered by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, and first published by them in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, v. p. 1 ff. The second is another find of great interest recently reported from America. According to Jerome (*c. Pelag.* 2. 15), after St. Mark $16^{14}$ there stood in certain MSS a passage, of which he gives the Latin version. In none, however, of the extant MSS and VSS of the Gospel was any trace of the original discoverable, until in 1907 it was found to occur, along with some further verses not cited by Jerome, in a fifth-century codex of the Four Gospels purchased in Cairo by Mr. C. L. Freer, of Detroit, U.S.A. The whole passage has been fully discussed by Professor C. R. Gregory, of Leipzig, in an important monograph, *Das Freer-Logion* (Leipzig, 1908), but it can also be conveniently studied in Professor Swete's above-mentioned manual, where it is pronounced 'not Marcan,' but 'conceivably as early as the twelve verses which form the latter part of Cent. II. have passed as part of the Second Gospel.'

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The Rector of Rockland St. Mary, Norwich, is innocent enough to think that he can make money by publishing his sermons. 'The profits,' he says, 'will be given to the fund for the restoration of Rockland St. Mary Church.' And yet (though Rockland St. Mary may never be restored) *Stepping Stones to Light*, by the Rev. J. K. Swinburne (Norwich: Goose & Co.; 3s. net), is a volume of good strong intellectual sermons, some of them dealing in no childish fashion with subjects like the Origin of Evil and the Argument from Design.

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The difficulties of a modern average unbeliever with the miracles of the New Testament are frankly stated in *Miracles and Myths of the New Testament*, by Joseph May, LL.D. (Green; 1s. 6d. net). Are the difficulties all his own? Where would he be without 'Lecky, from whom I have drawn so largely for my illustrations and my arguments'? For foundation to his unbelief he still rests on Hume. He says that Hume's dictum: 'there is always more probability that testimony should err than that a miracle should take place,' remains permanently inexpugnable.

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The new volumes of Dr. Maclaren's *Expositions of Holy Scripture* contain the last half of St. Luke and the Epistle to the Romans (Hodder & Stoughton; 7s. 6d. each). In both volumes there are flashes of Christian boldness. What is the great scientific objection to the gospel? It is

that God has no special concern with a dot of a world like ours. And what is the answer? It is in these words: 'A certain man had a hundred sheep . . . one of them went astray . . . he went into the wilderness to find it.'

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The sixth volume of the seventh series of *The Expositor* is out in its black cloth binding (Hodder & Stoughton; 7s. 6d. net). It contains the last of Professor Orr's papers on the Resurrection, five articles on the Papyri by Dr. Moulton and Dr. Milligan, several contributions by Professor G. A. Smith and Sir W. M. Ramsay, and many separate articles, that are as timely as they are permanent. *The Expositor* never was worthier.

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The son of a long line of Presbyterian ministers in the Highlands of Scotland, Donald Sage Mackay spent his life in America, a great preacher, 'with a style often vividly dramatic which the surge of real passion saved from being theatrical,' and died at the early age of forty-four. He said himself, 'The strenuous life is living up to the measure of our strength, but the strained life is living beyond the measure of our strength.'

Professor Hugh Black has selected the sermons and written the introductory biography. The title is taken from the first sermon—'Thy going out and thy coming in'—*The Religion of the Threshold* (Hodder & Stoughton; 6s.). They are not theological sermons, which is a miracle of heredity; they are wholly of the day's duty. One of them is characteristic of all. Say the twentieth, on the man who 'did no miracle.' First, the things that are not needed for effective witness-bearing—not an eloquent preacher, an æsthetic church, an artistic choir; not large room; not immediate acceptance. Next, the things that are needed—sincerity in all things; and Christ as centre. Then this to end with: 'In the centre of the city of Glasgow, in one of the old churchyards now closed, there is one humble grave containing the body of a factory girl, humbly educated, for many years weak in health, and who lived alone in a single room. In one of the mission churches she taught a class of rough unruly boys; faithfully, tenderly, year after year, she told them the simple story of the Cross, and one by one through her influence these lads were led to give their hearts to Christ. That was all her work. She rests to-day amid the throb and roar of the city which scarcely knew her, and on her tombstone these simple words tell the story of her life: "She did no miracle, but all things she said of Jesus were true, and many believed on Him there."'

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Dr. Whitehouse has finished the second volume of his *Isaiah* for the Century Bible (Jack; 2s. 6d. net). It is divided into two parts. The first part contains Deutero-Isaiah, the second Trito-Isaiah; Deutero-Isaiah being chapters 40 to 55, and Trito-Isaiah chapters 56 to 66. Each part has an introduction of its own. Dr. Whitehouse has again used all the archæological data, up to the very moment of writing, for the elucidation of his author. And he is sometimes quite brilliant in translation.

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Messrs. Luzac have issued the third part of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. It runs from Adana to Ahmed al-Badawi. We hope it is going to secure many readers in its English form. There is no better means of coming to a knowledge of Muhammadanism.

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Three Islamic saints, Hasan, Ibn Adham, and Junaid, are commemorated in *Saints of Islam* by Husain R. Sayani, B.A. (Luzac; 2s. 6d. net). And the occasion is used to describe the philosophy (it was scarcely religion) that sustained them.

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Professor Hermann Gollancz has been occupying himself in translating the Targum to the Song of Songs, the Book of the Apple, the Story of the Ten Jewish Martyrs, and Leo de Modena's Dialogue on Games of Chance, all from their original Hebrew and Aramaic. And he has so translated them that he will communicate his own joy in the work to every reader of his book. He has not only done all this for us himself, but he has also induced his brother, Professor Israel Gollancz, to add a poetical version and paraphrase of the Ten Martyrs.

To the Christian the most interesting part of the book, which is called *Translations from Hebrew and Aramaic* (Luzac; 5s. net), is the Targum to the Song of Songs. The interpretation is allegorical; the 'beloved' is God, and the 'bride' is the congregation of Israel. The Christian interpretation is its lineal descendant indeed (through Origen), with the change of God to Christ and Israel to the Church.

Messrs. Luzac have issued the third volume of their most promising series on Oriental Religions. It is *Semitic Magic, its Origins and Development* (10s. 6d. net). It is written by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., of the British Museum. Mr. Thompson has already made himself a name by his book on the Demonology of Babylon. Here he is on more delicate ground, for he takes his evidence largely from the Old Testament, and many of his readers will find themselves looking at familiar facts in a most unfamiliar atmosphere.

Thus there is a long discussion of the origin of that much misunderstood custom, the redemption of the firstborn. Out of the various hypotheses Mr. Thompson selects that of Dr. Frazer for approval. The custom is a relic of cannibalism. It is a survival under civilization which tells of a time when men gave their firstborn in sacrifice to the deity, and then with the deity shared the sacrificial meal. 'Whether,' he says, 'there remains enough evidence to show that the Hebrews of the more historical period did eat human flesh is doubtful; but that their traditions indicate that their Semitic forefathers did so is, I think, quite obvious.'

But apparently he regards cannibalism itself, not as a stage in the ascent of man, but a falling away from a better manner. For if the Hebrews did practise it, they learned the practice, he reckons, in that barren land Arabia, 'the home of the Hebrews, at least before they split up into their various nationalities.' In other words, they were driven to it by hunger.

Altogether Mr. Thompson gives us much to think of, and not a little to shrink from. But the study of religion is the study of our day, and this book cannot by any means be ignored.

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The new volume of Messrs. Macmillan's series of commentaries entitled 'The Bible for Home and School' is *The Acts* (4s.). The editor is Dr. G. H. Gilbert. As the general editor is Professor Shailer Mathews of Chicago, it will be understood that every volume will be critically up to date and not out of touch with good scholarship. Dr. Gilbert is well forward, but he has considered every suggestion made by Harnack or any other.

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One of the multiplying series of lectureships on Religion is the Hartford-Lamson lectureship of Hartford Theological Seminary. To make the lectures thoroughly scientific and attractive the trustees invited Principal Jevons of Durham to deliver last year's course. The lectures are now published under the title of *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion* (Macmillan).

In his chapter on Prayer (we take it as characteristic), Principal Jevons points out first of all that the missionary has often merely to direct, not to create, the habit of prayer. Not only so. The missionary finds that the things prayed for are not to be indiscriminately condemned. If he is a missionary to the Khonds of Orissa, he will hear them pray thus: 'We are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it to us.'

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Sir Henry Wrixon, K.C., has written a book about *The Religion of the Common Man* (Macmillan; 3s. net). It is not, of course, his own religion. And just who the common man is, we have not clearly discovered. But whoever he is, his religion is an elementary one. He is not concerned about the offices of Christ, he is occupied with the existence of God. He has more of a heart, too, than a head. He responds at once to the words, 'The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy,' and he is much amazed when you tell him they are the words of a Hebrew psalmist, and 'three thousand years old.'

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The Rev. John P. Jones, D.D., has written a book about India, and called it *India, its Life and Thought* (Macmillan; 10s. 6d. net). If the title is a correct one, the life and thought of India is comprehended in one thing, the search for God. This is the sum of the book. And it might just as well have been called 'the Religion of India.' Dr. Jones knows what he is doing. He has lived in the South, but the South and the North are alike in this. The life of India is a religious life; the thought of India is thought about God. Out of all the problems that vex the statesman in his dealings with India, cut the religious element, and at once they cease to be problems. This is amply established by Dr. Jones in the first thirty pages of his book. After that he is wholly occupied with religion.

It is the religion of Southern India that he knows best. And it is well. For the North with its faiths and practices has been well described in

books like Mr. Crooke's, while the South has been neglected. It may be that to the Christian the religion of the North and the religion of the South are indistinguishable, just as all savages seem born of one father to the European when he first comes among them. Yet no man who knew only the North would dream of writing about the religion of the South.

Dr. Jones describes what he has seen, and draws conclusions. One of his conclusions is that to the Hindu the very ideal of life is one thing, to the Christian quite another. He expresses the difference by saying that to the Hindu the buffeting of the body is an end in itself, to the Christian it is a means to an end, the end being not self-effacement but self-realization.

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How puzzling the matter of perfection is. Some Memorials have been published of the life of the Rev. Francis Paynter under the title of *Life Radiant* (Marshall Brothers; 3s. 6d. net). Mr. Paynter was just the man to be drawn by the hope and to tremble before the impossibility of perfection. At last he concluded that the word was used in the Bible in the way of imputation. 'I can quite conceive that Christians may be said to be perfect in Christ, though so imperfect in themselves. Perhaps this may be the meaning of the Apostle when he says, "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect."' But the word, the English word, has changed its meaning, and the Greek word does not express what the English word has come to express in our day.

The book is very evangelical, and the atmosphere of Keswick is about it always.

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Another missionary book from Southern India, and again by a lady. The title is *Glimpses of Indian Life*, the author Miss H. S. Streatfeild (Marshall Brothers; 3s. 6d.). All is vivid that comes from the South, for it is fresh and it has the possibility of anything in it—even the renunciation of caste. There is some beautiful photographs, one of a native Christian and his family, well worth the price of the book.

Messrs. Marshall have also published a small volume of Studies on the Apocalypse by Mr. A. G. Morgan, called *Last Days* (2s. 6d.).

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We should think that the Bishop of Durham never wrote an introduction to a book more heartily than the one he has written for *Half-Hours with the Minor Prophets*, by Mr. J. P. Wiles, M.A. (Morgan & Scott; 2s. net). For Mr. Wiles has no difficulty whatever with the Book of Jonah, and resolutely declines to discuss the whale. 'We will not stay to discuss the question whether a fish can swallow a man, whether a man swallowed by a fish could remain in its bowels for three days and three nights and then be vomited forth alive upon the dry land, whether a gourd could spring up in one night and perish in another. It is enough for us that these things are written in the Word of God, and that they are confirmed by the express testimony of Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Besides that, Mr. Wiles is a scholar. He is a scholar and a man of letters. He has rendered the Book of Lamentations into English verse with a fidelity and felicity which will draw to him every lover of literature and every student of the Bible. And his prose paraphrases of the Prophets are quite wonderfully accurate and enlightening.

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Mr. Nutt has published a *Record of the Proceedings of the First International Moral Education Congress*. The Congress was held at the University of London on September 25–29, 1908.

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Do not lose sight of Dr. Paul Carus. He is author, editor, publisher; and he plays all his parts successfully. His independence is sometimes staggering, but he is no unbeliever or iconoclast. When he writes a book on *The Bride of Christ* (Open Court Publishing Co.) be sure that it is no orthodox treatise on the Church; but when you discover that it is 'a study in Christian legend lore,' do not fear that it will subvert your faith. Through devious and yet delightful ways he leads us, always illuminating the path by means of the most charming illustrations, and he brings us to rest at last in a thankful contemplation of the peace which the mystical love of Christ was able to bring to the devout though superstitious Catholic saints of the early ages of the Cross.

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From Dr. Carus's Press in Chicago there comes also this month a fine scholarly edition and translation of *The Fragments of Empedocles*. It is the work of Professor W. E. Leonard, of the University of Wisconsin. Here is one of the smallest of the fragments: νηστεῦσαι κακότητος, 'O fast from evil-

doing,' Does it not remind us of the prophet's 'Rend your heart'?

Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster have issued the fifty-fourth yearly volume of *The Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit* (7s. 6d.). In doing so they announce that they have sermons of Spurgeon's still on hand to last for nine or ten years, and they mean to issue them weekly, monthly, and yearly all that time. It is a wonderful thing; in sermon production quite unexampled. But if they do not run out literally, do they not run dry metaphorically? Not a bit of it. There was no selection in the early volumes, and so there is no refuse now.

Messrs. Kegan Paul are showing much enterprise in the volumes that they are issuing of the 'International Scientific Series' since they took it up again. Preachers as preachers, apart from any scientific learning, should look at them. The new volume is as useful as it is timely. It is a translation of M. Charles Depéret's *Transformations of the Animal World* (5s.). Under that title M. Depéret discusses crucial topics like the Origin of the Flood, Successive Creations, the Influence of Environment, Haeckel's absurdities, and the Appearance of Life on the Globe.

Mr. Ernest Oldmeadow has written a most lively introduction to Dr. Groves Campbell's essay on *Apollonius of Tyana* (Grant Richards; 3s. 6d. net). And he has contrived to make it an exhaustive accurate bibliography. The essay is written with care, fine feeling, good taste. Wherein lies the difference between Apollonius and Christ—those two, born in the same year perhaps, and often compared together? 'Viewing the fall of Apollonius's life, we find it does not differ from its height in respect of spiritual Love. The Peace of Vast Plains and the Silence of Solitary Mountains were ever in his heart, but he never heard the singing of the Seraphim—the Seraphim who, most aflame with Love, are nearest God. He was never lifted up, during all his life, into the burning plane of Adoration and Love which Christians only know. And in the extreme hour he turned from the affections and comfort of his fellow-man. He looked for Peace, and not for Love.'

There is a medical man in Bath, Dr. Charles J. Whitby, who takes his pastime in the study of Neo-Platonism. He has studied it, too, sufficiently to write a book about it. *The Wisdom of Plotinus*, he calls it (Rider; 2s. net). He has gone to the source. He has studied that marvellous work of beauty and worth, *The Enneads*, and he knows not only what to quote from it, but also what is the value of the quotation.

M. Edouard Schuré's *Hermes and Plato*, which now appears in a good English translation by Mr. F. Rothwell, B.A. (Rider; 1s. 6d. net), is not a philosophical but a mystical study. The Hermes part has most matter in it; but the part that is given to Platonism on its mystical side is the most original, and will be read with the greatest interest. To not a few the book will be an introduction to a new writer, an acquaintance which they will be anxious to deepen into friendship.

Such an imposing volume is Dr. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* (Sonnenschein; 12s. net), that to open it accidentally and find the eye lighting upon the statement that 'time, like space, has most evidently proved not to be real, but to be a contradictory appearance,' has something incongruous about it. It is not the only thing in the book that looks incongruous. But that is on the most superficial examination. This bulky book, which finds no reality in space any more than in time, is a very real, and has proved a very momentous, contribution to the philosophical thought of our day. There is plenty of paradox in it also. But again the paradox is on the surface. Dr. Bradley disowns all such frivolity. 'It is a moral duty not to be moral.' That sounds like a paradox. But Dr. Bradley denies the paradox even in that. For the meaning is that every separate aspect of the universe goes on to demand something higher than itself. Morality must lose itself in a higher form of being. Its end must be sought in something that is super-moral.

But we need not begin to review the book at this time of day. Though Dr. Bradley was surprised when it reached a second edition, this is the fifth large impression of it; and we may depend upon it that it is far from being the last.

Another great book of which Messrs. Swan

Sonnenschein have issued a new edition is Owen's *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance* (10s. 6d.). It is the third edition. There is not a word of preface, new or old, for not a word of preface is necessary. The erudition of the book is astonishing. This is the kind of bibliography to imitate; this is the kind of index to make a model of. And the inspiration is not clogged by the erudition, it is fed by it. With art as well as conviction, Owen appeals to the imagination; while his very method, so largely biographical, and entering into the intimacies of biography, gives him a wide range of reader.

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One of the sermons in Archdeacon Wilberforce's new volume, *The Hope that is in Me* (Elliot Stock; 5s.), is entitled 'Mental Concentration.' Its text is 'Whatsoever things are lovely, think on these things' (Ph $4^8$). How is the precept to be fulfilled? Not by ignoring pain, weakness, illness and other unlovely things, but by thinking of them all 'in God.' He gives Emily Bronte as an example (spelling the name Brontë). Outwardly the circumstances of her life were troubled enough. Yet she wrote these lines, 'in some respects the finest ever penned'—

> No coward soul is mine,
> No trembler in the world's storm-troubled sphere:
> I see Heaven's glories shine,
> And faith shines equal, arming me from fear.

Then the title of Dr. Wilberforce's next sermon is 'Thinking into God,' its text 'Thou shalt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee' (Is $26^3$).

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There is irresistible fascination to some men's minds in numbers. Mr. E. M. Smith has already written on the Mystery of Three. Now he writes on *The Mystery of Seven* (Elliot Stock; 2s. 6d.).

Mr. Elliot Stock has also issued a Book for the Forty Days of Lent, by Helen Thorp, entitled *With Christ to Gethsemane* (2s. net).

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*Towards Social Reform* is the title of Canon and Mrs. S. A. Barnett's new book (Fisher Unwin; 5s. net). The word 'towards' has a fine modesty about it. There is plenty of actual social reform, both recorded as having been accomplished and outlined as demanding accomplishment. One question that is forced to the front by this book is the place of literature in the Social Reform of the future. What the literature is that at present starves the souls of London children is told in the answer made by one of the boys to the question what *books* they read in their country visit. His answer was, *Chips*, *Comic Cuts*, *The World's Comic*, *Funny Cuts*, *The Funny Wonder*, *Comic Home Journal*.

The book is in five parts—Social Reformers, Poverty, Education, Recreation, and Housing. And each part is made up of chapters, the authorship of which is in every case assigned either to Canon Barnett or to his wife.

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Messrs. Washbourne continue the issue of Father Zulueta's *Letters on Christian Doctrine* (2s. 6d. net). This is Part II. of the second series on the 'Seven Sacraments.'

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The *R.P.A. Annual* for 1909 (Watts; 6d.) is as daring in thought and as glaring in colour as ever.

Do not despise and neglect it. There are thousands who make its contents their mental, moral, and spiritual daily food.

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*The Church of Scotland Year-Book* may be had from the Office, 72 Hanover Street, Edinburgh (6d.)

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The editor of *Life and Work* (Edinburgh, 2s.) is as 'valuable an asset' as the Church of Scotland possesses. The new volume is loyal and representative as ever.

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Mr. W. H. Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, has issued his *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report*. It belongs to the year 1904–1905.

After the report proper (which speaks especially of the issue of the great 'Handbook of American Indians'), the volume contains two highly important essays, one on the Pima Indians, by Mr. Frank Russell; the other on the Tlingits, by Mr. John R. Swanton. Both papers are intimate and exhaustive; and they are furnished with illustrations on a scale of lavishness the envy of all societies and secretaries. The Index is as usual nearly perfect.

# Some Problems of Herod's Temple.

By the Rev. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh.

## VII. The Beautiful Gate of the Temple.

One all-important factor in any attempt to reconstruct in imagination or in a model the temple of Herod is continually forgotten, the fact, namely, that the sanctuary, as above defined, was a fortress as well, indeed one of the strongest fortresses in Palestine. No plan can be accepted as satisfactory which does not emphasize this element in the construction of the walls and gates. A comparison of the most reliable statements of our chief authorities (*J. W.* v. v. 2, 3; *M.M.* i. 4, 5) shows that access from the great court to the courts of the sanctuary was by nine gates (marked H 1–9 on the plan). Of these four were in the north, four in the south, and one in the east wall respectively. Of the two sets of four, three opened into the inner court, and one into the outer court, or Court of the Women, on either side. Josephus expressly states that there was no gate on the western side, the wall of which was entire, a fact which, taken with the actual dimensions of the platform, renders it improbable that the *khel* was continued round the west side of the temple. All or most of these nine gates were set in massive towers, 30 cubits deep and at least 20 cubits in breadth, rising above the top of the wall to a total height of over 40 feet (Josephus says 40 cubits, *l.c.* § 203). One other gate, higher and wider than the others, at the top of 15 semicircular steps, led from the outer to the upper and inner court of the sanctuary (H 10).

The way is now open for an examination of one of the most keenly debated questions connected with the topography of the temple, namely, which of the two eastward gates—that giving entrance to the Court of the Women (H 5), or that leading therefore to the inner court (H 10)—is to be identified with 'the door of the temple which is called Beautiful' (Ac $3^2$ R.V., the Beautiful Gate of v.$^{10}$)? The traditional view, which is that of most Jewish scholars, supports the latter identification, while most modern Christian scholars advocate the former.

Three points in the controversy may be taken as settled beyond question. (1) The Beautiful Gate must be the gate named 'the Corinthian' by Josephus (*l.c.* § 204), from its having been made of Corinthian brass, and so excelling in magnificence and value all the other gates, which were merely overlaid with silver and gold (§ 201; cf. II. xvii. 3, VI. v. 3, 'the brazen' gate). (2) The history of the gate called in the Mishna 'the gate of Nicanor' shows that the latter must be identified with Josephus' Corinthian Gate. The ossuary of this 'pious donor' was found the other day at Jerusalem, bearing the inscription: 'The bones of Nicanor the Alexandrian, who made the doors' (*P.E.F.St.* 1903, 125 ff., 326 ff.; cf. 1905, 253 ff.). (3) Both our authorities agree in placing the gate in question on the eastern side of the sanctuary. But, as we have seen, there were, in Josephus' words, 'of necessity two gates in the east' (*J. W.* v. v. 2, § 198), one in a line with and 15 steps higher than the other. Which, now, of these two is entitled to the threefold name?

The principal passage of the Mishna (*M.M.* i. 4) undoubtedly makes the Gate of Nicanor the eastern gate of the inner court, the same that is elsewhere (Succa, v. 4) termed 'the upper gate,' from its elevated position. But other passages of the Mishna, such as Sota i. 5, Negaim xiv. 8, which speak of certain rites of purification taking place at the Gate of Nicanor, compel us to look for it at the outer entrance to the sanctuary. And this is the clear witness of Josephus, himself a priest and familiar with the disposition of the temple courts and gates. In *J. W.* v. v. 3, § 204, in particular, *the Corinthian Gate is placed at the entrance to the Court of the Women*, and is said to be in a line with the larger gate at the higher entrance to the inner court. The Beautiful Gate was, indeed, the principal entrance to the temple in virtue of its position facing the altar and the porch.

The question has been so fully and finally discussed by Schürer in his essay on the subject in the *Zeitsch. f. die neutest. Wissenschaft*, vii. (1906) 51–68, that there should no longer be any dubiety as to the position of the Beautiful Gate. On one

minor point, however, this eminent authority seems to have gone astray. Josephus describes his Corinthian, our Beautiful, Gate as ἡ ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεώ, 'the gate outwith the sanctuary.' To this reading Schürer long ago took exception, and in his recent article he again characterizes the reading as giving 'absolutely no sense.' The form νεώ he further rejects on the ground that Josephus in the *Bellum Judaicum* regularly uses the form ναός (*Z.N.T.W.* vii. 55), and for τοῦ νεώ Schürer would now read τῶν ἐν ἕῳ. To this it is enough to reply (1) that Josephus does elsewhere in his *War* use the form νεώ, as in v. i. 2, § 7, as well as in the *Antiquities*; (2) the phrase 'outwith the sanctuary' exactly describes the situation of the Beautiful Gate, since it formed the entrance to the tower erected by Herod over 'the eastern gate' (*J.A.* xv. xi. 7), which must have projected some distance beyond the wall in order to command the curtain of the wall on either side of the gate. Indeed, the statement of Maimonides (*B.B.* vi. 1) that one ascended by twelve steps to the Court of the Women is best explained by supposing that the eastern gate-tower was built across the *khel* as represented on the plan (H 5). (3) The position here suggested for the Beautiful Gate or Gate of Nicanor, on the confines of the sanctuary and the great court, suits not only the passages in Sota and Negaim above cited, but also the reference to it in NT as the rendezvous of the maimed and others who would be refused admission to the temple courts.

### VIII. The Position of the Temple on the Platform.

The last of the problems which it is proposed to discuss on this occasion deals with the precise position of the temple itself within the inner court. The latter had its margin railed off on three sides by a low stone balustrade (*J.W.* v. v. 6, § 225—for the origin of this, see *J.A.* xiii. xiii. 5); this margin, called the Court of Israel, was on a slightly lower level and probably 12 cubits broad (*M.M.* gives 11, and confines it to one side), and to it certain of the laity were admitted. The rest of the inner court was chiefly occupied by the great altar of burnt-offering, the ramp leading up to it on the south, and the place for slaying and preparing the victims on the north. The altar was a square mass of unhewn white-washed stones, 32 cubits (47 feet) in length and breadth, and 6 cubits in height to the base of the hearth. It thus covered the whole, or almost the whole, of the exposed surface of the sacred rock, the straight western face of which may be taken as representing the line of Herod's altar.[1]

Due west of the altar rose the temple itself from a solid stereobate or podium 6 cubits in height (*M.M.* iv. 6), which brought the temple floor to a level with the top of the altar. To enter into a discussion of the conflicting data as to the dimensions of every part of the temple is beyond the intention of this essay. It must suffice to say that the data both of Josephus and of the Mishna require careful sifting in the light of the recognized principles of architectural proportion, as Fergusson long ago discovered. One thing is certain. The ground plan of the *naos* underwent no change from Solomon to Herod. By the latter, however, the breadth of the whole building was increased to 60 cubits (*J.W.* v. v. 4), from what I take to have been the extreme breadth of Solomon's temple, 48 cubits, while the length remained constant at 96 cubits.[2] The heights are less certain; probably 96 cubits was the height and the breadth of the porch, and 60 the true height of the temple proper without the lateral chambers. The accompanying ground-plan is drawn on these principles of proportion, showing a gradual increase in the widths of the component parts as follows: 20, 32,[3] 48, 60, and 96 cubits, with which the data of *M.M.*, as tabulated by Witton Davies, *D.B.* iv. 715, should be compared.

The problem now before us, however, is the determination of the exact spot which the temple occupied upon the platform relative to the altar, whose position is fixed. If we could trust the Mishna, we have only to do as others have done heretofore and measure 22 cubits west from the rock, and 100 more cubits will give us the length of the temple, to which comes a space of 11 cubits behind the 'house of atonement' (*M.M.* v. 1). But to this procedure there are two serious objections. (1) The west wall of the sanctuary—a

[1] The *sakhra* with the altars that stood upon it has recently been the subject of an elaborate investigation by Professor Kittel (*Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie* [1908], with plans, see esp. pp. 17, 81).

[2] It was Ezekiel, with his love for 50 and its multiples, that first gave the temple of his ideal the dimensions of 100 by 50 cubits.

[3] Note that this, the *outside* width of the *naos*, is exactly that of the altar of burnt-offering.

mass of solid masonry rising at least 40 feet above the level of the great court, and 7½ feet (5 cubits) thick—is thrust back to a line 200 feet west of the rock, at which point the hill slopes downwards so rapidly that it would have been necessary to carry the wall up from a depth of 50–60 feet below the Haram level (Watson, in *Pal. Exp. Fund Statement*, 1896, p. 561). (2) The continual recurrence of 11 and twice 11 in the Mishna figures (5 times over in *M.M. l.c.*) awakens suspicion. This number, I am convinced, is a mere inference from the 11 cubits given as the depth of the porch. But the latter was derived by the doctors of the Mishna from the already corrupt Massoretic text of Ezk 40[49]![1] The nature of the ground therefore compels us to reduce considerably the distance between the altar and the temple, while the principles of proportion suggest 12 cubits, instead of 11 and 22, as the free space on either side of the altar. On the plan, accordingly, the temple is shown 96 cubits long, with a width of 96 cubits for the porch, and of 60 cubits for the main building, standing back 12 cubits from the altar, with a free space of only 6 cubits on the west. And here emerges this result, as startling as it was unexpected! *The centre of the Holy of Holies is now 100 cubits from the centre of the altar and of the sacred rock.* This can scarcely be a pure accident, but must have been designed by those who reared the first temple on this spot.[2] In other words, the successive temples stood along a line 140 feet (96 cubits) long, extending from a point 41 feet (28 cubits)[3] from the centre of the rock to within 14–15 feet of the western edge of the present inner platform of the Haram.

It only remains to present in tabular form the details of the measurements of temple and courts as obtained by a comparison and criticism of the only available sources, viz. the Mishna, Josephus, the actual rock levels, and the recognized principles of proportion in architecture, and as reproduced in the ground-plan which accompanies these essays.

(1) The average length of the sanctuary from west to east, corresponding practically to the width of the platform of the Dome of the Rock:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Inner court, including B and C of plan . . . . | 170 cubits.[4] |
| (*b*) | Outer Court (A), average *circa* | 120[5] „ |
| (*c*) | Width of the terrace (*khel* YY) | 10 „ |
| (*d*) | Thickness of west, middle, and east walls . . . . | 15 „ |
| | Total . . | 315 cubits. |

(2) The average width of the sanctuary from south to north, 250 cubits, is made up as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (*a*) | Width of the terrace XX . | 10 cubits. |
| (*b*) | Thickness of wall . . . | 5 „ |
| (*c*) | Space between wall and colonnade[6] . . . . | 30 „ |
| (*d*) | Width of Court of Israel . | 12½[7] „ |
| (*e*) | Width of Court of the Priests as in Mishna . . . | 135 „ |
| (*f*)–(*i*) | as *d*, *c*, *b*, *a*, in all . . | 57½ „ |
| | Total . . | 250 cubits. |

The results set forth in the foregoing essays must be judged as a whole. They represent the first attempt, so far as the writer is aware, to deal critically with the statements of the literary authorities in the light of the evidence supplied

[1] The real depth of Herod's as of Solomon's porch was doubtless 10 cubits in the centre, increased to 20 at the 'shoulders' (*J.W.* v. v. 4, §§ 207, 209) or wings as on the plan.

[2] For those who, with the writer, believe that in P's scheme of the Tabernacle the altar of burnt-offering is intended to occupy the centre of the eastern court (see diagram in Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 657), confirmation of this result is found in the fact that 50 cubits is the distance from the centre of the altar to the centre of the Holy of Holies. The measurements of the Tabernacle, it is well known, *are one-half those of Solomon's Temple.*

[3] Made up of 12 cubits of free space *plus* 16 to the centre of the altar.

[4] The following are the details; the figures within brackets are the corresponding cubits of the Mishna: Space behind the temple 6 (11), full length of temple building 96 (100), space between temple and altar 12 (22), width of altar 32 (32), space to east of altar 12 (11), Court of Israel 12 (11)—170 cubits in all as compared with 187 of the Mishna. The imperative reasons for curtailing the space west of the rock have been given above.

[5] The Mishna gives 135 cubits by 135 as the dimensions of this court. But it has been shown above that the irregular form is due to the necessity for carrying the massive eastern wall along the line of rock. Nevertheless, it will be found that measured along the inner colonnade on the north side the width is actually 135 cubits, and the same is true of the free space between the colonnades from north to south.

[6] This item, with the two preceding and the one following, is omitted in the Mishna; but Josephus gives the depth of the gatehouses as 30 cubits, here followed.

[7] The extra half-cubit is for the stone balustrade which separated the two inner courts (*J.W.* v. v. 6, § 225).

by the survey of the Haram and by the existing remains of the Herodian period. It cannot, therefore, be claimed for them that they are 'compatible with every statement in the authorities,' even had such a claim not been banned by our greatest living authority, who has recently assured us that 'this is a claim which students of the ancient documents upon Jerusalem will hardly regard as a recommendation to any theory' (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 450).

# Recent Foreign Theology.

## Helbing's Septuagint Grammar.

With the increasing interest that is being taken in the study of the Septuaginta, and the recognition of its bearing upon many problems, not only of the Old Testament, but of the New, an adequate Septuagint Grammar has become an essential for students. A valuable beginning in this direction was made by the important chapter in Dr. Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, and the grammatical details that have been collected and prefixed to Conybeare and Stock's *Selections from the Septuagint* are exceedingly useful. It is gratifying, moreover, to learn that what promises to be a standard work on the subject, by Mr. H. St. J. Thackeray, the translator of Blass, is far advanced towards publication. But meanwhile, for the most systematic discussion of the various questions involved, we have to turn, as so often, to Germany. Unfortunately, so far, Dr. Helbing's *Grammatik*[1] deals only with the question of Accidence, but this is treated with a fulness that leaves little or nothing to be desired. Setting out with the primary object of providing materials for the restoration, as far as possible, of the original Septuagint text, the writer appeals with an extraordinary wealth of illustrative detail to all such late Greek writings as seem likely to throw any light on the orthography of the sacred books. The papyri and inscriptions, in particular, are constantly cited with a knowledge resulting not only from a careful study of the original texts, as published in the large collections, but from a wide acquaintance with the rapidly increasing literature that is growing up around them. And the general result is the complete establishment of the fact that the phonetics and accidence of the Septuagint 'do not go their own way,' but share the general characteristics of their time. It is understood that Dr. Helbing proposes to deal with the more generally attractive question of Syntax in a separate volume.

George Milligan.

[1] *Grammatik der Septuaginta — Laut — und Wortlehre.* Von Dr. Robert Helbing. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister.

## The New 'Herzog.'

In the preface to the first volume of the third edition of the *Realencyklopädie*[2] the hope was expressed that it would be completed in eighteen volumes. In issuing the twentieth volume the editor, Dr. Hauck, takes the opportunity of explaining why it has been found needful to exceed the limits originally marked out. His intention was to secure space for necessary extensions by shortening some of the biographical and other articles. But, as the work has proceeded, it has become evident that room must be found for new articles, some being necessitated by the development of theological science, and others by the growth of the Christian Church. To the former class belong the new contributions on 'The Constitution of the Early Church,' 'German Idealism,' 'The English Moralists,' etc. To the latter class belong subjects treated either for the first time, or more fully than in the second edition, as, *e.g.*, 'Christian Missions,' 'History of the Evangelical Church in the United States,' 'Dutch Theology,' etc.

Dr. Hauck's decision to enlarge this edition by three volumes will give general satisfaction. Had he not done this, some of the most valuable articles would either have been omitted or have been unduly compressed. Vol. xxi. is to complete this invaluable work of reference. In view of the

[2] *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* IIIte Auflage. Zwanzigster Band. Toorenenbergen — Wamwas. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

difficulties unavoidable in carrying out an undertaking so comprehensive, the editor is to be congratulated on the prospect of finishing the task begun in 1896 during the present year.

An excellent article of twelve pages on the TRINITY is contributed to vol. xx. by Professor Otto Kirn, of Leipzig. Attempts to trace the origin of the Christian doctrine to non-biblical sources are pronounced unsuccessful. This would still be true, it is argued, even if greater resemblances than exist were discernible between the Christian Trinity and the Trimurti of Hinduism or the Babylonian triad. 'The process which led to the formation of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity does not belong to an unknown, grey antiquity; it was enacted in the full light of history, and its motives are by no means obscure. They arise almost entirely from christological reflexion, and explain quite satisfactorily all that it is possible to explain.'

A concise but comprehensive sketch of the development of the doctrine is given. By the Apostolic Fathers 'the relation of the Father to the Son was not felt to be a problem.' The dominant motive of Athanasius was soteriological; he has no technical expression for the persons of the Trinity, yet his Christology led him to prepare the way for the doctrine of the ὁμοούσια of the Spirit, for 'He who is the medium of our communion with the Divine nature must Himself be a sharer of that nature.' Augustine advanced upon Athanasius, whose doctrine of the immanent Trinity stood in the closest connexion with his doctrine of salvation. But Augustine taught that God must be conceived as a threefold personality in His inmost being, even though revelation did not, as it does, oblige us to affirm that the historical Redeemer and the Spirit are divine. '*Trinitas est unus Deus*' (*De Trin.* v. 9).

The Middle Ages contributed nothing to the understanding of the doctrine. The formulæ of Augustine became sometimes the incentive to mystical contemplation, and sometimes the material for dialectical subtleties. At the Reformation Luther laid stress on the religious significance of the doctrine, and expounded it in the light of God's revelation of Himself in historic acts. Melanchthon's speculative construction of the Trinity was essentially Augustinian. Dr. Kirn shows that there was a period after the Reformation when the doctrine of the Trinity, owing to the teaching of Jakob Boehme, was more prominent in the systems of speculative philosophers than it was in the thoughts of pietistic theologians. But, in the writings of Schelling and Hegel, the Trinity has a meaning quite foreign to the Trinity of revelation—it is a key for the unlocking of the cosmological problem.

Of modern theologians Dr. Kirn has closest affinity with J. Chr. K. Hofmann, M. Kähler, and Th. Kaftan. Hofmann taught that the relation of God to man as revealed in the history of redemption must be viewed *sub specie æternitatis*. Kähler, following on Hofmann's lines, infers, from the threefold character of the Divine activity, a corresponding ontological distinction in the Divine life. Kaftan bases Trinitarian doctrine on the historical Christ and on the historical gift of the Spirit; but he differs from those who say that theology is concerned only with the 'economic' Trinity. Dr. Kirn is at one with him in maintaining that the economic and the immanent Trinity are only various, but quite congruous forms of expression for the same fact. 'What the one represents in the form of temporal succession, the other contemplates in timeless relations in God Himself.'

In the last section of his article Dr. Kirn says: 'The *How* of the immanent Trinity of necessity remains a secret hidden from us. No categories of our temporal thought can comprehend the Eternal as such, and no analogies of our experience can attain to the height of the Divine existence.' With good reason he dwells on the difficulty which is due to the fact that in modern usage to speak of three 'persons' means more than the early Church understood by three 'hypostases.' Our word is not so elastic as theirs. Sometimes, indeed, it is so employed as to suggest a *collective* unity, which the Christian doctrine of the Trinity denies.

What seems to Dr. Kirn of chief importance is that the immanent Trinity should not be taught apart from the Trinity of revelation. The doctrine of the Trinity proves its religious value by its explanation of the history of revelation as the self-disclosure of the eternal God. It is a safeguard against Deistic representations of the transcendence of God, inasmuch as it reveals His wisdom and His love not in 'an immanent self-unfolding,' but in the Divine redeeming activity in the world. It is a safeguard against Pantheism on account of its strictly personal, and therefore truly moral, conception of the eternal Will of love.

It is not necessary to agree with Dr. Kirn in his estimate of the value of some of the historic words by means of which theologians have attempted to formulate the doctrine of the Trinity, in order to have a grateful appreciation of his able elucidation of the Trinity of revelation. He points out the way by which many perplexed seekers after God may be helped to a clearer view of the Divine nature, who would be repelled by abstract terminology. The immanent Trinity is the ultimate inference of reason as it seeks a foundation in thought for the facts of revelation; theologians have erred when they have held it to be a pre-condition of the understanding of revelation. Not to the Trinity of revelation, but to the immanent Trinity does Melanchthon's saying apply: *Mysteria divinitatis rectius adoraverimus quam investigaverimus.*

J. G. Tasker.

*Handsworth College.*

A double *Lieferung* (4–5, bringing the publication down to col. 480 of vol. i.) of the German encyclopædia *Die Religion in Gesch. und Gegenwart* (Mohr, Tübingen) has appeared since our last notice of this work. The most important articles contained in it are: Akademie (by Schiele), Akkommodation (Baumgarten), Akkommodation Jesu (Troeltsch), Alchemie (Strunz), Alexandrin. Theologie (Windisch), Allegorie im A.T. und Judentum (Gunkel), Allegorische Auslegung (Baentsch), Allianz, Evangelische (Kühner), Altar (i. Israelitischer [Gressmann]; ii. Christlicher [Drews and Bürkner]), Altchristliche Kunst (Strzygowski), Altertumswissenschaft (Baentsch), Altkatoliken (Kübel), Altlutheraner (Stephan and Schian), Altruismus (Titius), Ambrosius (Scheel), Amerikanismus (Kübel), Amesha Spenta (Geldner), Amos (Baentsch), Amulette (Abt), Analphabeten (Schiele), Anbetung and Andacht (both by Kähler).

# Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Volume 1.

## INDEX OF SCRIPTURE TEXTS AND OTHER REFERENCES.

By the Rev. James Donald, M.A., D.D., Keithall, Aberdeenshire.

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24[2] . . . 54[a]
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| $78^{38.\ 39}$ | $478^{b}$ |
| $78^{58}$ | $478^{a}$ |
| $80^{1}$ | $637^{a}$ |
| $82^{1}$ | $71^{b}$ |
| $82^{6}$ | $444^{b}$ |
| $83^{7}$ | $389^{b}$, $391^{b}$ |
| $84^{1}$ | $386^{b}$ |
| $84^{3}$ | $528^{b}$ |
| $84^{9}$ | $557^{a}$ |
| $88^{16}$ | $477^{b}$ |
| $89^{20}$ | $553^{a}$ |
| $89^{38.\ 51}$ | $557^{a}$ |
| $90^{4}$ | $203^{a}$ |
| $90^{7.\ 9.\ 11}$ | $477^{b}$ |
| $90^{10}$ | $181^{b}$ |
| $92^{10}$ | $557^{a}$ |
| $93$ | $117^{b}$ |
| $94^{14}$ | $3^{a}$ |
| 95–100 | $117^{b}$ |
| $95^{2}$ | $71^{b}$ |
| $95^{6}$ | $118^{b}$ |
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| $106^{9}$ | $54^{a}$ |
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| $118^{28}$ | $65^{b}$ |
| 119 | $75^{a}$ |
| $130^{3}$ | $478^{b}$ |
| $135^{6}$ | $54^{a}$ |
| 139 | $117^{b}$ |
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| $142^{4}$ | $65^{b}$ |
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| $8^{19}$ | $444^{b}$, $449^{b}$, $466^{a}$ |
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# Contributions and Comments.

## The Forty Wrestlers of Sebaste.[1]

THERE were forty men of a Roman band,
That was set for a guard in the Gallic[2] land,
Who vowed they would offer no worship nor prayer,
Save to Him whom the Nazarene Maiden bare.
Forty wrestlers for Christ's renown,
Who looked to His hand for the Victor's crown.

'Come forth, all my men!' the Centurion cries,
'Here is Cæsar's statue before your eyes.
A hundred times must the cup be filled,
And its wine at the Cæsar's feet be spilled.'
But forty wrestlers for Christ's renown
Look up to His hand for the Victor's crown.

'Ho! is there a fool who neglects to pour?
For him is determined a torment sore;
He shall stand in the midst of yon frozen lake,
And of food he shall never more partake.'
But forty wrestlers for Christ's renown
Look up to His hand for the Victor's crown.

There is one — there are two — there are three times ten—
There are now no fewer than forty men;
While hand in hand they march in the snow,
Their voices resound as they onward go,
'Forty wrestlers for Thee, O Christ!
Who would share in Thy Cross and will keep their tryst.'

Their comrades have kindled a fire as they wait,
To lure them away from a dreadful fate;
And after some hours one slips from the rank,
And nearly dies as he crawls to the bank.
Nine-and-thirty stand for the Christ,
Who would share in His Cross and keep their tryst.

A clanging of arms is heard from the shore,
For Conscience is claiming a victim more;
A Hero has filled up the gap in the line,
The Centurion stands with the Thirty-nine:
And forty Martyrs for Christ's renown
Receive from His hand the Victor's crown.

MARGARET D. GIBSON.

*Cambridge.*

[1] This incident was told in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for January as an illustration of the Great Text.

[2] That is, Gallo-Græcia.

## The Three Tabernacles.

When the disciples of Jesus saw that their Master was in conversation with Moses and Elijah, Peter said to Jesus, 'If thou wilt, I will [v.r. let us] make here three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah' (Mt $17^4$, Mk $9^5$, Lk $9^{33}$). In his note on the first passage in the 'International Critical Commentary' (p. 184), Mr. W. C. Allen suggests that 'the idea apparently is that of prolonging the scene.' Similarly Dr. A. Plummer on the Luke passage (same series, p. 252) explains that Peter's 'first impulse is to prevent Moses and Elijah from going away.' This does not, however, account for the *three* booths. Would not one large erection have been better as a place for the intercourse of the three? It is possible that we have here a reference to the tent or canopy erected for a distinguished visitor in order to show him respect. It was the custom with the ancient Arabians to erect a separate Rubbâ (tent) of honour for every distinguished visitor to the camp (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 255, 1). The Jewish material representing the same idea is collected in the *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judentums* (1905), xlix. 18.

A. Büchler.

*Jews' College, London.*

## The Ears of Corn.

The reply of Jesus (Mt $12^6$), 'But I say unto you, that one greater than the temple is here,' is only intelligible when it is realized that Jesus Himself partook of the ears plucked on the Sabbath by His disciples. It is true that the narrative does not indicate this, but the whole trend of Jesus' argument points to it. For the quotation of the precedent of David turns on the fact that David as well as those who were with him partook of the shewbread. Wellhausen (p. 59) comments as follows on Matthew: 'The infringement of the Sabbath law as part of the regular Temple service cannot be placed on the same line as the plucking of the ears by the disciples, as this was not done in the service of Jesus. The comparison is dragged in by the hair.' This comment, however, is seen to be without foundation, if my reading of the incident be correct. For the disciples were breaking the Sabbath law in order to satisfy the hunger of Jesus Himself. Allen (*Matthew*, p. 127) says with reference to Mark's 'The son of man is Lord even of the sabbath' (Mk $2^{28}$): 'It is clear that this last statement in the form given by Mark does not very well suit the context. It is the disciples who were blamed, not Christ Himself. Very possibly ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is a mistranslation for *man*.' This explanation is rendered superfluous when we assume that the reproach of the Pharisees was directed not only against the disciples plucking the ears, but much more against Jesus who by eating the corn implied retrospective consent. Read in this way the whole passage becomes natural and intelligible.

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## 'Many shall run to and fro' (Dan. xii. 4).

This verse is a recognized crux. A.V. and R.V. have, 'But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book even to the time of the end; many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased'; the Heb. of the latter half, which alone presents any difficulty, runs thus: יְשֹׁטְטוּ רַבִּים וְתִרְבֶּה הַדָּעַת. Bacon's famous interpretation of the words in the *Novum Organum*, as referring to the discovery of the New World, will hardly find many adherents to-day. Driver (*Camb. Bible*) accepts the ordinary translation, suggesting that 'run to and fro' is used metaphorically of diligent study of the book, a use of שׁוּט to which no parallel is adduced. He is evidently dissatisfied with the interpretation, and admits that the words are enigmatic. For the concluding clause he is inclined to accept Professor Bevan's emendation וְתִרְבֶּינָה הָרָעוֹת ('Evils [or calamities] shall be increased'). This is confirmed by LXX καὶ πλησθῇ ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας (Th. πληθυνθῇ ἡ γνῶσις), and is recognized in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*.

But is it not possible by a further very slight emendation to obtain complete sense, viz., by reading יְשֹׁטְטוּ for יְשֹׁטְטוּ? שׁוּט is a rare word, occurring in Ps $40^5$ (שָׂטֵי כָזָב, 'those falling away to falsehood'); while the noun שֹׁט or סֹט occurs in Hos $5^2$, Ps $101^3$, in the sense of 'revolters' or 'deeds that

swerve' (*vide* Oxf. Heb. Lex.). It is true that critics are not satisfied with these passages, and that they have been emended in various ways; but שָׂטָה is fairly common (='turn aside'), and there is no doubt of the existence of the root. The Oxf. Heb. Lex. compares NH סוּט, and adds that in Targums סְטָא means *to apostatize*. Surely this is the very meaning required? The temptation to apostatize was a special feature in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. Dn $11^{32}$, where חנף, itself in Syriac a technical term for the same thing, is used), and the 'falling away' in the last times is a standing feature in Apocalyptic literature. The words will then run, 'Seal the book to the time of the end; many shall apostatize, and calamities shall be multiplied.'

Since writing the above I have been informed that the emendation has been suggested, as, indeed, one would expect, by several German commentators whom I have not been able to consult. But, since it is not recognized in the ordinary English commentaries, it may be worth while to invite fresh attention to the suggestion, and to elicit the no doubt excellent reasons which have prevented its being adopted.

C. W. EMMET.

## The Sun and the Moon Standing Still.

I AM often asked by thinking men in the army whether or not I believe in the miracle of the sun standing still, and as I want to be absolutely sure that I am correct in my answer and in the translation of Jos $10^{12.13}$, I pass on these for criticism by the learned Hebrew scholars who read your most excellent periodical.

As the moon was over Ajalon which is to the west of Bethoron, while the sun was over Gibeon to the east, we may safely conclude that it was nearly full moon when Joshua made his march of something like twelve miles from Gilgal to Gibeon and surprised the enemy (v.[9]), who, being a mixed multitude under five different kings, fled panic-stricken along the road to Bethoron (a village seven or eight miles west of Gibeon).

As the day was about to break, Joshua realized that his army was small in comparison with the enemy's, and that with the morning light the panic-stricken Amorites, being able to differentiate friend from foe, would probably rally, so he cried unto the Lord for help, and the Lord answered his prayer by sending a great hailstorm which effectually darkened the sky and increased the enemy's panic, so that we are told (v.[11]) 'they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.'

Now, as I take the verb עָמַד to mean to *sink*, to *dip*, to *set*, I translate the passage thus: 'Sun, be silent over Gibeon (in the east); and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon (in the west). And the sun was silent, and the moon set, while the nation avenged themselves.'

But if one says to a person 'be silent,' it means do not speak; and surely if the same expression be used to a light, it means do not shine. And as a hailstorm in such a mountainous district would effectually darken the sky and shut out the sun's rays, one can see how the prayer was answered.

Of course it may be argued that this cannot be the proper translation, for our Bible goes on to say: 'Is it not written in the book of Jasher?' etc. But the Book of Jasher has never been included in the Canon of Holy Writ; and as it was not written till several hundred years after the Book of Joshua (2 S $1^{18}$), we can see that this is only a side-note that has been embodied in the text by some ignorant and probably superstitious scribe, and therefore its peculiarly illogical phraseology cannot be accepted as evidence against the actual words of the inspired text.

JOHN C. YOUNG.

*Sheikh Othman, Aden.*

## 'The Times of the Gentiles.'

WHILE reading recently in the Book of Tobit ($14^{5}$): καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν τὸν οἶκον, οὐχ οἷος ὁ πρότερος, ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος, it struck me suddenly whether this passage does not explain Lk $21^{24}$, ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. Turning to Plummer's Commentary on Luke, I find that he already quotes To $14^{5}$, with the remark, 'Where the whole passage should be compared with it.' But neither he nor any commentator mentions the thought that struck me, that ἐθνῶν in Luke may be a mistake for αἰώνων. This change is palæographically quite easy in Greek, EΘNΩN = AIΩNΩN. We have it, in fact in Rev $15^{3}$, where א* C, etc., have ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν,

αἰώνων ; א°APQ, etc., ὁ β. τῶν ἐθνῶν. We have it, further, in the O.T., where Dt $9^{26}$, the Cod. B, etc., have βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν ; Philo, the Bohairic Version (see Brooke, *J. T. S.* iii. 277), several MSS τῶν ἐθνῶν; Lucian, as edited by Lagarde, τῶν αἰώνων. But it can quite as easily rest on the frequent confusion of עמים 'nations' and עלמים 'eternities.' To the examples quoted in my *Philologica Sacra*, p. 39 (on account of the variant λαὸς and κόσμος in Ac $2^{47}$), add Mt $1^{21}$, Curetonian Syriac; Sir $45^{7}$ $47^{4}$; Targ. Psalm $87^{6}$; Aphraates, p. 277, 34; Clemens Rom., ed. Lagarde, chap. 26 (four times on one page), etc. etc. Through St. Paul's ἄχρι οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ (Ro $11^{25}$), we are accustomed to the 'times of the Gentiles'; but read αἰῶνος or αἰώνων and think of the connexion, and I am sure this reading will appear possible, even probable; certainty cannot be claimed for it.

From my Latin-Greek Concordance of the N.T., I may add the remark that, while ἔθνος is everywhere else rendered by *gens*, *gentilis*, *genus*, it is here (and Ac $2^{5}$ $10^{45}$ $22^{21}$, Rev $5^{9}$) = *natio*.

EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

# In the Study.

**A Suggestion and a Hope.**

THE DEANERY,
FARIBAULT, MINNESOTA.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been a grateful reader of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for a number of years, and a yet more grateful user of the *Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. And I have subscribed now to what promises a larger range, at least, of usefulness—the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The first volume has been frequently in my hands during the last three or four months, and the more I examine it the more amazed and delighted I am at its scope and excellence. I hardly know which to admire the more: the remarkable ingathering of topics, or the insight shown in the choice of writers. The work seems to me to bid fair to become epoch-making in the art of making Dictionaries; just as the Oxford English Dictionary has been epoch-making in its field.

But I am not writing simply to express my pleasure and to discharge a debt of gratitude; I wish to venture to make one suggestion, and to express a hope.

My suggestion—a very minor one—is that such 'Cross-References' as are printed on pp. xv and xvi, should, if possible, be introduced also in alphabetical place in the text of the volumes. There would be a material gain, I am sure, if we did not have to look up our key-word in two places. This holds good particularly of alternative spellings, such as 'Abru Ezra.'

And now as to my hope. I have been greatly delighted to find place given in the Encyclopædia to articles that bear on what might be called 'applied religion'—the concrete problems which every pastor must handle. Mr. Findlay's article on 'Amusements' is a case in point—an admirable article, though its writer has missed two or three references to literature that are at least as important as anything that he mentions. This article and that on 'Accidents' lead one to believe that my hope may be forestalled. There is great need, it seems to me, for the treatment of social problems, as they confront the religious worker, from the historical standpoint. And we are sadly lacking in guidance. There are scattered hints in this book and that, for example, on the condition of the working-classes, and their relation to the Church in England. But so far as I know, there is no work that attempts to point out how the present alienation of the working-classes from the churches has arisen. This is only one instance of a contemporary and most urgent problem which the leaders of the Church, I am persuaded, must deal with in its causes as well as in its symptoms, if they are to deal with it wisely and successfully. And I long to see such matters handled from this point of view in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

With hearty congratulations on the great achievement of this first volume, and with renewed expression of the obligations and gratitude of a humble reader,—I am, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

GEORGE G. BARTLETT.

**The New Single-Volume Dictionary.**

'Taken all in all,' says *The Christian World*, 'it is a very fine achievement, worthy to stand beside the larger dictionaries of Dr. Hastings, and it is by far the most scholarly yet produced in one volume in English-speaking countries, perhaps it may be said in the world, for even the German *Bibel-Lexikon* edited by Guthe, although handy and very valuable, comes short of the British work in range and fulness of treatment. It must be added that the book is clearly printed, and is provided with four maps and several plans.'

The review in *The Record* (the only other yet to hand) has been written by the Principal of St. Aidan's College. It occupies three and a half columns of that very large-sized newspaper. The reviewer says: 'The work is an exceedingly valuable and comprehensive one. The purpose of the book is obviously to meet the needs of those whose purse is limited, and whose studies do not demand the larger work. The younger clergy, the busy clergy of our big parishes, candidates for ordination, educated Church workers, and laymen generally who take an interest in the careful study of the Bible, will find in it invaluable assistance. It is scarcely saying too much to suggest that no clergyman who does not possess the larger book should be content to do without this, more especially if he happens to be a conservative in matters of criticism.'

The publishers have made the gratifying announcement that before the day of publication six thousand copies (the first impression) were ordered in this country alone.

**Forgetting.**

To forget is not to remember—that and perhaps a little more. 'Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgat him' (Gn $40^{23}$). At any rate there is a separate word for it, in English as in other languages, and it may be treated separately.

I. The sadness of forgetting and being forgotten. 1. *On Earth.* Job mentions it in the bitter catalogue of his miseries. 'My kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me' (Job $19^{14}$). It is part of the irony of life, as viewed by the Preacher, that one generation is forgotten by another (Ec $1^{11}$); and that the wise man is forgotten as readily as the fool ($2^{16}$). The latter statement seems in contradiction to Ps $112^{6}$, 'The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.' Plumptre is not sure that the Preacher is not calling in question the teaching of the Psalmist intentionally. But the point of view is different. The Psalmist is thinking of recollection as a reward. To be forgotten is to him less a fate common to all than a punishment deliberately inflicted on the wicked (Job $24^{20}$). It is such a punishment as that with which Jahweh threatens Ammon: 'Thou shalt be for fuel to the fire; thy blood shall be in the midst of the land; thou shalt be no more remembered' (Ezk $21^{32}$).

2. *In Sheol.* To forget and to be forgotten is the lot of the departed in Sheol. To the pious Israelite this made Sheol not merely undesirable, but the thought of it positively painful. For not only was there no communication between him and those he loved on earth (Job $14^{20.\ 21}$); far more serious than that, there was no communion between him and God. This is the meaning of the intense desire for long life: 'For in death there is no remembrance of thee: in Sheol who shall give thee thanks?' (Ps $6^{5}$). This gave its sting to the name applied to Sheol, 'the land of forgetfulness' (Ps $88^{5.\ 12}$). It was the expression of a religious need, and through religion the relief came. As Davidson suggests (on Job $14^{13\text{-}15}$, *Camb. Bible*, p. 103), the solution was found by the Psalmist in the simple demand that the land of forgetfulness should be obliterated, and that the believing soul should be taken at once by God to Himself.

II. The Sin of forgetting. The most ordinary example of forgetting is the Egyptian butler's forgetting of Joseph (Gn $40^{23}$). The sin of it lay not in that the butler had a bad memory, but in that he deliberately forgot; it had become so inconvenient to remember. But the numerous warnings against forgetting, especially against forgetting God, take into account the sin of omitting to remember as well as the sin of forgetting. 'Beware lest thou forget the Lord thy God, in *not keeping* his commandments' (Dt $8^{11}$). The deliberate act of to-day becomes the unconscious act of to-morrow. It is for this reason that the Israelites are so often warned against forgetting God, and that so many good reasons are given for not forgetting Him. He is their

Creator (Dt $32^{18}$, Is $51^{13}$). He is their Deliverer (Dt $6^{12}$, Ps $78^{42}$ $106^{21}$, Jg $8^{34}$). He has done very many wonderful works, and all in their interest (Dt $4^{9}$, Ps $78^{7.\,11}$ $106^{7.\,13}$, Neh $9^{17}$). Above all, He has made a covenant with them (Dt $4^{23}$, 2 K $17^{38}$, Pr $2^{17}$). This is the offence of the sin of forgetting. To forget the covenant which God has made with His people is to cast God off and take to other gods. It is to refuse the privileges and decline the obligations of the people whom God has chosen for Himself that He may set His name amongst them, and that through them all the families of the earth may be blessed. The covenant involves reciprocal obligation. God will not forget His part of it (Dt $4^{31}$). If the Israelites forget theirs, God is released, and the prosperity that He has promised will not fall to them. That is why the Psalmist of the 119th Psalm so repeatedly encourages himself in the observance of the law of the Lord (Ps $119^{16.\,83.\,93.\,109.\,141.\,153.\,176}$). For the covenant was kept by the Israelites when they kept God's commandments. And not to keep His commandments was to forget Himself and to count themselves worthy of the place and the portion of the heathen (2 K $17^{38}$, Dt $8^{19}$, Jg $3^{7}$, Is $65^{11}$, Jer $23^{27}$, Hos $2^{13}$). And what is that portion? 'The wicked shall return to Sheol, even all the nations that forget God' (Ps $9^{17}$).

III. Does God ever forget? 1. It often seems so. It is the standing puzzle of all the Psalmists. They had to brace themselves against it, against the evidence of their senses, as it were, by a continual exercise of faith. It was the age of persecution. But perhaps every age is an age of persecution; there are so many ways of persecuting. The poor were oppressed by the rich; the haughty trampled upon the humble in heart. And it often seemed that God was forgetting His own: 'Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest our affliction and our oppression?' (Ps $44^{24}$); and even persisting in it: 'How long, O Lord, wilt thou forget me for ever?' (Ps $13^{1}$), 'Wherefore dost thou forget us for ever, and forsake us so long time?' (La $5^{20}$). But it was a time also of religious life. The faith was in good exercise: 'He forgetteth not the cry of the poor' (Ps $9^{12}$). God does not forget. His answer to this cry is found in the finest of all the passages that we have to do with in an article on Forgetting: 'Sing, O heavens; and be joyful, O earth; and break forth into singing, O mountains: for the Lord hath comforted his people, and will have compassion upon his afflicted. But Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, these may forget, yet will not I forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me' (Is $49^{13\text{-}16}$).

2. We have already seen that God does not forget His part of the covenant. But now the surprise is that if we keep our part of it He does not say we are unprofitable servants, we have done that which it was our duty to do; He promises a reward (1 Co $15^{58}$), and in promising the reward He even intimates that He Himself is doing no more than it is His duty to do: 'For God is *not unrighteous* to forget your work (He $6^{10}$).

3. Yet God does forget. He forgets in order to punish. And can there be punishment more severe? It is the last warning of the prophet: 'Therefore behold I will utterly forget you' (Jer $23^{39}$); 'Seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I also will forget thy children' (Hos $4^{6}$).

4. But here also there is a surprise. God can and does forget our sin. This is often repeated; the sinner needs its frequent repetition. But there are two memorable passages: 'I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake; and I will not remember thy sins' (Is $43^{25}$); 'For I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more' (Jer $31^{34}$). The last passage is twice quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews ($8^{12}$ $10^{17}$).

IV. Should we ever forget? 1. We should forget our sorrows if we can. Jacob was enabled to forget all his toil as he named Joseph's firstborn son Manasseh, that is, *making to forget* (Gn $41^{51}$). And the woman that is in childbirth forgets her pains, as soon as they are over, in the joy of motherhood (Jn $16^{21}$). But Job could not forget his misery (Job $9^{27}$), although Zophar recommended him to do so ($11^{16}$), because the occasion of it was not yet removed; God was still hiding His face from him.

2. Should we forget our injuries? There seems to be a difference here between the Old Covenant and the New. The New Covenant says emphatically that if we forgive not (which includes forget

not) we shall not be forgiven. Whereas the Old Covenant said, 'Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way as ye came forth out of Egypt . . . thou shalt not forget' (Dt $25^{17-19}$). But there are three ways of it. The easy-minded forget easily. Esau is an example. The stronger character finds it harder to forget, and needs the commandment. It is the strongest of all that, appreciating the injury, forgives and forgets it. That is the 'strength in weakness' which Browning saw. That is the 'my strength sufficient for thee' of St. Paul.

3. But should we forget ourselves? Should we forget our own past? We would if we could. And sometimes we do forget, like the foolish ostrich in Job's remembered simile (Job $39^{14.\ 15}$). It is better not to forget: 'Remember, forget thou not, how thou provokedst the Lord thy God to wrath in the wilderness' (Dt $9^{7}$). And yet, when the past is past and new life has begun, we are encouraged to forget the things which are behind that we may stretch forward to the things which are before (Phil $3^{13.\ 14}$). It is even to be pressed upon us, as the first duty of all, that we should not let any recollection of the past prevent us from doing our duty in the present. If the Israelites in remembering Amalek had forgotten to entertain strangers (He $13^{2}$), they would have transgressed the commandment. And if we remember instances of ingratitude and forget 'to do good and to communicate,' we shall fall into the same condemnation. Even if the past has been shameful we are encouraged to forget it. 'Thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth' (Is $54^{4}$). We shall not forget how we provoked the Lord, for that would be to forget the greatest of all His benefits (Ps $103^{2}$). But the shame of the past may be forgotten, being overwhelmed by the joy of the present, lost sight of in the hope that maketh not ashamed.

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**Gn $40^{23}$, 'Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgat him.'**

Mr. J. M. Gibbon[1] makes this the text of a children's sermon. The best point in it is that the butler would not have forgotten if he had cared to remember.

Dr. A. Smellie[2] is less interested in the Old Testament Joseph than in the New, and more interested in himself than in the Egyptian butler. (1) The butler was perhaps absorbed in the affections of home and the duties of business. He valued them the more that he had been for a time deprived of them. But home is at its best, and business at its briskest, when I put my New Testament Joseph first. (2) Perhaps at Pharaoh's court he was afraid to speak of his obligation to a Hebrew slave. Christ is not fashionable in king's courts. (3) Perhaps he felt a kind of awe at the thought of Joseph. His character had always been a reproach to the butler's conscience. It may have been a relief to banish him from thought. (4) Or was it merely that he was unthinking and heedless? He was not so when the fetters lay on him and the dungeon walls shut him in. Base ingratitude—but my emancipation has been more astonishing.

[1] *The Image of God*, 1896, p. 151, and (the same sermon) *The Children's Year*, 1903, p. 74.

[2] *In the Secret Place*, 1907, p. 107.

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**Jer $31^{34}$, 'I will remember their sin no more.'**

This is part of the New Covenant (Jer $31^{31-34}$). The Old Covenant was, as it were, a tryst between God and man—'This do, and thou shalt live.' But a tryst cannot be kept unless both parties keep it. Now God kept the Old Covenant on His part. But man did not keep it: 'The children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and forgat the Lord their God, and served the Baalim and the Asheroth' (Jg $3^{7}$; also 1 S $12^{9}$, Jer $2^{32}$, Hos $2^{13}$). So the New Covenant is to adopt a new method. The obligation is not to fall equally on both parties. God is to be a Giver, and man is to be a receiver. Notice the emphasis on the 'I': I will make—I will put—I will forgive. An entirely new beginning is to be made on entirely new conditions. The Law is to be replaced by the Gospel.

But before a new beginning can be made the past must be dealt with. No wise general will go forward leaving an unconquered army behind him. Therefore, although it is placed last, the first step that is to be taken towards realizing the conditions of the New Covenant is the forgiveness and forgetfulness of the past. It is mentioned last, but it is introduced by the word 'for,' showing that it really comes first. Whatever else we may find in the conditions of the New Covenant, we must find this, the free forgiveness on God's part of all the past—and such a forgiveness as amounts

to an entire and eternal forgetfulness. Before we enter upon the New Covenant we must hear God's word and believe it: 'Their sin will I remember no more.' The subject is the Forgetfulness of God.

I. *There are some things which God cannot forget.* 1. He cannot forget His promise. If He has made a tryst with any one He cannot forget to keep it. 'He will not fail thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which he sware unto them' (Dt $4^{31}$). 2. Nor can He ever forget those that depend upon Him, either in this life or in the life to come. It may seem sometimes that He is forgetting them. The Psalmists are often troubled with the thought of it, and occasionally even cry out 'How long?' But all these fears were at last laid to rest by Isaiah's emphatic illustration: 'Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, these may forget, yet will not I forget thee' (Is $49^{14.15}$). More terrible perhaps was the thought of being laid in the grave and forgotten, the thought of being dismissed to the 'the land of forgetfulness.' Ecclesiastes wrestled with it and failed (Ec $1^{11}$ $2^{16}$). Job wrestled with it and overcame (Job $14^{13\text{-}15}$). 3. But not only does God not forget ourselves, He does not forget our work and labour of love (He $6^{10}$). This is perhaps the greatest of all the surprises of the New Covenant. The Old Covenant was, 'This do, and thou shalt live'—a clear bargain, with penalty for not doing. In the New Covenant God Himself works in us and through us, and then rewards us for what we do, even intimating that He would be unrighteous if He did not do so (He $6^{10}$). 'Wherefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not vain in the Lord' (1 Co $15^{58}$).

II. *But there are some things which God can forget.* 1. He forgets those who persist in their unbelief and the evil of their ways. 'Therefore, behold, I will utterly forget you, and I will cast you off' (Jer $23^{39}$). 'Seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I also will forget thy children' (Hos $4^{6}$). Now, to be forgotten of God was the sorest punishment that could befall an Israelite. It was the fear of it that gave death its sting. 2. But there is another way in which God forgets those who are sinning against Him. He forgets to punish them. It is the expression of His long-suffering. It is what St. Paul means when he says, 'The times of this ignorance God winked at' (Ac $17^{30}$). He is waiting to be gracious. The Psalmist is surprised at God, and bitterly prays, 'Forget not the voice of thine adversaries' (Ps $74^{23}$). 3. Last of all, and most of all, He forgets our sins. The promise is repeated, more than once, and always emphatically. Take Is $43^{25}$, 'I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake; and I will not remember thy sins.' Newman Smyth raises the question, Can God forget our sins? He answers it by showing how. There are three things to take into account—(*a*) the necessity of forgetfulness. 'Two friends who have been alienated cannot walk together again, if the wronged person is simply willing to forgive; if the wrong which separated them is to remain ever present in the memory of either of them; if one sees it in the other's eye; if, though not a word be said about it, either must be inwardly conscious of it whenever he is in the other's presence. If the wrong done cannot be forgotten as well as forgiven, it will remain as a great gulf fixed between those who once were friends, although they should eat again at the same table, walk the same path together and lie down at last in the same grave' (Newman Smyth, *The Reality of Faith*, p. 128). (*b*) The difficulty of it. The difficulties that have been suggested are these. Our sin is an organic part of ourselves; our nature carries its scar. It is also a part of the memory of the universe. And then our whole life is written in the thought of the Eternal God; nothing has ever been hidden from Him; it is difficult to think that anything can ever be. (*c*) Yet God can forget. The method of His forgetting is the Cross. It is this that we express in our theory of the atonement, whatever our theory be.

1. Newman Smyth contends (*The Reality of Faith*, p. 129) that if wrong done is to be forgiven fully, that is, not merely condoned but forgotten, the first movement must be made on the part of the person wronged. A man may no doubt say to another who has wronged him, 'I do not care; you may come back at any time and sit at my table if you please; I will not speak of the offence; I am willing to let it pass.' But though unmentioned the wrong would still be there. It would be as a shadow between them until some-

thing is done to enable them both to forget it. And that something means sacrifice, suffering, humiliation—not, in the first place, on the part of the person who has done the wrong, but on the part of the person wronged. For reconciliation involves self-vindication, that is to say, the recognition of the wrong as wrong. And when self-vindication does not come through retaliation, it comes through sorrow and pain.

Now retaliation may affirm the reality of the wrong done, but it does not win the sinner to repentance. Here lies the essential difference between the Old Covenant and the New. The Old Covenant asserted the rule of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. The New Covenant says to the person wronged, 'If a man smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also.' The Old Covenant punished the transgressor and lost him; in the New Covenant the person wronged undergoes the additional humiliation which is necessary to show the exceeding sinfulness of sin, but he wins the person who has done him wrong.

The question is, How can the Holy One forgive and forget our sin? Heaven's answer is the Cross of Christ.

**2.** Browning uses a similar argument in 'Saul.' The King of Israel had sinned. The Spirit of the Lord had left him, and an evil spirit tormented him. David had been sent for to play before him. The poem opens at the moment of David's arrival. David himself tells the story.

He tells how he played, first of all—and sang as he played—the simple music of nature: 'The tune all our sheep know, as, one after one, so docile they come to the pen-door till folding be done.' Then he touched his harp to the ordinary incidents of human life: 'the help-tune of our reapers'; 'the last song when the dead man is praised on his journey'; 'the glad chaunt of the marriage'; 'the chorus intoned as the Levites go up to the altar.' Saul did not hear the song of nature; the ordinary incidents of human life did not affect him; the first movement took place when he heard the hymn of the sanctuary. For there is no reconciliation through nature; there is none in the daily events of man's life. The first motion is from God. David did not know that yet. 'The tent shook, for mighty Saul shuddered': it was at 'the chorus intoned as the Levites go up to the altar.' But David did not know and did not follow up his advantage. He sang next of the mere joy of living; he passed to things of deeper emotion: 'the white locks of thy father'; 'the thin hands of thy mother.' Saul was untouched. Then came the reference to Saul's high place, the kingship, to 'ambition and deeds which surpass it,' to fame. This was Saul's master passion. This was Saul's weakness. David ended with the name 'King Saul.'

Then Saul, who hung propped
By the tent's cross-support in the centre, was struck by his name.
One long shudder thrilled
All the tent till the very air tingled, then sank and was stilled
At the king's self left standing before me, released and aware.

Again David was mistaken. His wish was to rescue Saul from his madness. He had already recovered him partly. It was through the promise of fame. So he pursued that promise. And at first he seemed to be successful. He sang of the fame of the future—the marble monument raised to Israel's first king and greatest. Saul 'slowly resumed his old motions and habitudes kingly.'

He spoke not, but slow
Lifted up the hand slack at his side, till he laid it with care,
Soft and grave, but in mild settled will, on my brow; thro' my hair
The large fingers were pushed, and he bent back my head, with kind power—
All my face back, intent to peruse it, as men do a flower.
Thus held he me there with his great eyes that scrutinized mine—
And oh, all my heart how it loved him!

At that moment, and through that love, the truth came upon David. Saul is not to be restored by nature, or by humanity, or by kinship's affection, or even by fame. His restoration must come from God—and it must come through suffering. How did David make the discovery? Through the reading of his own heart. *He* loved Saul. Did God love him less? In everything else God is greater than man. Is it possible 'a man may o'ertake God's own speed in the one way of love'? David himself not only loves but will suffer for Saul: God will suffer also, He will suffer more—

He who did most shall bear most; the strongest shall stand the most weak.
'Tis the weakness in strength, that I cry for! my flesh, that I seek

In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me,
Thou shalt love and be loved by, for ever: a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

### Swift.

There is a scholar and preacher we know (he is at the same time one of the best scholars and most popular preachers in Scotland) who has slyly steeped himself in the writings of Swift. He will acknowledge in private a large debt to the Dean for thoughts which a generation ignorant of Swift calls original, and still more for words which are always clear as daylight and often biting as hard frost. But Swift may be read openly, and he is worth reading often. Our interest at present is—*in which edition?*

There are only two editions that enter into the competition—Sir Walter Scott's and Mr. Temple Scott's.

Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift was published in 1814, in nineteen volumes, at £9, 19s. 6d. It was reviewed by Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review* for September 1816. The second edition appeared in 1824, again in nineteen volumes, but at £8, 11s. Lockhart says: 'The additions to this second edition of Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift were numerous, and the Notes and the Life corrected throughout with considerable care.' All this and more will be found in Lowndes, who adds, that in Monk Mason's *History of the Cathedral of St. Patrick* there is a defence of Swift against the attacks of Sir Walter Scott and the Edinburgh reviewers, a sentence which announces the weakness of Sir Walter Scott's edition. It now comes often into the second-hand market, and is offered in good condition at about £3, 10s.

For just as Sir Walter Scott antiquated the editions of Hawkesworth and Sheridan, so his own edition has been superseded by an edition in twelve volumes at 5s. each, edited by Mr. Temple Scott, and published in 'Bohn's Standard Library' by Messrs. George Bell & Sons. It is a modern edition. The first volume was published in 1897; the last volume was published in the end of 1908. Outwardly it is much more convenient to handle than all the previous editions; inwardly there is no single respect in which it is not superior. It is better equipped with portraits and facsimiles. It embodies the results of a century's research. And although it is surprising that so few of the men who live by the profession of Letters have given themselves to the study of Swift's writings, a good deal of unprofessional work has been done by John Forster, Henry Craik, Stanley Lane-Poole, and others, but especially by the editor of this edition himself. The last volume, moreover, contains four things, any one of which would have given distinction to the edition. It contains, first, an essay on the portraits, busts, and engravings of Swift, and their artists, with a note on the portraits of Stella, all by the late Sir Frederick Falkiner, K.C., Recorder of Dublin. It contains, secondly, an essay on the relations between Swift and Stella, written by the present distinguished occupant of the Deanery of St. Patrick's, the Very Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., D.C.L. Further, it contains a bibliography of the writings of Swift, by Mr. W. Spencer Jackson. And finally, a general index to the twelve volumes, by Miss Constance Jacob.

It is not mere curiosity that makes one pass the portraits and read the relations with Stella. It is a subject of universal literary interest; it is a matter affecting the study of ethics. And then the reputation of the author of the essay is itself a considerable inducement. What is the conclusion that Dr. Bernard comes to? It is that in spite of the fact that Stella signed her last will 'Esther Johnson, *spinster*,' Swift and she were married. The evidence does not amount to demonstration, but it amounts to the highest possible probability. As for the signature, that was part of the compact, for if there was a marriage it was agreed that it should never be avowed.

### Criticism and Coincidence.

Messrs. Williams & Norgate have lost no time in translating Harnack's *Acts of the Apostles* (6s.). Now we have a good translation of each of the three epoch-making 'Studies.' The translation does not need to have repeated what has already been said about the original. But there is an amusing footnote to page 247 which deserves more attention than it has received.

Harnack is troubled like other critics we know with the desire to remove from the New Testament everything that looks unlikely. He was working at this exercise one rainy day beside the Walensee,

when he turned and took up the *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins des kanton Glarus*, 27 Heft, 1892. There he read that in 1837 the son of the pastor of Schwanden was drowned when bathing in the Aar, near Aarau, and that in the third decade of the same century the son of another pastor of Schwanden was drowned while bathing in the Aar, near Aarau. And yet Aarau is a long long way from Schwanden.

### Transcension.

'I have been much interested lately in the little known Catholic doctrine of Transcension, the *passing over* the stage of repentance by fixation of the thought upon God. This is the most esoteric thing in their mystical theology. It treats sin as a nullity, so soon as *we* cease to regard it as real, by raising our thought above it. It is used in the Catholic Church to remove the obstruction to devotion caused by a too hard and realistic sense of sin, and a too long dwelling on the necessity of repentance as a *preliminary* to an approach to God.'

That is one of the *Thoughts of a Modern Mystic* (Kegan Paul; 3s. 6d. net), to whom we should have felt nearer if he had had more faith in Christ and less in spirit-rapping. The thoughts are edited by W. F. Barrett, Professor of Experimental Physics in the Royal College of Science for Ireland, who laments that he is now left almost alone of the small group of friends who founded the Society for Psychical Research.

### The Scapegoat in Assam.

The strides which the study of Religion is making cannot any longer escape the notice of the most unobservant. All the theological publishers are entering the field. It is long since Mr. David Nutt entered it. There is no publisher that has done more for folk-lore and other byways of religious literature. But Mr. Nutt also feels the force of the new interest impelling him to the issue of books more thorough and more beautiful than any that he has issued before. He has just published two volumes, each of which has to do with a single native tribe of Assam, and yet each is a large volume, beautifully printed and almost lavishly illustrated, many of the illustrations being in colour.

The one volume is on *The Meitheis*; it is written by Mr. T. C. Hodson. The other volume is *The Mikirs*, prepared from papers left by Edward Stack. Sir Charles Lyall has written an Introduction to Mr. Hodson's volume, and it is he that has edited, arranged, and supplemented the papers of the late Mr. Edward Stack. His name is enough. Mr. Hodson is thoroughly equipped. But so conscientious is Sir Charles Lyall that whatever he introduces or edits may be implicitly relied upon.

If there is any man who still thinks that the Christian preacher has nothing to do with the study of other religions, let him use one of these volumes for the opening of the eyes. The Mikirs, says Mr. Stack, use *Arnam* as a common propitiatory form of address to human beings, the phrase being, for a man, *Po-arnam-po*, and for a woman *pe-arnam-pi*, which being interpreted means 'father-god,' 'mother-god.' And then he gives a story in which the king is addressed as *Hemphu Arnam*, that is 'Lord God.' And Mr. Hodson has more astonishing things than that.

For example, he gives an account of the festival called the *Chirouba*. At the *Chirouba* a man is selected from among the people, who is to give his name to the coming year. The choice is made with the utmost solemnity. For the man who is chosen has to bear all the sins of the people throughout the year. 'The appointment of a *chāhitāba*,' says Mr. Hodson, 'rests on the desire to find a scapegoat to bear the sins of the community, or of the individual Raja. The ceremony takes place at the foot of the holy hill Khabru on the grassy plain, to which the significant name Kaithenmānbi, the meeting-place of the ghosts, has been given. Thither annually the Raja went in solemn procession to sacrifice a white goat, male without blemish, to the God Khabru whose abode it was, and to leave there fish and an offering of new cloths. But there come times when such ordinary devices as these fail of their purpose, and it is necessary to have recourse to special sin-takers. Generally some criminal is found to take upon himself the guilt of the Raja and Rani, who, clad in fine robes, ascend a staging erected in the bazar, beneath which crouches the sin-taker. The Raja and Rani then bathe in the screened tent on the stage, and the water they use in their ablutions drops over the man below, to whom they give their robes and sins. Clad in new raiment, the Raja and his consort mix among their people

until evening of that day, when they retire into a seclusion which may last for a week, and during which they are said to be *nāmungba*, sacred or *tabu*. Sometimes the transference of sins has been satisfactorily accomplished by the simple device of presenting the royal cloth to a "sin-taker."'

### The Summer School in Oxford.

A Summer School of Theology is to be held in Oxford in September. The object of it, says the Prospectus, is 'that men and women who are interested in the religious problems of the present time may have an opportunity of hearing and meeting with some of those scholars who have made special studies in their own departments of theological work.'

The programme of studies is divided into five parts, and it is a most significant thing that the study of religion occupies two of these parts—the first and the last, the three parts between being the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Church. The Prospectus may be obtained from the Rev. A. J. Carlyle, St. Edmund Hall House, Oxford; or the Rev. G. W. Thatcher, Mansfield College, Oxford.

### BOOKS WANTED.

1. *Journal of Theological Studies*, No. 26, April 1908.
2. Sully's Studies of Childhood.
3. Steward's Mediatorial Sovereignty.
4. Smith's Historical Geography of the Holy Land.
5. Kenyon's Textual Criticism of the N.T.
6. Drummond's Philo-Judæus.
7. Life of Dr. Hort.
8. Lectures on the History of Preaching, by Broadus.
9. The History of Christian Preaching, by Pattison.
10. *The Reliquary* (Bemrose).
11. Saintsbury's History of Criticism, vols. ii. or iii.
12. Reichel's Canon Law, vol. ii.

### BOOKS OFFERED.

1. Swete's Septuagint, 3 vols., 2nd ed., 1895, 10s.
2. *Quarterly Review*, 1867–1877, 6d. each part.
3. Fitchett's Unrealized Logic of Religion, 2s. 8d.
4. Dalman's Words of Jesus, 5s.
5. Baker's History of Christian Doctrine, 6s.
6. Johnston's Grenfell and the Congo, 1908 (pub. 30s.), for 20s.
7. Oosterzee's Christian Dogmatics, 5s.
8. Westcott's Gospel of the Resurrection; Revelation of Risen Lord; Victory of Cross; Gospel of Life, Lessons from Work.
9. Seeberg's Fundamental Truths, 2s. 6d.
10. Sir James Stephen's Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, new ed., complete in one vol., 3s. 6d.
11. Laotze, Gorn Old's Translation of the Tao-Teh-King 1905, 6d.
12. Transactions of the Congress of Religions in Oxford, 1908, 2 vols., new (pub. 21s. net), for 12s.
13. Routh's Reliquæ Sacræ, 5 vols., good copy, 10s.
14. Macgregor's Jesus Christ the Son of God, 2nd ed., 1907, 3s.
15. Bunsen's Hippolytus and His Age, best ed., 4 vols., 6s.
16. Newman's Sermons, best ed., 8 vols., 16s.

### The Great Text Commentary.

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. D. M. Henry, Whithorn, to whom a copy of Chadwick's *Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for April must be received by the 1st of March. The text is Rev $1^{5.6}$.

The Great Text for May is Rev $1^{10}$—'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.' A copy of Clark Murray's *Handbook of Christian Ethics* or of Professor J. Arthur Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for June is Rev $1^{17.18}$—'And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the Living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of Hades.' A copy of Fairweather's *The Background of the Gospels* or any recent volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for July is Rev $2^{7}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God.' A copy of Adeney's *Greek and Eastern Churches* or of Rutherfurd's *Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for August is Rev $2^{10}$—'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.' A copy of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* or any volume of the 'Scholar as Preacher' series will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

At a time when we are ready to include the exposition of the Bible among the lost arts, there come two expositions of the first rank of excellence. To add to the surprise, both are expositions of the Epistles of St. John. To complete the coincidence, both refer to the literature of their subject in the preface, and both state that Rothe's exposition has never been translated into English, although a fine translation has been in existence for the last fifteen years.

That both volumes consist of lectures is no surprise. But it would be a surprise if the lectures had been delivered from the pulpit. For if the general art of exposition is nearly lost, the special art of expository preaching seems to be altogether a thing of the past. One of the volumes consists of lectures which were delivered to the students of Headingley College, Leeds. It is Professor Findlay's *Fellowship in the Life Eternal* (Hodder & Stoughton; 10s. 6d.). The other contains the Kerr Lectures, delivered to the students in the Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland. Its title is *The Tests of Life* (T. & T. Clark; 7s. 6d. net). The author is the Rev. Robert Law, B.D., Minister of Lauriston Place Church, Edinburgh.

We are not about to compare the volumes. There is no comparison between them. The one follows the good old method of verse by verse exposition. The other adopts the new method of grouping together the passages which bear upon a common theme. They supplement one another. Dr. Findlay is not superseded by Mr. Law; and Mr. Law is not made dispensable by Dr. Findlay. We propose to consider a difficult passage dealt with by both, and to see how they deal with it.

It is the great central declaration in 1 Jn $4^{2,3}$. In the familiar words of the Authorized Version it reads: 'Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God.'

This is the true 'Apostles' Creed.' And it is as exact in its terms as a creed must be, as exact as any creed that ever was drawn up. 'The statement,' says Mr. Law, 'simple as it is, is of exquisite precision.' He proceeds to show how exquisite. First, 'the verb that is used (ἔρχεσθαι) implies the pre-existence of Christ.' Next, 'the tense of that verb (ἐληλυθότα) points to His coming not only as a historical event but as an abiding fact. The Word has become flesh for ever.' Then, 'the noun (σάρξ) indicates the fulness of His participation in human nature, the *flesh* being that element which is in most obvious contrast with His former state of being.

Even the preposition (ἐν) is of pregnant significance. It is not altogether equivalent to *into* (εἰς). The gnostics also believed that Christ came into the flesh. But the assertion is that He has so come into the flesh as to abide therein; the Incarnation is a permanent union of the Divine with human nature. Finally, this union is realized in the self-identity of a Person, Jesus Christ, who is at once Divine and human.'

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Professor Findlay sees the precision of St. John's words also, though he does not lay it out so elaborately. He is more occupied with the confession itself, its contents, and the progress that it records from St. Paul's primitive 'Jesus is Lord.' What *is* this Creed or Confession?

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According to the Authorized Version it is: 'That Jesus Christ is come in the flesh.' But everybody could confess that, and in doing so confess nothing. If there is exquisite precision in the language of the creed, there must be no less exquisite precision in the creed itself. In order to make the meaning clear in English, Professor Findlay and Mr. Law both introduce the little word *as*, though there is nothing corresponding to it in the Greek. Professor Findlay introduces it after Christ: 'Every spirit which confesseth Jesus Christ as come in flesh.' And to bring out his interpretation he demands an emphasis upon each of the words: *Jésus Christ cóme in flésh*, as he prints them, 'so that the Divine origin and rights of Jesus and His advent in this capacity into human bodily life may be acknowledged.' Mr. Law places the *as* before Christ—'Every spirit that confesseth Jesus as Christ come in the flesh.'

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The question, therefore, that is answered by this Apostles' Creed is the question, Who is Jesus? That has been the question always. It will be the question to the end. But the exact emphasis that is put upon it has not always been the same. And the answer must be according to the emphasis.

There was a difference, as Dr. Findlay points out, even by the time St. John wrote. In the earlier days when the question was put, 'Who is Jesus?' the answer made by the unbeliever was 'He is anathema.' For the unbeliever was a Jew, and his countrymen had crucified Jesus. He is anathema, he said. Has He not been crucified, and come under the curse of the law? 'Cursed,' says the Law, 'is every one that hangeth on a tree.' The answer of the believer, the answer of St. Paul, was 'Jesus is Lord.' In one telling phrase (κύριος Ἰησοῦς) he removed the anathema and reversed it.

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But by St. John's day the emphasis has changed, and the answer must be different. Now the unbeliever is a philosopher, possibly a speculative theologian and born within the borders of the Church itself. He does not dispute the Messiahship of Jesus. What he disputes is His preexistence, His godhead, His rank in the realm of spiritual beings. He separates Jesus from Christ, not by historical distinction (as in our day), but by metaphysical analysis. St. John's answer, therefore, is fuller than St. Paul's, and every word is chosen carefully. 'Every spirit that confesseth not Jesus as Christ come in the flesh is not of God.'

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We have spoken of the expository lecture as now so rarely heard from the pulpits of our land. What has taken its place? It would be a gain if what is called 'the running commentary' should take its place. But where the expository lecture was easy (it was its easiness that brought about its end), the running commentary is difficult exceedingly, and very few are the preachers who have yet had the courage to attempt it.

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It is not that there is no time for it. An occasional word, an occasional sentence, is all that it means. And the congregation as they follow the reading, book in hand, need not lift up their

eyes. The reading, let us say, is in the First Epistle of St. John, the fourth chapter. The preacher has reached the sixteenth verse. The words are, 'And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us.' He simply says, 'Not merely "We have known and believed," but "We have known, and we have believed."'

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He says this because to the ordinary English reader 'we have known and believed' is only a single statement. It is either 'we have known,' or it is 'we have believed.' It even loses its force as a single statement by the use of the two verbs when one would be sufficient.

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But the preacher knows that it is two distinct statements. He knows that the second verb is as emphatic as the first, and for that matter a bigger mouthful in the Greek (ἐγνώκαμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν). And by simply inserting 'we have' as he reads, he arrests the attention on the double statement, and makes the congregation ask silently what the two statements are.

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What are the two statements? Westcott says that when St. John has stated that we know the love which God has to us, he suddenly recalls himself. He remembers that we do not know it perfectly. As God is greater than our heart, so the love of God is greater than the heart of man can embrace. He accordingly adds, 'but we believe that it is greater than we know.'

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Professor Findlay assents. But Mr. Law will have none of it. 'I cannot agree with Westcott,' he says, 'that the addition of "we have believed" is due to the conscious imperfection attaching to the "we have known." For it cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that the verb to *know* (γινώσκειν) signifies spiritual perception; while the verb to *believe* (πιστεύειν) expresses, the resultant intellectual conviction.' He would therefore translate, or paraphrase, the passage: 'We have recognized (in the fact that Jesus is the Son of God) the love which God hath toward us, and are firmly persuaded of its truth.'

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Is the story of the Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Tongues historical?

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The question is worth asking. It is a question even for the historian and the man of science. Because, if it is historical, it is central and controlling. Other ideas and theories of the origin of languages and of the peopling of the earth must fall into conformity with it. But the preacher must ask the question more imperatively. His whole attitude to the Old Testament depends upon its answer.

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For if the story of the Tower of Babel is not historical, he cannot use it as history, and his first feeling is the pain of loss. If he is determined to deal honestly, he finds himself gradually retreating from great sections of the Bible. This incident never occurred; that patriarch never existed. His next feeling is anger against the critics of the Old Testament, and resentment of all their ways. 'Ye have taken away the materials of my sermons, and what have I more?'

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Professor W. G. Jordan, in his new book on *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* (T. & T. Clark; 7s. 6d. net), answers the modern Levite. He does not say that the story of the Tower of Babel is historical. He does not deny that those preachers who have lived and worked during the last generation have had the painful experience of having to let go as strictly historical some of the narratives of the Old Testament. But he says that they need not feel resentment. They have lost them for a little, that they may find them again in a richer, more profitable form.

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Certainly no preacher will give up any of the Old Testament stories lightly. And there are many incidents and experiences in the Old Testament which may still be taken, as they have

always been taken, literally, and used for immediate edification. Professor Jordan gives an instance. It is the 73rd Psalm.

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The 73rd Psalm is not a Psalm of Asaph, as its title tells us. It is a late poem. The title must go. But the psalm is none the worse of that. It is even the better. For now we see more freely how close it comes to the Spirit of Christ. 'Simply to paraphrase the psalm, to tell in clear simple words how its author fought and conquered doubt, this in itself is helpful and inspiring. If we care to follow with close attention the story of this "Pilgrim's Progress through Doubt to a Higher Faith," we are face to face with a spiritual conflict which, both as to substance and as to form, is not unlike the battle which we ourselves sometimes have to meet.'

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The difficulty, however, is not so much with the psalms or even with the incidents in the historical books. It is with the stories of world-wide significance contained in the early chapters of Genesis—the most picturesque and impressive of all that the Old Testament contains. Even them the preacher will not lightly surrender. He will not surrender them at any rate until he has consulted the monuments. Do the monuments of Babylon help him to retain the story of the Tower of Babel and to believe in the Confusion of Tongues?

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Professor Jordan goes with the preacher to the monuments. First he looks into Professor Orr' *Problem of the Old Testament.* Professor Orr is very reluctant to surrender the historical character of the Tower of Babel. What does he say about it?

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He says that 'there is a growing conviction that the plain of Shinar, or Southern Babylonia, was really the centre of distribution of the families of mankind.' The centre of distribution? It is a good phrase. Does it mean that all mankind were once gathered as one nation on the plains of Babylon and were thence actually dispersed, as the narrative in Genesis seems to say they were? Read the next sentence. 'Babylonian civilization is carried back by the discoveries at Nippur to a period so much earlier than that of any other known civilization, that the inference seems irresistible that it is the source from which these other civilizations are derived.'

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Now to say that all other known civilizations are likely to have come from the civilization of Babylonia, even if it is true—and Professor Flinders Petrie is dissipating the probability of it rapidly—is a very different thing from saying that all the languages of the earth have come from one language that once was spoken in the plain of Shinar. Professor Jordan turns to the archæologist Professor Hommel.

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The ninth verse of the story, says Professor Hommel, the verse which gives the name of Babel to the city and the tower, is probably a later addition. For, he adds, Babel was certainly not among the *oldest* sanctuaries of the land of Shinar. And 'by this bit of minute criticism,' says Professor Jordan, 'the archæologist destroys the point of the story; but in so doing he shows that he realizes the immense age that lies behind the movements and migrations of humanity, and that we do not reach anything primitive when we arrive at Babel.'

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But Professor Jordan does not even yet dismiss the story as unhistorical. He turns to Dr. Pinches. And Dr. Pinches is at first highly comforting. He admits that for the confusion of tongues 'there is, of course, no historical evidence,' and that 'the Babylonian inscriptions know nothing of it.' But he adds at once that there were many languages spoken at Babylon, and that a stranger visiting it could not help being struck by their number.

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That is scarcely sufficient, however. The question is, Was the whole earth of one language, and was Babylon 'the centre of distribution'? 'There is

great improbability,' says Dr. Pinches, 'that the statement that the whole earth was of one language and of one speech was ever believed by thinking men at the time as an actual historical fact. A better translation would be "the whole land," that is, the whole tract of country from the Mountains of Elam to the Mediterranean Sea.'

This, at last, is clear enough, and it is creditable to the courage of the archæologist who has made it. For it must be remembered that the book in which it is made, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylon*, was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. But it seems to destroy our last hope of being able to cling to the historical character of the Tower of Babel.

Suppose, then, that we have to come to the conclusion that the story of the Tower of Babel and the Confusion of Tongues is unhistorical. Is it lost to the preacher? Professor Jordan believes that it is not lost. He believes that there is a better and a richer use to be made of it now than when it was historical.

In the first place we can work a little critical analysis over it, and perhaps discover, as Gunkel has done, that there are two distinct stories in it, one relating to a city, the other to a tower. We may notice also in the course of our criticism that both stories belong to the Yahwist stratum, whence the gracious fact that Yahweh 'interferes' in the affairs of men, and always for their good. Always for their good, whether they see that at the time or not—a most fruitful consideration for the future history of Israel and of the world.

But there is more than that. From the structure of the story let us pass to its origin.

It originated in Babylonia. Of that there cannot be a doubt. Where else is the wide plain and the Temple Tower? But it was not written down by a Babylonian. That is just as unmistakable.

For the whole attitude is that of a foreigner. And the foreigner is a Hebrew. The supreme God is Yahweh. The name 'Babel' is a play upon a Hebrew verb. The surprise of the writer at the great brick buildings rising out of the plain is the surprise of a dweller in Palestine.

And yet this story is no Hebrew writer's invention. Behind the narrative may be detected the signs of an earlier and more heathen conception. It is, in short, a wide-circulating and probably very ancient folk-narrative worked over in the interest of the supremacy of Yahweh, the God of Israel.

Is its interest entirely literary, then, and has it no historical value? Professor Jordan does not say so. He sees clearly that it belongs to a pre-scientific age. Yet he says that the questions which it handles are questions which science still has to occupy itself with. And if its handling of them is more poetical than scientific, it is not of less value (not of less value to science) on that account, but probably of more value. For the science of to-day will be superseded by the science of to-morrow. But poetry, out of which science came at first, will always endure, to furnish new stimulus to scientific investigation and to brace scientific minds to face the old problems over again, and at last, above all other discoveries, to find their solution in God.

Professor Jordan quotes from Loofs, and closes: 'What the author of our story, who was quite certainly a pious Israelite and no Babylonian, had heard concerning Babel's old history and its old buildings, that he uses for the purpose of exhibiting Yahweh's power in the history of the first beginnings of human culture. The history of our text teaches us how a pious Israelite of old Israel sets the oldest history of mankind in the light of his faith.'

Jesus 'marvelled' (Mt $8^{10}$).

And we marvel that He should ever have

marvelled. It is no surprise that others marvelled at Him.

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The disciples marvelled. He said to the fig tree, 'Let there be no fruit from thee henceforward for ever. And immediately the fig tree withered away. And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying, How did the fig tree immediately wither away' (Mt $21^{19.20}$). Pilate marvelled. 'Pilate again asked him, saying, Answerest thou nothing? behold how many things they accuse thee of. But Jesus no more answered anything; insomuch that Pilate marvelled' (Mk $15^{4.5}$). The whole multitude marvelled. He dispossessed a dumb man. 'And when the devil was cast out, the dumb man spake: and the multitudes marvelled, saying, It was never so seen in Israel' (Mt $9^{33}$). Even the Pharisees and Herodians marvelled. 'Is it lawful,' they asked, 'to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not?' For they would 'catch him in talk' if they could. 'Jesus said unto them, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. And they marvelled greatly at him' (Mk $12^{17}$). We do not wonder that men marvelled at Him, that they marvelled greatly. The wonder is that He ever found occasion to marvel at men. What did He marvel at?

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There are just two things at which He ever marvelled. The one thing was the absence of faith, the other was its presence.

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He came into His own country. He entered the synagogue and began to teach. When they heard Him they were astonished. They were astonished at the wisdom of the words which came from His mouth, and they were astonished at the mighty works which were wrought by His hands. But, then, He was one of themselves. They knew His family. They had seen Him at His trade. They did not say, Being so wise and so powerful, He must be the Son of God. They said, Being the son of Mary, how can he be so wise and so powerful? 'And he marvelled because of their unbelief' (Mk $6^{6}$). That was the one occasion. The other occasion on which He marvelled was at the faith of a Roman centurion.

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Now in the case of the Roman centurion it is not easy to see what He marvelled at. We are told that 'when He heard it' He marvelled, and said to them that followed, 'Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel' (Mt $8^{10}$). What had He heard?

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He had heard the centurion say, 'I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof.' Was that what He marvelled at? It could not be that. For John the Baptist once said, 'The latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose.' If the centurion's faith was shown in recognizing the distance between Jesus and himself, John's faith was as great as his. And John belonged to Israel.

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But the centurion believed that Jesus could heal with a word. Jesus heard him say, 'Speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed.' That also showed great faith. Yet there was once a woman who believed that Jesus could heal without a word, without ever seeing or knowing anything about the patient. And she was healed. She came in the crowd behind, and touched His garment. For she said, 'If I touch but his garments, I shall be made whole.' And straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of her plague (Mk $5^{28.29}$). And she also belonged to Israel.

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But, again, the centurion recognized that Jesus had authority over the powers that heal. The commentators with one consent say that the greatness of his faith consisted in that. The centurion recognized that Jesus was like himself. He himself can say to one, Go, and he goeth; to another, Come, and he cometh. Jesus is able to order and to be obeyed. And they who obey Him are not soldiers or slaves. They are the unseen angels, principalities or powers, that have the health of the body in their keeping.

It was a very great act of faith. But had Jesus never met with such an act of faith in Israel? The very chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel in which the narrative occurs opens with a similar act of faith, although it is expressed more briefly. 'And when he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him. And behold, there came to him a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean' (Mt $8^{1.2}$). The leper may have doubted the will, and he may not; at any rate he recognized the power. And the leper was no doubt an Israelite. We have still to ask what the centurion said or did to call forth Christ's emphatic commendation.

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Now, it is a curious circumstance that in all the interpretations of this passage which one can turn to, the emphasis is laid upon the fact that the centurion was a man with authority. The comparison is made between his ability to command his servants and Christ's ability to command the unseen powers that heal. But the centurion says, not that he is a man *with* authority, but that he is a man under authority. And what relation his being *under* authority to a superior bears to his having authority over inferiors, no one seems able to make out; except, of course, the general commonplace which all the commentaries repeat, that he only can command who has first learned to obey.

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But the centurion says more than that he himself is under authority. He says that Jesus is under authority. There is a word in the Greek which the translators of the Authorized Version seem to have looked upon as superfluous. The Revisers fortunately counted no words superfluous; and whether they understood it or not they took this little word in. It is the word 'also'—'for I also (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ) am a man under authority.' 'I also,' he says. Clearly he looked upon Jesus as a man under authority like himself. Was Jesus a man under authority?

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The Rev. W. H. Carnegie, M.A., Canon of Birmingham, has published a book on *Churchmanship and Character* (Murray; 3s. 6d. net). It must be a volume of sermons. For it is further described as 'Three Years' Teaching in Birmingham Cathedral.' But it is divided into chapters, not into sermons. And the teaching goes steadily forward until, 'in the fifth chapter,' it reaches the question, What was the secret of Jesus? What was the principle which will explain His personal power and impressiveness? Canon Carnegie's answer is, He was 'a man under authority.'

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The centurion had said that he was not worthy that Jesus should come to him, or even that he himself should stand in Jesus' presence. He had said that Jesus did not need to come, He could heal with a word and at a distance. He had said that Jesus could control the powers that heal, as he himself can say to his servant or slave, Do this, and he doeth it. All this was the evidence of faith, the evidence of great faith, though we may doubt that it surpassed anything that Jesus had seen in Israel. But when the centurion recognized that Jesus, like himself, was a man under authority, Jesus saw that he had penetrated to the secret of His life, and turning to them that followed Him said, 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.'

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For this *was* the secret of Jesus' life. He expressed it so, says Canon Carnegie, at the beginning: 'Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?' He expressed it so in the middle: 'For I came down from heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.' He expressed it so at the end: 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt.'

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This, says Canon Carnegie, is the meaning of His presence here upon earth. He came to do the Father's will. He is under authority as a soldier. You may find the soldier enjoying the company of his messmates at table; you may find him following the funeral of a comrade to the grave. But

his business is not to provide mirth for his fellows, or mingle his tears with those of the bereaved. These things come in the course of the campaign, but his business is to obey his commanding officer. And in his obedience he accepts pain and privation as they come; even death itself; not welcoming them, but not overwhelmed by them. The one impression that is present with him throughout is that he is a man under authority.

Jesus was such a soldier. He had piped, and some of them had danced. He had mourned, and some of them had lamented with Him. But only one of them had penetrated to the secret of His life, and had recognized that whatever He did, He did it not by His own will but at the will of His commanding officer. And that man was a Gentile.

'I also,' he said, 'am a man under authority.' Therefore—not because he is a man *in* authority, but because he is a man *under* authority—he can say to one, Go, and he goeth; to another, Come, and he cometh. For the soldier to whom the command is issued knows that it is not the command of this centurion merely; it is the command of the Roman Emperor. If the centurion were at the moment in rebellion against the Emperor, his command would not have the force of an Imperial command. He is not in rebellion. In every order he gives he seeks loyally to carry out the Emperor's will. Therefore—because he is a man under authority, he says to his servant, Do this, and he doeth it.

Did the centurion recognize that Jesus Himself was Emperor? He could scarcely do that. We are told that at the cross another centurion said, 'Truly this was the Son of God.' Did *he* mean that Jesus was Emperor, the highest authority in the spiritual realm? Perhaps scarcely even he. Certainly this centurion did not. But he recognized that Jesus was in entire sympathy with that supreme Spiritual Authority who at a word will send more than twelve legions of angels to execute His desires. Thou also, he said, art a man under authority. Thy word is the word of the Highest. Speak the word only and my servant shall be healed.

# The New Philosophy.

By the Rev. J. G. James, D.Lit., M.A., Christ Church, Enfield.

At the present day we have in our midst a new gospel in philosophy, which is designated a philosophical method, if it cannot yet be called a system.[1] It is a reactionary movement from the long-prevailing and dominant Idealism or Absolutism. Like all movements of thought it effects the completion of the cycle; or it may be, the spiral line of progress, as future judgment may determine. In most respects it has an interesting parallel in the movement from Plato to Aristotle; the Idealism and the abstractions of the one giving place to the Realism and the concreteness of the other.[2] The emergence of this new method or system claims to be akin to the advance of thought in these masters of ancient philosophy.

No very high degree of prophetic insight is required to detect signs of considerable popularity that may attach to this new philosophic creed. For one thing, it is intensely interesting for its own sake, in that a man should be supposed to have the power to create or affect in any sense the truth that he desires or wishes to believe; or, at least, that he should have his share in determining that truth,—such a doctrine cannot fail to have its attractions. Further, it promises to provide a bridge to which men of science would not hesitate to commit their footsteps, in order to reach the realm of truth hitherto regarded as

[1] *Vide* W. James, *The Will to Believe* and *Pragmatism*; and Schiller, *Humanism*, etc.

[2] The parallel is still more complete by the *New Realism* which is coming into prominence.

transcendental, rather than take the long stride which the Idealistic philosophy demands of them. Already Mr. H. G. Wells, in his paper before the Oxford Philosophical Society, has professed his admiration of the new creed, and his would be the attitude of many persons of the same order of mind. Then, too, what cannot be entirely disregarded, the style in which the epoch-making papers are written is so luminous, that the ordinary reader would find much to charm in these disquisitions. Of their appeal to 'the young and virile,' and the claim in this gospel to be a refuge from fatalism and despair, we would say nothing at present, but leave the readers of the various works to pronounce upon their value.

The name originally given to the new philosophy is to be discarded in favour of that of 'Humanism.' 'Pragmatism' was a term awkward enough to prejudice a system at its birth.[1] Humanism, whether truly descriptive of the philosophy to which it is attached, has a sufficiently comforting and safe ring about it to secure its popularity. Dr. F. C. S. Schiller claims kinship with Protagoras, as expressed in his saying, 'Man is the measure of all things,' and applies his term 'Humanism' to the whole man, to arrive at truth, in his threefold nature, intellect, emotion, and will; the mental function most prominently active being apparently will, and the least, intellect. Humanism is a wider and more far-reaching principle than Pragmatism, and is certainly a happier term. It is a 'declaration of the independence of the concrete whole of man with all his passions expurgated.' Thus it signalizes a revolt against Intellectualism and all abstractions as such. Professor W. James lays great stress upon the living character of our hypotheses in the exercise of choice, and shows that belief is determined by those propositions which for us possess life and engage our active interests. This teaching lays claim also to being essentially *practical.* No barren abstractions are made, but the whole man is engaged in the quest of truth, and the truth as it is attained is tested by means of its efficacy to promote and realize the practical ends and uses of life. This is the reason for Professor James' choice of the term 'Pragmatism.' Pragmatism is the method that is chiefly employed in the theory of knowledge, whilst Humanism embraces this and extends the method to all problems of philosophy.

It is easy to misunderstand and misrepresent these writers, and there has been a complaint that their doctrines have been misapplied. Even so eminent a thinker as Dr. F. H. Bradley has confessed that he has failed to understand their exact meaning. So far as we are able to understand the creed, we shall attempt, as briefly as possible, to set it forth, with the reservation that it may yet be stated so much more fully and adequately to meet and fulfil all that an explanation of experience may demand. In our search for truth, the desire, purpose, or end must always be taken into account, and truth is gained, to the extent that it has called into operation these powers, emotional and otherwise, which tend to the realization of life, and may be used in the interests of life. Truth consists largely in the right attitude of mind, and, indeed, of the whole man. Our conviction of reality is based upon our rightly directed efforts. We believe and accept as truth, that which we ourselves discover, and which is calculated to contribute to the enrichment of our lives. In this sense, by the exercise of will, and the direction of purpose, we *make* truth: not that we alter objective fact, or create objective reality as such; but it is directly as the result of our own efforts that truth becomes truth for us. Even then it is not that we reflect it in our own perceptive consciousness, but the effort of the will is involved in determining what truth is. The test of truth is not that our conceptions are found to correspond with reality as a copy; nor that a clear presentment of truth is made to the intelligence. That is truth which in ourselves makes for action, and for the practical utilities of life, apart from any so-called objective counterpart. Truth, then, consists then of postulates that are necessary for the development of life. 'For whatever forms of the latter (the Real) we may have discovered, some purposive activity, some conception of a good to be obtained, was involved as a condition of the discovery. If these had been directed to ends other than it was, there could not have been discovery, or that discovery.'[2]

Now all this is clearly directed against the doctrines of the Absolute which make Thought to be the supreme Reality, and in relation to which

[1] Pragmatism is not to be confounded with the *Pragmaticism* of C. S. Peirce, nor the *Humanism* of Schiller with that of Mackenzie.

[2] *Humanism*, etc., p. 12.

all that is reasonable is to be established. The teleological element is exalted to the place of honour, but it is the end of the human being for himself that is to be sought. The ontological arguments become entirely subordinate, if indeed they are not ruled out of court, for the reason that logical and metaphysical abstractions can never exist apart from the operation of the person as a complete whole, making for his own realization. It is perhaps hardly necessary to examine the criticism that the Humanists have directed against Absolutism, for there will be many who object to the abstract character of certain transcendental theories, who would not be prepared to pin their faith to Humanism nor to accept it as a substitute for Absolutism. We may, however, point out some of the elements of value in the new system, and indicate in what respects we consider it to be imperfect or inadequate.

We can trace most important bearings in the insistence upon the right attitude of mind towards truth. It surely cannot be considered satisfactory, even on psychological grounds, that truth should be simply presented, or, as it were, reflected upon the mind, without any effort on its part. Every man must surely receive the truth, 'in the love of it'; and be prepared to assimilate to what there is of truth within, of the truth that he would receive from without. Truth as regarded as objective can of course receive no addition from the percipient. A thing is not true because we wish or will it to be. But, on the other hand, a person may become constitutionally unfit to receive truth, on account of the 'lie in the soul,' and every mind must contribute its own share to the perception of truth. Now this involves active attention, selective interest, desire, purpose, and will; and thus ethical considerations immediately emerge. The quest of truth is never a cold, academic, and profitless intellectual pursuit; it involves the bent and direction of the whole nature of the seeker. In this sense, what is imperatively required to know the truth, is the possession of truth 'in the inward parts.' Dr. Schiller, like another memorable personage, has discovered that he has been using an instrument of thought all his (philosophical) life, and never knew it! Many others also have used it, and a valuable instrument it is. The pursuit of knowledge is invested with life and power, as the seeker throws all the varied activities of his nature, passion, interest, and desire into the quest, which he follows with a deliberate purpose directed towards the realization of his whole nature. It is, moreover, a solace to those who are in religious doubt to find that truth is gained by living, and that faith finds its solution in the actualities of earnest work. 'If any man willeth to do . . . he shall know of the teaching.' Indeed, we may find hints of this method in so unlikely a source as Tyndall, who in his Belfast address says: 'Man never has been, and he never will be, satisfied with the operations and products of the Understanding alone.'

Such a practical system is doubtless a welcome reaction from the tendency amongst some of the Romantic Schools to endow the qualities, attributes and abstractions, of personality with a higher degree of reality than, and a superiority to, the concrete. Moral laws have often been deified and worshipped, and it is high time that *mere* concepts should be dethroned from the exalted position in which they have been placed, by reason of their very abstractness, as distinguished from concrete forms of existence.

Nevertheless, we are bound to offer the criticism that the value of Humanism as a philosophical method is entirely that in which it is consistent with the use of other systems, and that the moment it repudiates other forms and claims to be a new and distinctive method of itself, it appears to be inadequate for the purpose. If we understand it aright, there is no explanation of the origin of the purpose that has duly emerged in consciousness. If in the course of Evolution there has come to be an instinctive impulse towards the realization of life, if throughout the whole course of natural processes, there has been a teleological element which has come to be a deliberate purpose in human consciousness, where was the intelligence that held the end in view, and has been working towards it unceasingly? The reply would be, we know nothing about it, nor even whether it exists, until we apply the method to this as well as to other problems. Still the mind will seek to know the origin of that very purpose, which it is called upon to employ, and will go behind and below its own purpose, and will want to know the reason for its own interest, and why the interest should minister to life and not the reverse. We may make this clearer, perhaps, by reference to the end itself. The end is to be useful, and useful means to conserve the purpose of life. If this is the

correct reading of the principle, then we shall require to know what are the constituents of life at its best, whether, for instance, they consist in its quality, quantity, or duration, and what is the nature of its enrichment. It is hard to see how the purpose is to be conceived without reference to ideals, or how the purpose can at all be shaped without going in advance of conduct, at least, in the order of thought. Do not our aspirations reach towards that which is really higher than actual experience? It seems impossible to frame a purpose without certain presentational elements, which must possess logical consistency, or some reference to the system of things, or be subject to certain regulative ideas. It may be conceded that all thought is purposive, and yet there lies beyond a region that is immediate to consciousness, that gives the purpose its significance and its whole meaning, and of which the mind is conscious as not yet having realized. This sphere of the transcendental, with its concepts and ideals and its regulative principles, must be postulated ere the method can be brought into operation, and this is the field for the scope of pure reasoning. Possibly Dr. Schiller would include all this as part of his method, inasmuch as you have the selective interest, and the bearing of all upon the development of life. It is part and parcel of that usefulness which determines its peculiar value. But even if we allow this, the question will arise, Why should such speculations and ideals, when rightly pursued, contribute to the richness of life and the fulness of being? If we reply that we make them do so, the idea still floats before our vision, and the intellect is never satisfied unless it runs ahead of practice. It seems to us that idealistic implications are introduced at every turn, and that it becomes a valid method only so far as these are not ignored. Otherwise, if these are barred, and nothing but truth as a postulate is admissible, then we get back to the circle, and no explanation is possible at all. Sooner or later we return to ultimate questions, and the mind will ask what gives cogency to reasoning, consistency to thought, moral value to conduct, and meaning to life. These will not be shelved by the introduction of merely practical questions, for we shall come to find that these are ultimately the most practical, and it is impossible to conceive of anything that contributes to such ends as not being practical, or indeed to say where the line is drawn between the practical and the unpractical.

We grant that man is never a mere thinker, nor should he be, if he could, but it is difficult to conceive how any sublime purpose can be formed without the presence of an ideal, which has not yet entered into actual experience. We may argue that the man himself has something of the sublime within him, as determined by his selective interest. This we do not attempt to deny, and yet we must conceive that ideal as being in advance of what he actually is, else no subjective excellence will be of the slightest use. It may be objected that we too often conceive an Absolute as infinite in such a way as to exclude all content, a barren negative idea, such as an unlimited and undetermined deity. This is of course open to objection, but a man really does need a deity of some sort, that is not altogether determined by the worshipper's own attitude, and he feels that that deity must be an expression of his own highest conception of truth, beauty, and goodness, and yet be superior to what the man has it in his own power to conceive or attain. All that a man aims at, he feels to be existent in the ideal, and for him, only as it is his ideal; but it would destroy its whole value to say that the ideal is entirely within his own power to create.

The use of the term 'postulate' may connote a great deal, and if it is made to cover the most important idealistic implications, it is difficult to understand in what sense Humanism has superseded 'the old and effete' Absolutism. If it does not, it leaves something to be desired to deliver the thinker from a subjectivity which is itself overwhelming and paralyzing by reason of the tremendous issues that devolve upon the individual, who has to live his own life, and work out his own destiny, unaided by that power, not himself, that makes for righteousness.

In the somewhat fluid state of the controversy, Dr. Schiller might even be prepared to grant all that we ask with respect to the immediate apprehension of the ideal. In that case, the truth and reality of the ideal would have to be established for the experient by the criterion of usefulness. It seems to us, however, that if the ideal had not its own inherent goodness, truth, and reality, prior to any experience of its value, it would have little power to influence character or affect action, as the man would then be following the creations of

his own mind, which become valid only as he wills them to be so. Human nature in its entirety seems to require for its uplifting what is superior to itself, and is not dependent, in the first instance, upon the man's conduct. The very purpose requires an ideal that is in advance of attainment, else it is not an ideal at all.

We may conclude this sketch by expressing appreciation of this method, which, so far as it goes, is a distinct contribution to the science of conduct and life, which is certain to evoke moral enthusiasm, even though we seem to require idealistic assumptions for its completion.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF REVELATION.

### Revelation i. 5, 6.

**'Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood; and he made us to be a kingdom, to be priests unto his God and Father; to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.'** —R.V.

### The Situation.

St. John was in the isle that is called Patmos, an exile for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. But his thoughts were not of himself and his own evil condition. When St. Paul lay in prison at Rome he wrote a letter to the Church in Philippi, and told them that always in every prayer of his he made supplication for *them*. So St. John, thinking not of himself but of the seven churches in Asia which he knew, sends them a letter, and opens with the usual greeting. The greeting is, 'Grace to you and peace, from him which is and which was and which is to come; and from the seven Spirits which are before his throne; and from Jesus Christ, who is the faithful witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of the earth.' But the moment that John names the name of Christ he breaks forth into a doxology or hymn of praise. Our text is that doxology.

### The Language.

There are four phrases that have to be looked at.

1. 'Unto him that loved us.' The Revised Version has 'that loveth us'; and there is no doubt the Revised Version is correct. Manuscript authority is with it; and although on the face of it one might think the tense here should be the same as in the next phrase, it is more after St. John's manner to bring out a contrast between the finished act of redemption ('he washed us') and the love that abides for ever ('he loveth us').

2. 'And washed us from our sins in his own blood.' R.V., 'And loosed us from our sins by his blood.' It is not quite so certain that the R.V. is right here. The manuscripts are more equally divided, although the authority for 'loosed' is better. Much depends upon the preposition. If the Greek preposition (ἐν) has the Greek meaning of *in*, then 'washed' is more likely. But the language has a strong Hebrew flavour; and if the preposition is used in the Hebrew sense of *by*, to denote the price, then 'loosed' is more likely. And as there is only a letter of difference between the two Greek words (λούσαντι, 'washed,' λύσαντι, 'loosed'), the change might easily be made from the one to the other.

3. 'And made us kings and priests.' The Greek is, 'And he made us a kingdom, priests.' St. John is quoting, or at any rate recollecting, Ex $19^6$, 'Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests.' The same passage is quoted in 1 P $2^9$, where the translation is 'a royal priesthood.' But that will not do here, because both Greek words are different. The two words 'kingdom, priests' are here simply set down side by side.

4. 'Unto God and his Father.' Once more the Revised Version is different—'unto his God and Father.' The Greek is literally 'Unto the God and Father of him'; and although the translation of the A.V. is possible, the translation of the R.V. is much more agreeable to the grammar.

### The Thoughts.

These four phrases introduce the four thoughts which are contained in the text.

1. *Unto him that loveth us.* (1) Him that loves us always: it is the present tense of duration. Yet it is not exactly the same as 'God is love.' That is a description of the nature or character of God, and it is timeless. St. John's thoughts of Jesus Christ are rather of a series of acts manifesting love, bringing it out in action, so that we see it, and know it, and profit by it. He did love when He came and died; He does love in being with us always and in interceding for us; He will love in reigning amongst us for ever.[1] (2) Nor is it the same as 'God so loved the world.' No doubt God loved the world, and loves it still. But here it is *us*, the forgiven, the restored, the redeemed. There are three ways of it. Love has a circumference, an inner circle, and a centre. God loved the world; that is the circumference. That is the love which causes the sun to shine on the just, and also on the unjust. Christ loved the Church; that is the inner circle. It is narrower; it is more select, if you will; it includes the return of love, and the sanctification of the Church, so that she may be a bride adorned for the bridegroom. But there is a centre to this circle. It is the love of Jesus for an individual. We have it in Jn 11[5], 'Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister; and Lazarus.' We see it best on earth in the love of the mother for her child. For it is a love of absolute, unselfish sacrifice, and it is spent not upon the Church universal, but upon the individual person—'I have loved *thee* with an everlasting love.'[2]

Norman Macleod in his *Highland Parish* tells a wonderful story of love's redemptive sacrifice. Years ago a Highland widow, unable to pay her rent, was threatened with eviction. She set out, with her only child, to walk ten miles over the mountains to the home of a relative. When she started the weather was warm and bright, for the month was May, but before she reached the home of her friend a terrible snowstorm fell upon the hills. She did not reach her destination, and next day a dozen strong men started to search for her. At the summit of the pass where the storm had been the fiercest they found her in the snow, stripped almost to nakedness, dead. In a sheltering nook they found the child, safe and well, wrapped in the garments the mother had taken from her own body. Years afterwards the son of the minister who had conducted the mother's funeral went to Glasgow to preach a preparatory sermon. The night was stormy and the audience small. The snow and the storm recalled to his mind the story he had often heard his father tell, and, abandoning his prepared sermon, he told the story of a mother's love. Some days after he was hastily summoned to the bed of a dying man. The man was a stranger to him, but seizing the minister's hand he said, 'You do not know me, but I know you, and knew your father before you. Although I have lived in Glasgow many years, I have never attended a church. The other day I happened to pass your door as the snow came down. I heard the singing and slipped into a back seat. There I heard the story of the widow and her son.' The man's voice choked and he cried, 'I am that son. Never did I forget my mother's love, but I never saw the love of Christ in giving Himself for me until now. It was God made you tell that story. My mother did not die in vain. Her prayer is answered.'

2. *And loosed us from our sins by his blood.* St. John knows that Christ loveth us not simply because that is His nature, but because He has shown, is showing, and will show His love in deeds. This is the great deed done in the past. He loosed us from our sins. He made them fall off us as Peter's chains fell off him at the angel's word. This is (1) a fact in history. It occurred in a certain place, at a certain time in the history of the world. There was a certain moment when Jesus said, 'It is finished.' At that moment the veil of the temple was rent and the Kingdom of Heaven was opened to all believers. It is a fact in history with extraordinary results. John did not know at the time what the results were; afterwards he was able to say, 'We have known and we have believed the love.' It was (2) a costly act. 'He loosed us from our sins *by his blood*.' When He was upon the Cross they said, 'Come down, and we will believe thee.' Possibly St. John himself said that in his heart. But now he believes because He did not come down. To have come down from the cross would have cost Him nothing. By not coming down He lost his own life, but He gained both our life and our love. Dying, He bore much fruit.

A few years ago, the following incident happened, showing to what lengths love will go to secure the advancement of the beloved. A woman in Vienna died of blood poisoning. After inquiry it was found that she was a widow, a seamstress with one son, who earned her living by sewing. The son, a medical student, had that very week been passing successfully a series of examinations which would have rendered him able to aid his mother henceforth. Up till then she had worked hard to keep them both, and to provide him with a good education, with which to take his place in life. In order that he might go from the house morning after morning to sit for his examinations with a quiet mind, she had hidden the injury to her finger from him. A surgeon whom she had seen warned her of the consequences of delay, but not till the son had gone from her to the college, the last morning, would she hear of going to bed, or of an operation.

[1] See J. H. Jowett, *Apostolic Optimism*, 1901, p. 237.
[2] See Canon Hoare, *Fruitful or Fruitless*, p. 137.

That day, amputation was performed, but too late. The son returned to impart the good news to her with elation, only to find her dying. But it was enough, he was promoted.

3. *And He made us a kingdom, priests.* He made us (1) a kingdom by His decease (His 'exodus,' as it is called in the account of the Transfiguration), just as Jehovah made Israel a kingdom by the exodus from Egypt. He made us a kingdom, with Himself as King—'to him be the glory and the dominion.' A willing people in thy day of power shall come to thee. But it is quite likely that St. John means further that He made us kings, in fact a kingdom of kings, so that we shall reign with Him while He still reigns over us. And how is a kingdom of kings to be recognized? Just in this way, that each king is under authority, delights to do the will of the King of kings; has himself first well in hand, and then issues his orders. (2) And how do the members of this kingdom show themselves to be kings? By showing themselves to be priests. The priest is a minister. He comes not to be ministered unto, but to minister. He comes, he also, to give his life a ransom.

The essence of the priest is that he should believe himself, however humbly and secretly, to be set in a certain sense between humanity and God. . . . He feels that he stands, like Aaron, to make atonement; . . . In the hands of a perfectly humble, perfectly disinterested man, this may become a very beautiful and tender thing. Such a man from long and intimate relations with humanity, will have a very deep knowledge of the human heart. He will be surprised at no weakness or frailty; he will be patient with all perverseness and obduracy; he will be endlessly compassionate, because he will realize the strength and insistence of temptation; he will be endlessly hopeful, because he will have seen a hundred times over the flower of virtue and love blooming in an arid and desolate heart. He will have seen close at hand the transforming power of faith, even in natures which have become the shuddering victims of evil habit.[1]

4. He made us a kingdom, priests, *to his God and Father.* A kingdom to God? Yes, He had received us from God, and He kept us and gave us back to God with the new dignity of kings, with the new devotion of priests. But what God? His God and Father. (1) For if He is not ashamed to call them brethren, neither is He ashamed to call God His God. 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'—that was in the hour of anguish. Now in the hour of joy, God is still His God. (2) But His God is His Father. This is quite as wonderful. When He was upon earth He was known as a man under authority. He was under authority to a Father—'Oh, my Father, not my will, but thine be done.' And so we also are a kingdom and priests to a God who is a Father. 'Fear not, little flock, your Father knoweth.'

[1] A. C. Benson, *From a College Window*, p. 216.

## The Conclusion.

'Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood . . . to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen.' So, however mighty we become as kings, however helpful our ministry becomes as the ministry of priests, the dominion is not ours, nor the glory. Not unto us, not unto us. To Him be the glory and the dominion right on to the end.

'You remember that exquisite story of Ian Maclaren's—the story of the old doctor come to his death-bed. Dr. Maclure had lived a life of splendid service, and the only text for his tomb seemed, "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend." He lay on his bed dying, and he called his old friend, a Scotchman, to him. They had never talked on religion to each other. They kept up a very strong reserve. Though sometimes their souls had touched, their words had never touched. Very quietly the old doctor said, "Will you read for me from the Bible?" And his friend, remembering what he had read to his dying mother, opened the Bible at the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, and began, "In my Father's house are many mansions." The doctor stopped him.

'"It's a bonnie word, an' yer mither wes a sanct; but it's no for the like o' me. It's ower gude; a' daurna tak it. Shut the buik an' let it open itsel', an' ye'ill get a bit a've been readin' ev'ry nicht the laist month."

'Then his friend opened it again and found the story of the publican standing afar off, who would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven, but smote upon his breast, and said, "God be merciful to me a sinner."

'"That micht hae been written for me or ony ither auld sinner that hes feenished his life, an' hes naething tae say for himsel'," said the doctor.'[2]

[2] See J. Ernest Rattenbury, *Six Sermons on Social Subjects*, p. 101.

# The Religious-Historical Movement in German Theology.

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## III.

It is when we come to the distinctive work of the school or movement in the field of *apologetic* and *systematic theology*, that we see most clearly the importance of the personal relation to the Christian facts. Here, indeed, the determinative character of the personal religious convictions or value-judgments of the investigator is explicitly recognized by Troeltsch and those who, like him, endeavour to 'think things together.' But the presence of such a factor, they hold, does not interfere with the properly scientific character of their theology. The all-important question, according to Troeltsch, is: What is the source or basis of these personal convictions or value-judgments? According as they are based—as in the old Church theology—on the consideration of Christianity in its isolation, as the one true religion with its asserted unique supernatural origin and character, or on the study of religious history as a whole in which Christianity is only one among other religions, so will the resulting theology be *dogmatic* or *scientific*. The essence of the scientific method is that 'it relativizes everything,' in the sense of viewing every phenomenon of history in its connexion with similar or analogous phenomena elsewhere, and finally with the whole.[1]

It has been objected, by Warneck[2] and others, that the result of the application of this relativizing historical method is to deny Revelation altogether, and to reduce the whole history of religion to 'a mere play of subjective representations and needs.' That, however, is contrary at once to the aim, and to the most explicit assertions of Troeltsch, Bousset, and others. What they do energetically deny is, that divine revelation is restricted, as the old supernatural theology maintained, to one section of religious history, viz. to Christianity and its Old Testament preparation. This were to divide the history of religion into two disparate halves, introducing a distinction not merely of degree but of kind; and that, however, they say, is a contradiction of the very idea of historical thinking, with its fundamental principle of correlativity. The result of the study of comparative religion, and of the consistent carrying out of the religious-historical method in apologetic is, rather, they claim, to show: (1) that *every* religion, so far as it is living, if in a sense 'natural' and human as the outcome of human needs and necessities, is still rooted in divine revelation—the outcome of the contact of the human with the living Divine Spirit—and is in that sense 'supernatural'; and (2) that in the history of religion we have no chaos of human representations of, or fancies about, the Divine, but a process in which 'on the whole' (*im Grossen und Ganzen*),[3] spite of many periods of stagnation and retrogression, we see an ordered progressive revelation of God to the spirit of man which reaches its highest point in the Christian religion. 'The whole history of the religious life of mankind stands to us,' says Bousset,[4] 'as the great handiwork of God, a ceaseless aspiration and constant intercourse of God with man, of man with his Maker, in accordance with the stage of civilization to which he has attained.' The *supernatural*, that is to say, is not restricted to *one point* of history. The religion of the Old and New Testaments, indeed, represents the purest form which religion has reached. But Christianity is not the only religion. It is simply the most complete species of the genus. And just as it is from a comparative study of anatomy that we see most clearly the highly developed character of the organism of man, so it is from a comparative study of religions that we learn most thoroughly and completely to understand and appreciate the worth of the Christian religion. The fundamental proof of Christianity, therefore,

[1] 'Erst ihre Zusammenschau im Ganzen eine Beurteilung und Bewertung ermöglicht' (Troeltsch, *Die Absolutheit des Christentums*, p. 53).

[2] In his *Missionsmotiv u. Missionsaufgabe nach d. modernen religionsgesch. Schule*, 1907.

[3] Bousset, *Die Mission u. d. sogenannte religionsgesch. Schule*, p. 22.

[4] *What is Religion?* p. 9.

it is claimed, is the religious-historical or comparative. Only when Christianity is studied as a section of the general history of religion, and in relation to other religions, by the comparative method is its proper nature and worth aright realized.

Now the significance of the new comparative study of religions, alike for our conception of Christianity and for our attitude to non-Christian religions, it would be difficult to overestimate.

To begin with, (*a*) our fuller knowledge of religions outside the Christian has led to an enlarging of our views of the ways of God with man. We see how God has never left Himself without a witness, how through the whole religious family of mankind God has been working—no transcendent deistic God who, having at the first implanted in man certain religious conceptions, left him to himself, and has subsequently intervened in the process only at one point, to right the wrong caused by sin and the fall. As against the old external supernaturalism, Troeltsch's contention[1] is amply justified that Christianity is but the fulfilment of a religious ideal which manifests itself less or more perfectly in all existing religions. Not only within the nature of man have we a preparation for Christianity —the *anima naturaliter Christiana*,—in history also we see a providential preparation for the consummating purpose of the ages. Christianity came not as something fallen from heaven, 'a bolt from the blue,' a revelation isolated and unrelated. Rather should we say with Pfleiderer,[2] it came as 'the ripe fruit of ages of development in a soil that was already prepared.' This is but to express in different words the apostolic teaching, that the Father sent forth His Son in the fulness of time when, not only in ethical and spiritual yearning, but in language, thought, and civilization, the world lay ready for Him. So it need not surprise us if in the Gentile world we find adumbrations, even of what we were fain to believe were peculiar Christian conceptions. In the world of Gentile thought as well as Jewish, Christ had His forerunners preparing the way for Him. 'God's manifestations,' as A. B. Davidson says somewhere, 'are never sudden — outposts and skirmishers precede the array of the Lord of Hosts.' Thus comparative religion has its part to play in the full proof of the truth of Christianity; for this proof is not complete until other religions are seen to have their fulfilment in it. He knows not the Christian religion aright who knows the Christian religion alone.

(*b*) And this altered conception of the extent and nature of the working of God in history demands in turn an altered conception of the missionary task. No longer can forms of faith and practice outside Christianity be denied the name of religion, and indiscriminately labelled 'illusions' 'superstitions,' 'a homogeneous mass of human error.'[3] No longer can missions to non-Christian peoples or races be regarded in the light of *expeditions* sent forth with the primary object of conquest and defeat. 'Not to destroy, but to fulfil,' must be the missionary motto of the twentieth century. Therefore the urgent need to-day, at once for the missionary and for the Christian apologist, of a more serious study of ethnic religions, with a view to a worthier realization of the spiritual truths on which they are based and which afford their point of contact for Him who is the Truth in whom all truths meet. Too long has Christianity been presented to the Eastern mind as an exotic, as a plant of foreign growth—a product of Western thought and language. Rather must Christianity come to the East, in terms of Eastern thought and life, as the continuation and fulfilment of whatever there is in it of religious truth and reality. And God's providential working in history may be seen in the fact that the meeting of East and West in this generation is contemporaneous with a truer understanding of the *historical* Jesus, very Man of very Man—who is neither Eastern nor Western, because He is large enough to embrace both.

But however the *form* of Christian apologetic and missionary endeavour may change, the motive and impulse remain the same, viz. the conviction that in Christ we have the absolute Revelation, in such a sense that we can say, 'God is in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.' With this conviction Christianity stands or falls; and the business of Christian apologetic and theology is to interpret and justify the claim. Belief in Christianity, and in Christ, as the absolute Revelation of God, however, is, according to Troeltsch, but a subjective faith or conviction

[1] 'Geschichte u. Metaphysik,' *Z. Th. K.*, viii. p. 1 f., and elsewhere.

[2] *Early Christian Conception of Christ*, p. 152.

[3] See Troeltsch, *Die Absolutheit*, p. 4.

which cannot be proved by the religious-historical method. Indeed, the question of the *absoluteness* of the Christian religion is, he holds, not a question for *scientific* investigation or proof at all. The comparative study of religions shows what are the essential needs and desires of the religious nature, and makes it improbable that any other religion will arise to satisfy these better than Christianity. But from the purely scientific historical standpoint the most that we can say is, that the Christian religion is the highest that has yet appeared on the plane of history. The conviction that it is not only the relatively highest but the *absolutely* highest or final religion—in the sense that there can be no higher—this the historical method cannot justify, and so it must remain a merely *subjective* personal conviction. It is a faith lying '*jenseits der Wissenschaft.*' Even this position, however,—that Christianity is the relatively highest, —while too little for faith turns out to be itself too much for the scientific method. For when pressed, Troeltsch,[1] Bousset,[2] and others have to admit that, even if based on a wide survey of general religious history and a comparison of Christianity with other religions, and in this sense 'objective,' this conviction is in the last resort an '*axiomatische Tat*'—the result not so much of objective, scientific, historical examination as of personal experience of the saving significance of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. It is a faith-judgment, therefore, not so much to be scientifically proved as to be experimentally verified. You cannot prove to an unbeliever, as Herrmann says, the truth, even the relative truth, of the Christian religion.

For the proof of Christianity, then, even as the *relatively* highest historical religion, the purely scientific, historical method is, on Troeltsch's and Bousset's own concessions, not the final or adequate proof. Its place is not first, but second and supplementary, 'a subsequent verification and confirmation of a conviction already possessed.'[3] Why then, it may be reasonably asked, limit faith to the affirmation of Christianity as the relatively highest? If even so much goes beyond the power of scientific proof, on what ground take exception—as exception is taken —to the traditional view as to the absoluteness of Christianity and of Jesus Christ?

For an answer to this question, and for an understanding of the characteristic position of the school, we are carried ultimately behind the scientific, historical method as such—whose right as a regulative method is unquestioned (though certain exaggerations have attended the enthusiasm of its first application which later investigation must correct)—to the *motif* or purpose which governs their particular application of the method.

Conscious of the ugly gulf there is, in Germany more than here, between the Church and the cultured classes, this 'school' or movement has set itself to the attempt to win again for the gospel those whom the Church, by its doctrinal and ecclesiastical formulation of Christianity, has largely alienated. Luther and the Reformation had called the people back from ecclesiastical authority and the externalism of the Mediæval Church to the Christianity of Paul, and in this had taken a great step towards return to the spiritual simplicity of the Christian Religion. But the progress of modern thought, it is held, has shown that much of the traditional Church formulation is no longer of permanent value, inasmuch as it is founded on a view of Jesus—His Person and work—which modern historical criticism, as guided by the thought of evolution, has shown to be untenable.

The crying need of the time, therefore, they maintain, is to cut ourselves loose from the traditional formulation, and give a 'scientific' restatement of the gospel—a restatement of it, that is, in terms of 'modern culture.' Accordingly the members of the religious-historical school come before us as leaders of a new Reformation—leaders of the world back to the true original gospel of Jesus. And in this capacity they come forth from their academic retirement and make their appeal to the people.

Besides a new popular commentary, with fresh translations and introductions, on the books of the N.T., under the editorship of Johannes Weiss (formerly of Marburg, now of Heidelberg), the chief organs of the movement in this its popular appeal are two: (1) a series of 'Popular Tracts on Religious History' (*religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*), edited by Schiele of Tübingen, at an average cost of sixpence; and (2) a larger and more expensive series entitled 'Vital Questions' (*Lebensfragen*), edited by Weinel of Jena.

The fundamental achievement of this new

[1] *Die Absolutheit*, p. 61, *et passim.*

[2] *Die Mission u. d. sogenannte Religionsgesch. Schule*, p. 18.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 20 n.

'scientific' theology is represented as being the discovery of an antithesis or cleft between Jesus and Paul—between the teaching of Jesus and the Christian religion as formulated by Paul (and afterwards by John). The several members of the school differ as to the extent of the cleft. Weinel, Wernle, and others admit that Paul in many respects understood and interpreted the meaning and significance of the historical Jesus and His teaching better than any other of the apostles; especially in completing the process of the universalizing of the gospel, freeing it from the fetters of national observance and ceremony, and converting it into a world-wide religion. According to Wrede, on the other hand,—and one feels more consistently,—Paul has no claim to be considered a follower of Jesus. He is essentially a new phenomenon, 'as new,' he says, 'as could possibly be.'[1] He even asserts that Paul 'stands much further from Jesus than Jesus Himself stands from the noblest figures of Jewish piety.'[2] Amid differences in detail, however, the common position is that in Paul the simple gospel of Jesus experienced such an alteration of its character that he must be considered the founder of a new, a different Christianity, or, as Wrede expresses it, 'the second founder of Christianity.'[3]

In two respects especially is this so:

(1) The ethical religion of Sonship to God the Father and obedience to His will, became transformed into a religion of redemption through a supernatural divine Christ.

And (2) Christianity, in this narrower sense, came to partake of a sacramental character which was, in its essence, alien to the purely spiritual gospel of Jesus.

*How* this came about is indeed historically explicable. (*a*) To begin with, Paul was a *theologian* before he was a Christian. In his pre-Christian days he was the possessor of a supernatural Messianic Christology, a 'Christusbild,' which he had learned in the Jewish schools, and when Jesus met him in vision on the Damascus road, Paul sought to interpret Him by means of Messianic ideas, which in their origin were quite independent of the historical Jesus. This was, however, to misunderstand the simple gospel of the layman Jesus, and to carry over into the Christian religion much of the old Jewish theology from which Jesus Himself had set people free. The result is that, instead of the historical Jesus, we are given in Paul an abstract dogmatic picture of a pre-existent Heavenly Being in which we cannot, or at most can with difficulty, recognize the living historical personality of whom the Gospels speak.

(*b*) So, again, his Soteriology or doctrine of redemption is to be explained by reference to the psychological atmosphere, in which he found himself. The idea of salvation as a redemption from hostile powers that hold man in bondage was in the air, alike in Judaism and in pagan philosophy—redemption through the death and resurrection of a heaven-born hero; and these pre-Christian or extra-Christian speculations were applied to the Jesus of history with whom they have essentially nothing to do.

(*c*) Finally the Apostle, in his missionary travels, came in contact with pagan ethnic religions which were saturated with a mystery-atmosphere. And with the view of making Christianity intelligible, and acceptable to the people, Paul transferred the physical or quasi-physical sacramental ideas current in the Greek and Oriental mysteries to the spiritual gospel of Jesus to which they were originally alien. This, says Bousset, was 'the tribute which Christianity paid to the heathen world surrounding it.'[1]

The result of the whole is, that in Paul we have a presentation of the Christian faith which is due not in the first place, and not chiefly, to the influence of the historic Jesus, but to factors that are not specifically Christian. The simple gospel of Jesus is complicated by the introduction of views of His Person and work that were not present in the mind of Jesus Himself.

For nearly twenty centuries Christianity in this narrower sense has held sway, less or more. It has been reserved for the close of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century to *rediscover* the actual human Jesus and His gospel which were 'displaced' or 'crushed out' by the theological heavenly Christ of Paul and the Church. The great task of the scientific investigation of Christianity in the twentieth century, indeed, is to free Jesus and His gospel from theology and the Church—'to save Jesus from the theologians.' And this means first of all from Paul, with whom the elaboration of Christianity into a doctrinal and ecclesiastical system began.

[1] *Paul*, p. 165. [2] *Paul*, p. 165. [3] *Paul*, p. 179.

[1] *What is Religion?* p. 247.

(*To be concluded.*)

# In the Study.

## WHEELS BY THE CHEBAR.

MESSRS. SEELEY have published an account of an Englishwoman's eight years' residence among the women of the East. The title is *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia* (16s. net). The author is the wife of A. Hume-Griffith, M.D., D.P.H., who was with her and who contributes some narratives of his own experience. The book is illustrated by photographs, which are many and good. It is a gossipy narrative, without any pretension to anything scientific, whether medical or Biblical. It is just a pleasant narrative of travel, a woman being the traveller, and a woman's sympathy with women the motive of interest. Mrs. Hume-Griffith says in one place: 'Perhaps the Arab women are slow to give their love and trust, but when once given it is sure and lasting. Often these women have said to me, "Why do you love us, Khatoun?" They cannot understand that any one should care for them. Such an idea is outside the range of their experience altogether. One of the first sentences I learned in the Arabic language was, *Ana ahubkum* ("I love you all"), and this is one of the most useful and necessary phrases to be learnt. Love is the magic key which opens a way to the hearts of the Moslem women, and which brings forth much fruit in return.'

But there are things in the book for the expositor. There is one thing of surpassing interest. Think of the joy it gave one to come unexpectedly upon a most likely explanation of Ezekiel's wheels, and of the visible form of the cherubim, in the course of a woman's unpretentious account of her travels among the women of the Near East.

'We had travelled through a weary stretch of waterless desert that day, and were rejoicing in the fact that our camping-ground for the night was by the banks of a river—the Chebar. Only those who have journeyed for days through a parched-up desert land can tell the joy with which a river is sighted. We experienced something of that joy on the evening when we saw water for the first time for two or three days. We pitched our camp as close to the river as possible, and, sitting at our tent door, prepared to enjoy to the full the beauties before us. Looking up I saw in front of me a glorious sight. I quickly called my husband, and together we stood and watched this wonderful vision. The sun was sinking as a ball of fire behind the river, when suddenly from its centre there arose beautiful prismatic lights. These gradually resolved themselves into the form of a huge wheel, each spoke of the wheel being of a different colour, merging gradually and almost imperceptibly into the next, as in the rainbow. Within this "wheel" was another and smaller one, also composed of the same prismatic hues. The outer circle of each wheel was formed by a band of bright opaque light. On the top of these wheels was a visionary form resembling the beginning of another wheel, but it was too indistinct for me to say what definite shape it possessed. At either side of these wheels was a large wing, as it were overshadowing the wheels; these were also of a bright white. The whole formed a most wonderful and never-to-be-forgotten sight, and we felt indeed that this was a vision of God.

'When in Mosul, my husband had received a letter from a gentleman in England, asking him to keep a look-out for any such phenomenon as this. On reaching home it was interesting to find, on good authority, that the sight we had seen on the banks of the Khabour was one of historical interest. The form of the wheels is almost identical with the emblem which the Babylonians adopted to represent Divinity. On the same authority I learnt, too, that in all probability a vision similar to this was the origin of the cherubims. It is believed by an expert on the subject that the whole of the

"vision" is caused by atmospheric influences, the sun acting on the particles of frost in the air, thus forming the prismatic colours. Be this as it may, the result was truly marvellous, and we were thankful that we had been privileged to see "the heavens open," revealing this vision of God.

'The whole spectacle could not have lasted more than five minutes, but the sky retained its blaze of colour for about a quarter of an hour after; then darkness covered the heavens.'

## COMMENTARIES ON THE APOCALYPSE.

In the year 1903 two articles appeared in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES (xiv. 151, 203) on the best Bible Commentaries. They were written by Mr. Henry Bond, Borough Librarian, Woolwich.

When any one called at the library asking for a good commentary, Mr. Bond had difficulty in finding it. It was the word 'good' that troubled him; commentaries were plentiful enough. So he wrote to a number of Old and New Testament students and asked them to say what they thought the best commentary on each book of the Bible. In his articles in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES he gave their recommendations. For the Book of Revelation he named Simcox in the *Cambridge Bible*, and Carpenter in *Ellicott's Commentary*. But since 1903 other commentaries have been published, other and better.

First, and best of all, Swete's *The Apocalypse of St. John* (Macmillan; 15s.)—a wonderful book. Since it was published in 1906 we have used it constantly, and now we are prepared to pass the deliberate judgment that it is equal in insight and expression to anything ever written by Lightfoot, and in fulness of reference to anything ever written by Westcott. A second edition appeared in 1907, and the student must see that he has it. There is also the Commentary by Hort (Macmillan, 1908; 5s.), which unfortunately covers only the first three chapters. And then there is Mr. Dummelow's *One-Volume Bible Commentary* (1909). But it is not part of Mr. Dummelow's plan to name the editors of the various books. It is, of course, very brief. There is also a useful commentary by Professor Weidner of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Chicago, published by Messrs. Scribner's Sons in 1905.

Mr. Bond's scholars ought to have mentioned Professor Anderson Scott's little commentary in the *Century Bible* (unfortunately undated, but published in 1902). It is alive from cover to cover, and independent. Professor Scott is also the editor of the Apocalypse in Dr. Robertson Nicoll's *Devotional and Practical Commentary* (Hodder & Stoughton; 5s.), which was published in 1905. Of the older commentaries worth naming are Sadler's (Bell, 1893; 6s.), Cresswell Strange's (Longmans, 1899; 6s.), and, of course, Dean Vaughan's Lectures (Macmillan, 1882; 10s. 6d.), which are thoroughly characteristic.

## IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE.

There is a nationality in sermons as well as a time-spirit. But occasionally a preacher is great enough to rise above the fashion of his own country and preach for the world. Such a preacher is the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst of the Presbyterian Church in New York. His books are often found in British studies. His latest book is his best—*A Little Lower than the Angels* (Revell; 3s. 6d. net). It contains twenty fairly long sermons, every one of them facing the real facts of life, but, in spite of that, courageous and inspiring. For Dr. Parkhurst's faith is the faith of the Apostle John; he knows and he also believes. And he is never tempted into trifling literary or philosophical side issues. The last sermon has the striking title of 'The Duel fought out in the Lord's Grave.' Its text is 'Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death; because it was not possible that he should be holden of it.' (Ac $2^{24}$). Dr. Parkhurst prints the word 'possible' in capitals, and then tells this story:—

'There was shown to me a few days ago by a friend, personally familiar with the scene portrayed, the picture of a grave in the cemetery of Hanover, Germany. It was the grave of a woman who lived in the time of Strauss the sceptic, who had been influenced by his teachings, had become antagonistic to the doctrine of the resurrection, but who from lingering suspicion that that doctrine might be true, left instructions in her will that upon the occasion of her death her entombment should be made so secure that the resurrection could not reach her. There was accordingly piled upon her grave, one upon another, massive slabs of marble and granite, sufficient, it would seem, to

protect her body from the disturbance of earthquake, and so deeply immured as to leave her ashes quite beyond the reach of the last trump. And not only was there all this accumulation of cemented masonry, but the superincumbent layers were bound to those underneath by clasps of steel, so that the entire pile had secured to it almost the solidity of native rock.

'Unfortunately, however, for the hopes of the suspicious lady, an atom of vegetable life got covered up underneath the imposed masonry, and a little shrub, nourished, we should like to suppose, by the decayed materials of her own body, commenced to grow, and with that instinctive impulse common to all plant life began to try to find its way out into the light and air. And as against the irresistibleness of that bit of young vegetable omnipotency, artificial masonry did not count. Seams began to open themselves along the lines of original cleavage. The clasps by which the planks and blocks of stone had been knit together resisted the strain, till the energy of life came to the full assertion of its power and wrenched the clasps from their sockets, and pushed the slabs off from the path of its own victorious progress. And those slabs lie there to-day in a condition of beautiful disruption, with the full-grown tree standing in their midst, in quiet sarcasm upon the anti-resurrection ambition of the buried woman, and in a verdant eulogy upon the irresistibleness of life.'

## THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

**(Materials for the study of Phil. iii. 13, 14.)**

**'This one thing I do, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.'**

1. He had found a purpose in life. The life of man is a vagrant changeful desultoriness; like that of children sporting on an enamelled meadow, chasing now a painted butterfly, which loses its charm by being caught—now a wreath of mist, which falls damp upon the hand with disappointment—now a feather of thistle-down, which is crushed in the grasp. In the midst of all this fickleness, St. Paul had found a purpose to which he gave the undivided energy of his soul. 'This one thing I do.'[1]

[1] F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, i. 58.

> Back flies the foam; the hoisted flag streams back;
> The long smoke wavers on the homeward track;
> Back fly with winds things which the winds obey:
> The good ship follows its appointed way.

2. Had he found his life's purpose himself, or had it been given him? Partly both. He had, however, found himself first. He had said, 'I will arise and go.' Then he found that he had already been found by Christ—'I have been apprehended.' Now his discovery is that, when he was found, it was for a further purpose, and that, again, he must co-operate with God in attaining it—'that I may apprehend that for which also I was apprehended.' Throughout, God and he have been at work, and will be.

3. What is his purpose? To reach the goal and gain the prize. Life is a race: he a runner. There is a *goal*. It is likeness to Christ—that he may think as Christ thinks, speak as Christ speaks, go about doing good as Christ, and delight to do the Father's will. It is a great purpose in life, the only purpose that makes life worth living. And then there is a *reward*—the runner's prize. It is laid up in heaven, a crown of life that fadeth not away, right of entry to the Tree of Life in the new Paradise, the 'well done' of the Father.

4. How is he to accomplish his purpose? This is the theme of the text. His method is to forget the things that are behind, and to stretch forward to the things that are before.

### A. Forgetting the things which are behind.

1. This is a universal law of progress.

This oblivion of the past is a forgetfulness with which we are familiar in other departments of life. When an artist begins a new picture, he seeks to forget all those he has already painted. For, as long as he is haunted by the memory even of his best work, he can achieve only a limited success, perhaps only repeat his former ideas. He must paint with his eye on what he is doing, not on what he has done.[2]

Mr. Story, the sculptor, was once showing his work to a friend who was visiting him. 'For which of the things you have done,' asked his friend, 'do you care most?' 'I care most,' was the answer, 'for the statue I am to carve next.'[3]

There is a touching story told of a modern sculptor, who was found standing in front of his masterpiece, sunk in sad reverie. When they asked him why he was so sad, 'Because,' he answered, 'I am satisfied with it.'[4]

This is a principle of which the application can be traced

[2] F. B. Macnutt, *The Riches of Christ*, p. 29.
[3] S. Law Wilson, *Helpful Words for Daily Life*, p. 258.
[4] A. Maclaren, *Sermons Preached in Manchester*, ii. p. 243.

all through the natural life. The blossom is not regretted when fruit is hardening in its place, nor the slender grace of the sapling when you have got instead the heart of oak, nor the green blade when the ear is bending down in yellow ripeness. So in the spiritual life we have not to mourn over the loss of simplicity if we have got instead souls indurated by experience, disciplined even by fall to refuse the evil and to choose the good.[1]

A while ago the *Lancet* contained an article under the title of 'The First Lesson of Scientific Education,' which sought to expose the folly of wasting mental tissue and energy in useless regrets.[2]

Recently M. Albert Vandal of the French Academy, eulogized a distinguished family because 'it had lived with its time and never shut itself up in the mausoleum of its souvenirs and its regrets.'[3]

It is said that the Sultans of Turkey still imitate the signature of the illiterate Amurath. 'The Arabic letters of their name and style are interwoven into a rude outline of the impression of a human hand, in remembrance of the way in which Amurath, like the shepherd kings of Tartary, the Mongol conquerors, and Timour, ratified his treaties, by dipping his palm in the ink and leaving the print of it on the instrument.'[4]

**2.** What, then, are the things that are behind which are to be forgotten by St. Paul?

They are, says Lightfoot, 'the portion of the course already traversed.' To which Vincent adds, 'not his experience as a persecutor.'

The things behind which he forgets, says Liddon, are not merely the external prerogatives of Judaism. As the metaphor itself would suggest, they are the earlier struggles, the past experiences, the incomplete attainments of the Christian.[5]

**3.** What are the things behind which are to be forgotten by us? (1) The days of innocence. Early innocence (the word is used popularly) is nothing more than ignorance of evil. In regretting it there is much that is feeble and sentimental. Human innocence is not to know evil; Christian saintliness is to prefer good. Parents may prolong the duration of innocence unnaturally. (2) The days of youth. In middle life a man is apt to look back, and marvel with a kind of remorseful feeling that he let the days of youth go by only half enjoyed. It is a natural feeling, but it is not Christian. Manhood is a better thing than boyhood because it is a riper thing; and old age ought to be a better thing than manhood. There comes in age a love more pure and deep than the boy could ever feel; there comes a conviction, with a strength beyond that which the boy could ever know: that the earliest lesson of life is infinite—*Christ is all.* (3) Past errors. The self-accusing temper that is always looking back hinders growth in godliness. There have been mistakes, perhaps irreparable ones. It is not by regretting what is irreparable that true work is done, but by making the best of what we are. (4) Past guilt. Remorse has done more harm than even hardihood. It fixed Judas in an unalterable destiny; it filled the monasteries with useless lives. Remorse paralyses our energies for Christ's work. Break a Christian spirit and it is all over with progress. 'Hath no man condemned thee?' 'No man, Lord.' 'Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more.' 'We must all die,' said the wise woman of Tekoah, 'and are as water spilt upon the ground which cannot be gathered up again.'[6]

> When remedies are past, the griefs are ended,
> By seeing the worst, which late on hopes depended.
> To mourn a mischief that is past and gone
> Is the next way to draw the mischief on.
> The robbed that smiles steals something from the thief;
> He robs himself that spends a bootless grief.

**4.** Mistaken remembrance of the past may take the form either of unavailing regrets or of unavailing remorse.

1. *Unavailing regrets.*—These may be (1) for a vanished prosperity. A young poet, who had got into trouble, and enlisted in the army, wrote over the manger of his troop horse, '*Eheu quam infortunii miserrimum est, fuisse felicem.*' (2) Repining over the lost strength and brightness of youth. 'What can I do for you?' asked a friend of the satirist Wolcott, when he lay dying. 'Give me back my youth,' groaned the unhappy man. Come back, come back, is such men's cry. (3) Unavailing anguish for the lost beloved. Some are ever sighing—

> But oh, for the touch of a vanished hand,
> And the sound of a voice that is still.

If their sun has set, 'God is always in the meridian.' And their sun has set to rise again.

> Thou unrelenting past
> Strong are the barriers round thy dark domain:
> And fetters strong and fast
> Hold all that enter thine unbreathing reign.

[1] C. R. D. Biggs, *Philippians*, p. 48.
[2] W. L. Watkinson, *Themes for Hours of Meditation*, p. 12.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Church, *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 363.
[5] *University Sermons*, p. 127.
[6] F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, i. 61.

Thou hast my better years,
Thou hast my earlier friends, the good, the kind,
Yielded to thee with tears;
The venerable form, the exalted mind,
Thine for a space are they:—
Yet thou shalt yield thy treasures up at last:
Thy gates shall yet give way,
Thy bolts shall fall—inexorable past.

2. *Unavailing remorse.*—We cannot alter the guilty past. Not one deed of it.

The moving finger writes, and, having writ,
Moves on; nor all thy piety and wit
Can lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out one word of it.

But though we cannot undo the past, we can repair it. We can repent of our past sins and forsake them. And the Son of Man hath power even on earth to forgive sins. Then we can say, 'The old things have passed away; behold they have become new.'[1]

5. How are we to regard past sin? The answer is that we should forget it; a truly astonishing answer. It may be misapplied, but the misapplication of a medicine does not destroy its essential value. It may be justified (1) as a counsel of moral sanity. It is not good to brood over past sin. We know to what a prison-house of despair and madness such brooding led so gentle and so pure a spirit as Cowper's. R. L. Stevenson says in one of his prayers, 'Help us with the grace of courage that we be none of us cast down, when we sit lamenting amid the ruins of our happiness or our integrity; touch us with the fire of Thy altar, that we may be up and doing to rebuild our city.' (2) It is also an act of faith. God forgets. He remembers our sins no more against us for ever. The way of faith is to accept forgiveness with no false scruples, to forget the sin which God forgives. (3) It is also the one source of moral progress. We are allowed to forget only on condition that we aspire. Paul forgets the past because he is pressing to the mark. It is also the means of forgetting. Consecrate yourself to the struggle, and in the very act of struggling you will forget the past.[2]

Surely I repent;
For what is true repentance but in thought—
Not even in inmost thought to think again
The sins that made the past so pleasant to us?
And I have sworn never to see him more,
To see him more.—

TENNYSON, *Guinevere.*

[1] F. W. Farrar, *True Religion*, p. 59.
[2] W. J. Dawson, *The Evangelistic Note*, p. 113.

6. Are we to forget all that is behind? Is the past to be blotted out of our remembrance? There are some things which we are not to forget. (1) God's hand in national history. What does that history teach us? That greatness and strength are with those to whom morality, the purity of domestic life, and the honour of God are dear. (2) God's hand in our own individual history. How often do the Psalmists stir up their own souls to remember God's wonders in the past. We are to remember that he hath not 'dealt with us according to our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities.'[3]

**B. Stretching forward to the things which are before.**

Whose hand shall dare to open and explore
Those volumes closed and clasped for evermore?
Not mine! With reverential feet I pass;
I hear a voice that cries, Alas! alas!
Whatever hath been written shall remain,
Nor be erased, nor written o'er again;
The unwritten only still belongs to thee;—
Take heed and ponder well what that shall be!

The word translated 'reaching forth' in the A.V. is an exceedingly strong word, implying intense and sustained effort. It is a compound word, so compounded as to give it a maximum of force. It is a picture of the runner as he stretches forward with the intensity of his effort, every fibre stretched towards the goal.[4]

The body of the racer is bent forward, his hand is outstretched towards the goal, and his eye is fastened upon it.[5]

The eye outstrips and draws onward the hand, and the hand the foot.[6]

The word has passed into sporting language, 'the home-stretch.'[7]

The expression shows us in the most vivid way the body of the runner stretched forward as he is nearing the goal, just as he was represented in the lifelike bronze statues of the Olympic victors.[8]

I have read that Spain once stamped on her coins the Pillars of Hercules, and took as her motto *Ne plus ultra*; but when the bold spirit of Columbus passed beyond those Pillars, and discovered the New World, she omitted the *ne* and left *plus ultra*—more beyond.[9]

[3] J. J. S. Perowne, *Sermons*, p. 106.
[4] J. Thomas, *Myrtle Street Pulpit*, iii. 202.
[5] Vincent. [6] Bengel. [7] Vincent.
[8] E. Curtius, *Expositor*, VII. iv. 445.
[9] E. Paxton Hood, *C. W. P.* xxii. 237.

1. Paul's eagerness goes out in two directions: in that of fuller knowledge, and in that of more Christlike character. (1) If our religious life is to have a deep hold upon us it must be great not only to our hearts, but also to our minds. We must be theologians. The 'simplicity of the gospel' is sometimes an excuse for intellectual torpor. (2) To be a theologian is good; to be a saint is better. But sainthood is pressing on, not resting satisfied with attainment. To the end Paul would have to say, 'I count not myself to have apprehended. The very height of the calling was a constant challenge to him to climb the steep ascent.'[1]

2. Liddon has two sermons on this subject, one, in the first volume of his *University Sermons*, entitled 'The Law of Progress'; the other, in *Sermons on Some Words of St. Paul*, entitled 'Religious Progress.' In the University Sermon he says that in our day no rallying cry has gained more prominence, or exerted more power, than the demand for Progress. The most opposite aspirations, aye, the most earnest and determined antagonists, range themselves simultaneously under the banner of Progress. Government, society, art, science, even religion, are in turn challenged, reviewed, judged, in the name of Progress. Even in Oxford, with its tradition of a thousand years overshadowing life in rich and varied memories of the past, the characteristic anathema to apply to any institution or society is to call it reaction. But what is it that we mean by progress? (1) True progress must be the progress of man—of man himself, as distinct from the organization, appliances, or embellishments of his life. (2) It must embrace the whole of human life; it must not consist in the development of a single power or faculty. There is a well-authenticated tradition of an argument between Bishop Horsley and Dr. Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church. They sat late into the night debating the question whether God could be better reached through the exercise of the intellect or of the affections. Unwillingly, but step by step, the Bishop, who advocated the claims of intellect, retreated before the arguments of his friend, till at length he exclaimed, 'Then my whole life has been one great mistake.' (3) True progress must embrace, or at least recognize, the outlying conditions of life. (*a*) The fact of the Fall. There is indeed the theory of Rousseau (in his *Émile*), that man is born good, but is depraved by society. But that doctrine is now referred to only as a curiosity. (*b*) The wonderful phenomenon of grace. Grace is a real and active force. It is 'the power that worketh in us' (Eph $3^{20}$), illuminating the intellect, warming the heart, strengthening the will. (*c*) The fact of immortality—an eternity beyond the grave, an eternal heaven and an eternal hell.[2]

One is as the Alpine traveller, who sees the mountains soaring into the sky, and can hardly discern where the deep shadowed crags and roseate peaks end, and where the clouds of heaven begin. Surely the awestruck voyager may be excused if, at first, he refuses to believe the geologist, who tells him that these glorious masses are, after all, the hardened mud of primæval seas, or the cooled slag of subterranean furnaces—of one substance with the dullest clay, but raised by inward forces to that place of proud and seemingly inaccessible glory.

Goethe draws a striking picture in *Faust* of his hero standing and gazing on the setting sun. As he watches the slowly sinking orb, he longs for wings to follow it in its course. He longs

> To drink its everlasting light,
> The day before him, and behind the night.

For it is implanted in us by nature to strive both forwards and upwards. We never hear the lark singing in heaven, he says, we never watch the soaring of the eagle towards the sun, we never see the crane winging her homeward flight, but we long for the same glorious, heavenward freedom.[3]

Charles Simeon of Cambridge says in one of his last letters, alluding to his still abundant toils, 'I am so near the goal that I cannot help running with all my might.'[4]

The runner does not count the laps he has passed, but the laps that remain.[5]

3. Now for the goal and the prize.

Distinguish the mark (A.V.) or goal from the prize. The prize is heaven; the mark is Christ. St. Paul ran 'looking off unto Jesus' (He $12^{2}$).[6]

The mark is reached by the runner's efforts; the prize is the reward of victory. The former stands for 'being made conformable unto Christ's death,' the latter for 'attaining unto the resurrection of the dead'; in other words, the mark is moral likeness to our Lord, while the prize is whatsoever of glory and felicity besides He may be pleased to bestow on us.

The mark was perfection of character—the prize was blessedness. But the Apostle did not

[1] D. Fairweather, *Bound in the Spirit*, p. 287.

[2] H. P. Liddon, *University Sermons*, i. p. 25.

[3] J. J. S. Perowne, *Sermons*, p. 116.

[4] Moule.

[5] Chrysostom.

[6] A. C. Price, *Fifty Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 57.

aim at the prize of blessedness, he aimed at the mark of perfectness. In becoming perfect he attained happiness, but his primary aim was not happiness. We may understand this by an illustration. In student life there are those who seek knowledge for its own sake, and there are those who seek it for the sake of the prize, and the honour, and the subsequent success in life that knowledge brings. They who seek knowledge for the sake of a prize are not genuine lovers of knowledge—they love only the rewards of knowledge: had it no honour or substantial advantage connected with it they would be indolent. But while the prize was not St. Paul's aim, it was an incentive. If his step began to flag, the radiant diadem before him gave new vigour to his heart; and we know how, at the close of his career, the vision became more vivid and more entrancing: 'henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of glory.'

In the sphere of conduct the prize is the serviceable life; in the sphere of personal morality, it is the regenerated character.

> Life in God's contempt apart,
> With ghastly smooth life dead at heart,
> Tame in earth's paddock as her prize.[1]

4. Why is the prize described as 'the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus'?

Dr. Vaughan is probably right in saying that the force of the phrase 'lies not in the idea of *upward* or *to heaven*, but in that of the Person who calls *being Himself above* or *in heaven*.' But as the Apostle regards the call as taking its character and object from this fact, *heavenly* is practically equivalent to *heavenward*. It is that summons or charge which comes to every Christian to make his home in the Jerusalem which is above.[2]

The determining feature in the high calling of the Christian is that it has Christ for its centre. His Word, His Will, is the law of the Christian's action. His sustaining and sanctifying influence pervades the whole of the Church's activity—pervades it in theory, and it is for us to see that it pervades it more and more completely in practice. 'If ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.'[3]

The calling is not primarily a calling to receive a prize, but to run a race. The calling exists before the race begins. It is the invitation, the sanction, the authority by which the race is begun, the goal fixed, and the prize awarded. The high calling is, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the heavenly calling.[4]

It is a calling to be perfect; it is therefore not the Apostle's own, but God's. The work began with God. God will see to its accomplishment. It is this that gives his spiritual activity its greatest intensity. The calling is high, but not higher than by God's grace he may attain to. 'I like to think of that strong phrase of Calvin's—*irresistible grace*.'[5]

[1] Browning, *Easter Day*, iii.

[2] W. Sanday, *Two Present-Day Questions*, p. 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[4] J. Thomas, *Myrtle Street Pulpit*, iii. 203.

[5] D. Fairweather, *Bound in the Spirit*, p. 289.

# The New Hebrew Bible of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

By Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D., Maulbronn.

To say a word on this new undertaking I am perhaps the more entitled, or even called upon, since my name has been mentioned in connexion with it in a way which must give a wrong impression.

Under the heading 'A New Edition of the Hebrew Bible' there was, in the *Times* of 23rd January, a long correspondence, together with a leader on it. With the leader the Society was, it seems, not quite satisfied; so the secretaries sent a letter to the *Times* (27th January); whose last paragraph was:

> 'In order to ensure accuracy the committee have *obtained* for Dr. Ginsburg the help of three accomplished scholars *as proof-readers*—

> Professor Strack of Berlin, Herr Kahan of Leipzig, and Professor Eberhard Nestle of Maulbronn. The Society hopes therefore, within the limits it has been obliged to impose upon Dr. Ginsburg, to secure the best Hebrew Bible which has ever yet been issued in print.'

Finally, there was another letter in the *Times* (10th January) by Dr. E. W. Bullinger, secretary of the Trinitarian Bible Society, stating that the 'New Edition' in question will be precisely the same, as far as the text is concerned, as that prepared by Dr. Ginsburg, and recently published by the Trinitarian Bible Society at an expense of over £2000.

The letter goes on to state that a second edition was lately printed from the plates of the first, which is on sale at greatly reduced prices, and on which royalties continue to be paid. A third edition is being prepared, in which there will be an appendix of several pages of typographical errors.

On the last paragraph of the letter, that it is an open question whether the new edition does not infringe the copyright of the Trinitarian Society, I cannot enter. I have to do here only with the new book and, in passing, with my connexion with it. And there can be no question that the new Hebrew Bible, of which only the first part, the Pentateuch, has appeared as yet, is the most *beautifully printed* Hebrew Bible or even Hebrew Book which I know of, so far as the text is concerned. The types of the apparatus, especially the vowelled types, are not clear enough, to come out well from the stereotype plates. But I am told that in the following parts a better type will be chosen, and, after the completion of the whole, the apparatus of the first part re-set in the new type.

With its broad margins — the book is of the size of 27 : 18, 5 cms.—the pages have a splendid appearance. The Trinitarian Bible, just mentioned, had a very clear print, and likewise the former editions of the B.F.B.S. (by Letteris): it is a pity that Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* in order to save space chose a type which for many eyes is very trying. All who lay stress on a clear print must now take the new edition.

But is it, as well as the most beautiful, also the most *correct*, and the most up-to-date edition?

Now any one who has to do with printing knows that to print a Hebrew Text with vowels and accents is one of the most difficult tasks that can be fancied. No doubt great care has been bestowed on the correction, but when I saw the first part (Genesis), which had been distributed to the members of the International Congress of Orientalists at Kopenhagen last year, I at once found several misprints from the first page almost to the last (one of the worst in Gn $49^{7}$ זלני for זקני). So I wrote to the Society that I should like to go through the pages with the help of my pupils (lads of fourteen to sixteen), to whom I would offer (as I had done on former occasions, for instance, when I corrected the Greek Testament for the Society) 20 Pfennig (twopence ha'penny) for every misprint they were to find. This offer was accepted, but not attended to. I never heard of the edition till I got two copies of the finished book on the 26th January.

In opening the new parts, the very second word in Ex $1^{1}$ turned out to be without accent, and in the last verse but one in Deuteronomy ($34^{11}$) a point was missing: probably both had disappeared from the plates; these were not faults of the proof-readers. But there were also faults overlooked by the correctors; the most interesting one, a wrong Dagesh in Dt $29^{14}$. For this little dot proves that the Bible of the Trinitarian Society mentioned above had served as printers' copy; but it proved, at the same time, that for the Trinitarian Bible itself, a copy of Letteris' edition had been used for the same purpose; for this misprint is also in Letteris. Not only books have their fates, according to the saying of Terentianus Maurus of old: *habent sua fata libelli*, but also misprints. I beg the reader's pardon for speaking so much about these minutiæ, but as the statement of the secretaries, that my help also had been obtained by the Society as proof-reader, devolves some responsibility on myself, I am obliged to state the matters as they were. For the future parts I am promised an opportunity of seeing the proofs *before* the plates are made. Several points I should have arranged differently; how awkward, for instance, to have in the headings, chapters and verses at the inside, and the numbers of the pages at the outside, as if one were to look in a Bible to the pages!

But to come to more important points. The *text* is in the main the same as that of the Trinitarian Bible and that of Kittel's Bible, all reproducing the edition of Jacob B. Chayim's Bible of Venice, 1524–1525.

A new feature is the *apparatus*. Dr. Ginsburg

compared seventy-one MSS and nineteen printed editions from 1482 to 1525. Besides, he quotes for some passages the Samaritan Pentateuch (from which edition?), the Targums—again we miss a statement about the editions used,—the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi. To denote these sources by Hebrew letters does not recommend itself: much shorter and clearer are the abbreviations in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the O.T.* and in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*; but in an edition issued by the Bible Society which is destined to serve Jewish readers also, perhaps the other way seemed impracticable.

Few readers will be able fully to recognize the amount of labour bestowed on this apparatus, which rises from two lines on the page to fourteen and fifteen. To collate seventy MSS and twenty early editions: what scholar will have the patience necessary for this work? Truly, sincere thanks are due to Dr. Ginsburg and to the Society. But will the result be worth this labour and expense? I fear few scholars will say yes.

If the collations printed at the foot of the pages were complete, then they would be of great value; for then we would know that all Hebrew MSS and editions do not yield any more variants than are here gathered; and to know that would be a gain. But certainly the MSS and editions contain more variants. Leaving aside all accents and vowels, I give but one example of consonants: Ex $2^{17}$ is ויושיען printed with plene Yod in the new Ginsburg, while it is defective in Kittel, Letteris, and even in Ginsburg's first edition. The apparatus is silent; from the text we must conclude that all MSS and all editions agree in the *plene* spelling. I do not know why Ginsburg introduced it. I do not even care about these minutiæ; I mention this case as an example, to show that the apparatus, rich and valuable as it is, is not complete enough even for the Massoretic text; and yet the real difficulties begin behind it. For the student, the apparatus of Kittel and of Haupt is much more useful. The *text* in the type of the new Bible, with the apparatus of Haupt and Kittel in a corrected and supplemented form; this would give what the secretaries hope of the present edition: the best Hebrew Bible which has ever yet been issued in print. Meanwhile we are thankful to have here the most beautiful, with an apparatus which in one direction has nothing like it.

*P.S.*—I beg to mention one point more, in which sufficient circumspection has not been used for the convenience of the readers: that is the *chapter division.* The chapter division now common in the Hebrew Bibles has not the slightest historical value, and it was one of the gravest mistakes of the German Bible Revision to take a Hebrew Bible as standard for the chapters. The English Revisers were, in that direction, as in many others, much more equal to their task. They simply remarked on the margin for instance, at Gn $31^{55}$ '[Ch. 32, 1 in Heb.],' at Ex $8^{1}$ '[Ch. 7, 26 in Heb.],' at $8^{5}$ '[Ch. 8, 1 in Heb.].' How can one incur the great costs of producing a new Hebrew Bible without settling these differences? In Ex 20 and Dt 5, Dr. Ginsburg has printed the text of the Ten Commandments three times: once in the text with both accentuations, and then twice separately in the apparatus, according to the Babylonian and Palestinian Jews, giving their respective numberings; but the chapter division of the Christian Bible is withheld from us, and this in the country of Stephen Langton, who was its originator. But I must not take up more space. I trust this point and some others will be attended to in an appendix or at a future revision, but it would have saved much expense, if they had been properly considered beforehand.

# Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Volume I.

## INDEX OF SCRIPTURE TEXTS AND OTHER REFERENCES.

By the Rev. James Donald, M.A., D.D., Keithhall, Aberdeenshire.

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# Literature.

## *WAS YAHWEH THE GOD OF ISRAEL?*

The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. By Professor R. W. Rogers, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S., of Drew Theological Seminary. (*Eaton & Mains.* $2.)

Professor R. W. Rogers is the author of a *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, an important work in two volumes which appeared in 1901, and had a most flattering reception. Its most outstanding feature was the account it gave of the history of Babylonian exploration and decipherment; but the whole work is a pleasing combination of lucid writing and accurate scholarship. Some time afterwards, Professor Rogers was invited to deliver a course of five lectures at Harvard University. That course he has now published under the title of *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, and it seems to us that although many volumes on the Religion of the Babylonians and

Assyrians have been published within recent years, large and small, popular and unpopular, not one of them has succeeded in making the subject so fascinating, without the sacrifice of any fact, or shade of a fact, to the Moloch of popularity.

Of the subjects discussed in the book there is none that is of greater concern than the originality of Yahweh. Israel, we know, was God's peculiar people. But was Yahweh Israel's peculiar God? The following is Professor Rogers's treatment of the subject. It is the very latest and clearest account of a keen controversy.

'In August, 1898, Professor Sayce[1] made the most interesting announcement that he had just discovered upon a small Babylonian text in the British Museum the name *Ja-u-um-ilu*, which he translated "Yahveh is God." The publication of this announcement called forth at once a note from Professor Hommel[2] suggesting the appearance of the same Yau in another Babylonian name. The discovery of Professor Sayce seemed to lie comparatively fallow. It excited interest only among scholars, and produced very little popular stir. But upon January 13, 1902, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of the University of Berlin, eminent alike as a scholar, a teacher, and the founder of the greatest school of Assyriologists in the world, delivered a lecture in the *Sing Academie* in Berlin, in the presence of the German Emperor. The lecture was a brilliant exposition of the achievements of Assyriology in casting a valuable light upon the Old Testament. Much of what he said awakened no controversy. It was, indeed, in large part known already, and the interest lay chiefly in the skill of its exposition by a master, who had himself made contributions of enduring quality to the science. But as the lecture went on, Professor Delitzsch spoke of the supposed occurrence of monotheism in Babylonia, and there entered upon a most disputed realm. Then he said: "But, further, through the kindness of the head of the department of Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum, I am able to give a representation of three small clay tablets. What is to be seen on these tablets? I shall be asked. Fragile, broken clay upon which are scratched characters scarcely legible! That is true, no doubt, yet they are precious for this reason: they can be dated with certainty, they belong to the age of Hammurabi, one in particular to the reign of his father, Sin-muballit. But they are still more precious for another reason: they contain three names which, from the point of view of the history of religion, are of the most far-reaching importance: the names are *Yahwe is God*. Therefore Yahwe, the Existing, the Enduring one (we have reasons for saying that the name may mean this), the one devoid of all change, not like us men, who to-morrow are but a thing of yesterday, but one who, above the starry vault which shines with everlasting regularity, lives and works from generation to generation—this Yahwe was the spiritual possession of those same nomad tribes out of which after a thousand years the children of Israel were to emerge."[3]

'These words led to a controversy, widespread, intense, and sometimes conducted in a very bad temper. All sorts of controversialists[4] entered the field essaying to prove that Delitzsch had either misread or misinterpreted his texts. The matter has finally sifted down to very narrow limits of

[1] THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, ix. p. 522. The name was quoted from the tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 329, published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, iv. 27.

[2] THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, x. p. 42, Oct. 1898.

[3] Friedrich Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, Erster Vortrag. Fünfte neu durchgesehene Ausgabe, pp. 49, 50. Leipzig, 1905. See the translation of this paragraph by C. H. W. Johns, *Babel and Bible*, pp. 70–72. Two Lectures. London and New York, 1903.

[4] There is no need to enumerate here the extensive list of replies to Delitzsch. The following may be cited as being among the more significant:

Eduard König, *Bibel und Babel*. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Skizze, 6te Auf. Berlin, 1902.

Karl Budde, *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen*. Giessen, 1903.

Karl Budde, *Was soll die Gemeinde aus dem Streit um Babel und Bibel lernen?* Tübingen, 1903.

Fritz Hommel, *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament*. Eine Erwiderung auf. Prof. Fr. Delitzsch's *Babel und Bibel*. Berlin, 1902.

Alfred Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*. Ein Wort zur Verständigung und Abwehr, 3te Auf. Leipzig, 1903.

Samuel Oettli, *Der Kampf um Bibel und Babel*. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vortrag.

Heinrich Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel*. Berlin, 1903.

C. F. Lehmann, *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst und jetzt*. Leipzig, 1903.

C. Bezold, *Die Babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament*. Tübingen und Leipzig, 1904.

Max Löhr, *Babel und die biblische Urgeschichte*. Breslau, 1903.

Paul Haupt, *Bible and Babel*, Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 163, pp. 47–51. Baltimore, 1903.

doubt indeed. There can be no doubt that *Ja-u-um-ilu* is to be read "Jau is god"; it is exactly the equivalent of the Biblical name Joel. It may still be granted that a slight doubt exists about the first two of these names. It has been attempted on several sides to show that the first half of these names may be a verb form,[1] and the words therefore are interpreted as meaning "God exists" or "God lives." But there is no such personal name anywhere to be found among the northern Semites, and the explanation is without other support. By far the more natural explanation is that the name is to be interpreted as "Jahweh is god."

'Here, then, is the name Jahweh in use among the Babylonians, at the Hammurabi period, two thousand years before Christ.

'But still further support for the Babylonian use of the name has been provided by the discoveries of Dr. Clay in the Kassite period, about 1500 B.C. He has found the names *Ja-u-bani*, *Ja-u-a*, *Ja-a-u*, *Ja-ai-u*, and even the feminine form *Ja-a-u-tum*. *Ja-u-bani* means "Jau is creator," and is formed exactly as *Ilu-bani* ("Ilu is creator"), and *Shamash-bani* ("Shamash is creator"). Here, then, is positive proof that the Babylonians were accustomed to the use of the divine name Jau, or Jahweh, during the period from 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C.[2]

'Outside of Babylonia the divine name Jahweh has also been found. Upon a letter discovered at Ta'anek, above the plain of Esdraelon, and written about 1450 B.C., there occurs the name *Akhi-ja-mi*,[3] and this name seems to be the equivalent of the Old Testament name Aḥijah (1 K 14[4]) ("Jehovah is brother *or* relative"), which is thus borne by a non-Israelite. But the name Jahweh appears also as a part of the name of a king of Hamath, the north Syrian commonwealth, in the eighth century B.C. This king, who was conquered by Sargon II., king of Assyria (722–705 B.C.), bears the name Ja-u-bi-'-di, and his name is also written I-lu-bi-'-di.[4] Here there is an interchange between Ilu and Jau exactly as in Hebrew the name Elnathan interchanges with Jonathan.

'There can therefore be no escape from the conclusion that the divine name Jahweh is not a peculiar possession of the Hebrews. It covers a large extent of territory both geographically and ethnologically,[5] and the rapid accumulation of cases in which it appears during so few years makes reasonably probable a still wider use of the name than has yet been actually proved.[6]

'How came this name into the hands of the Hebrews? That is a question most fascinating and interesting, but it is impossible to answer it with certainty. The Jahvist uses the name Jahweh from the beginning, and regards it as known and revered by the saints and heroes far beyond the days of Moses, but the Elohist (Ex 3[13ff.]) and

[1] The attempt to show that the reading is incorrect, and that the first two should be read *Ya-'a-bi-lu* (so, for example, by Bezold in a very interesting note, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xvi. pp. 415 ff.) must be regarded as a failure. The *reading* is certain, the only possible doubt concerns the interpretation.

[2] A name Lipush-e-a-um occurs as the name of a daughter of Naram-Sin, and granddaughter of Sargon I., a priestess of Sin (Thureau-Dangin, *Comptes Rendus*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1899, p. 348, pl. 1). This has been taken by Radau (*Early Babylonian History*, p. 173) as also containing the name Jau, and so as having some such meaning as 'May Jau make.' This also has been accepted by Dr. C. F. Burney in a most suggestive paper ('A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in Early Times,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1908, p. 342). The reading is most doubtful, and should not be cited as an occurrence of Jau. I am disposed to think that the god here meant is Ea.

[3] The letter is published by Hrozny in Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 116, Wien, 1904. See further a very cautious allusion to the name in Sellin, *Die alttestamentliche Religion im Rahmen der andern altorientalischen*, p. 61. Leipzig, 1908. In this little book it seems to me that Sellin might have safely spoken more positively of the occurrence of Jahweh in Babylonian; for example, in the following sentences the caution is surely excessive: 'Ist der Name Jahwe ein spezifisches israelitisches Eigenthum? Diese Behauptung lässt sich kaum noch mit Sicherheit aufrecht halten. Zwar das Vorkommen des Namens auf kanaanäischen Keilschrifttafeln sowohl aus Babylon (um 2000) wie aus Palästina (Ta'anak um 1450) ist sehr unsicher' (p. 61).

[4] Inscriptions of Sargon, Stele i. 53; Annals, 23; Triumphal Inscription, 33; Nimrod Inscription, 8. The passages may readily be found in Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*. Leipzig, 1889.

[5] I cannot regard as successful the attempt of Dr. C. J. Ball to find the word *Jau* in the Gilgamesh epic as a divine name or title, 'a god-man.' (See the exposition of this explanation by C. F. Burney in the article cited, *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1908, pp. 341, 342). The expression in question is *ia-u amelu* (Tablet X, col. iv. 17), applied to Gilgames. The translation of *ia-u* proposed by Jensen, namely, 'woeful,' is still the most probable. Elsewhere Gilgames is described as showing plainly the effects of his great efforts and struggles.

[6] For summaries of the evidence and appraisal of the value of the individual occurrences, see A. H. Sayce, 'The Name of Yeho, Yahveh,' THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, vol. xviii. No. 1, Oct. 1906, pp. 26 ff.; and A. H. Sayce, 'The Name יהוה,' THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, vol. xix. No. 11, Aug. 1908, pp. 525, 526.

the Priest Codex (Ex $6^{2ff.}$) assume that it was revealed first to Moses, and by him to the people. This, of course, does not mean that the God Himself was unknown to the ancestors of Moses; indeed, the very earliest sources see in Jahweh the God of the ancestors of Israel. But Moses is the founder, the real founder of Israel's religion, and with him begins the building up of that great series of thoughts about this God which have given all human thinking a new channel.[1] There are good reasons for believing that among the Kenites Jahweh was a God of high rank, and among them Moses had residence, and all that they had to witness of this God must have passed before him; but it was no mere local god that Moses introduced in power to Israel. From the very beginning He is a God able to put others beneath His feet.[2]

'At first sight this may seem like a startling robbery of Israel, this taking away from her the divine name Jahweh as an exclusive possession. But it is not so. Jahweh himself is not taken away. He remains the priceless possession, the chief glory of Israel. It is only the *name* that is shown to be widespread. And the *name* matters little. The great question is, what does the name convey?—what is its theological content?[3] The *name* came to Israel from the outside. But into that vessel a long line of prophets, from Moses onward, poured such a flood of attributes as never a priest in all Western Asia, from Babylonia to the Sea, ever dreamed of in his highest moments of spiritual insight. In this name, and through Israel's history, God chose to reveal Himself to Israel, and by Israel to the world. Therein lies the supreme and lonesome superiority of Israel over Babylonia.'

[1] On the name Jahweh see further the very able article by Driver, which is by no means superseded, in *Studia Biblica*, i. (1885); and the same author's *Book of Genesis* (London, 1904), pp. 407, 409; Kautzsch, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. 'Names,' §§ 109–113, and the same writer in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Extra Volume, pp. 265 ff.

[2] The whole question of Israel's witness to Jahweh in the earliest time is ably handled by Marti in a paper of great suggestiveness ('Jahwe und seine Auffassung in der ältesten Zeit,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1908, pp. 322–333), with most of which I find myself in complete agreement. I must hear quote a paragraph in which I am happy to find a strong support for some things which I have earnestly defended above. After asking how it happens that Jahweh becomes to the Hebrews a quite different God from that which He had been to other peoples, Marti proceeds thus: 'Iche denke dabei an die Tätigkeit und den Einfluss einer prophetischen Gestalt (etwa Mose). Jedenfalls aber möchte ich es durchaus ablehnen, dass dazu irgendwie der imaginäre altorientalische Monotheismus mitgewirkt habe. Soweit ich sehen kann, finde ich diesen Monotheismus des alten Orients nur in der Phantasie einiger moderner Gelehrten, aber nirgends in den Kulterzentren und Priesterkreisen des vorderen Orients. Zudem hat es die babylonisch-assyrische Religion ihr Leben lang nie zu einem wirklichen Monotheismus, der diesen Namen verdiente, gebracht und ist auch der Gott Israels am Anfang, so sehr er eine der Dämonen und andere göttliche Mächte überragende Bedeutung besass, noch lange nicht der *eine* Gott gewesen' (*Op. cit.* p. 333).

[3] See the sane and convincing remarks of Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, p. 409. London, 1904.

## The Books of the Month.

*The Baptist Handbook* for 1909 may be had at the Baptist Union Publication Department in London, or from any bookseller (2s. 6d. net). The editor is the Rev. W. J. Avery, who certainly knows his business. Even the stranger and the wayfaring man need not err in making his way through this book.

Happy are the members of the Early English or of the Scottish Text Societies, who possess their critical edition of Barbour's *Bruce*. Happy also those who, though not members, can buy a complete set of these publications, or even a single volume, at the mighty price they fetch in the market. Happy now, however, any person who can afford 5s.; for at that price Messrs. A. & C. Black have published *The Bruce*, edited from the best texts, with literary and historical introduction, notes and appendixes, and a glossary, by Mr. W. M. Mackenzie, M.A., F.S.A.

If Professor Rudolf Eucken of Jena is not known in this country it will not be the fault of Mr. W. R. Boyce Gibson. Mr. Gibson has followed up his book on Eucken's 'Philosophy of Life' with a study in Eucken's religious idealism, to which he gives the title of *God with us* (A. & C. Black; 3s. 6d. net). It is simply a fuller exposition of Eucken's philosophy, not so systematic as the former book, and more familiar. At the same time the philosophy of Eucken has gone through the mind of Mr. Boyce Gibson, and his mind has turned it into English thought and into English language. There is one surprise

—that the book contains no index. A book of philosophy without an index is shorn of half its value.

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Other two volumes have been issued of the Cambridge edition of the Revised Version for schools — *Galatians and Romans*, by the Rev. H. W. Fulford, M.A.; and the *Epistles to the Corinthians*, by the Rev. S. C. Carpenter, M.A. (1s. 6d. net each).

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The Caxton Publishing Company has published the first volume of *The Pulpit Encyclopædia*. The editor is the Rev. F. T. Simmonds. In outward appearance the volume reminds us somewhat of Messrs. Funk & Wagnall's publications, a resemblance which is increased by the portraits which are found throughout it. They are the portraits of men whose faces are familiar in all the world—Spurgeon, Clifford, Maclaren, Parker, and others. We should have preferred to see some faces that are less familiar to us, but these popular publishers know what they are doing better than we can tell them.

The idea of the Encyclopædia is to reprint a great number of sermons in a condensed form and to arrange them according to their subject. This first volume contains theological sermons only, and it is to be followed by another of the same kind. Not only are they all theological, but they are also arranged here in the order of a theological treatise, beginning with Apologetics and passing on to the Basis of Faith and the Doctrine of God. First of all, however, there is a series of sermons on Christian Unity, to be taken apparently as an introduction to the whole work, in which authors of all branches of the Church will be found together. The whole is introduced by a sketch of the history of preaching, written by Professor E. C. Dargan of the Baptist Theological Seminary, Kentucky.

Well, there are hungry shepherds as well as hungry sheep. This is for them.

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The Christian Endeavour Union of Great Britain and Ireland is publishing a series of booklets as aids to Bible study. Among them we notice, *How best to read the New Testament*, by Professor G. Currie Martin; and *Paul's Letters, their Order and Purpose*, by Principal J. S. Clemens (3d. each).

The new volume of the Oxford translation of Aristotle is the *Metaphysica* (Clarendon Press; 7s. 6d. net). It is the eighth volume of the complete works. The translator is Mr. W. D. Ross, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, one of the general editors.

It is a translation which will not encourage the study of Greek. For it is so accurate and yet so idiomatically English that the student of philosophy cannot be reproached for adhering to it and leaving Aristotle's own language alone. We had marked some passages for special commendation; but it is needless to quote them, and it would be invidious. Manifestly Mr. Ross has profited to the fullest extent by the studies of all his predecessors, and has made this particular work of Aristotle his own peculiar possession. There are places which still admit of more meanings than one, and if Mr. Ross is doubtful it is the fulness of his study that makes him doubtful. But such places are not numerous now, and it may be good that something is left for the beginner in the translation of Aristotle to break his milk-teeth upon.

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To Messrs. Constable's 'Religions, Ancient and Modern' has been added a volume on *Early Christianity* (1s. net), by Mr. S. B. Slack, M.A. And to their 'Philosophies, Ancient and Modern,' Mr. W. H. Hudson has added *Herbert Spencer* (1s. net).

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Professor Joseph Agar Beet has written an account of the authorship, date, and worth of the books of the New Testament. It is very simple and reliable, and it will be very useful. The title is simply *The New Testament* (Culley; 1s. 6d. net).

Mr. Culley has also re-issued Dr. Agar Beet's Fernley Lecture, *The Credentials of the Gospel* (2s. 6d. net). This is the seventh thousand, which is a good circulation for a volume of Apologetics of any kind in these days.

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Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls have published the second volume of *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. It contains the articles dealing with the Bible. These, of course, are to a large extent unnecessary to those who possess one of the newer Dictionaries of the Bible. To those who do not they are a mine of information (information of the most accurate kind

whenever Professor Nestle is the author). And even to those who do they are not altogether superfluous, since they are condensed from larger articles or written on a moderate scale. The bibliographies are occasionally puzzling. Matthew Arnold's 'Literature and Dogma' is represented as published in New York, latest edition 1902. Carpenter's 'Bible in the Nineteenth Century' is said to be 'scholarly and reverent, but on scientific basis.' Dr. Dods is described in the words, 'well-known as a conservative critic.'

The volume is largely occupied with the letter B, and consequently with biography. A large number of the biographies are unsigned; they are probably written by one or other of the editors. The editors are numerous. The editor in chief is Dr. S. M. Jackson of New York. The associate editors are Mr. C. C. Sherman and Professor G. W. Gilmore. Besides these, there are in this volume no fewer than eight departmental editors. It is a miracle that with so many cooks the broth has not been spoilt. But they seem to have all had work to do, and they seem to have all done it well. It probably costs more both in work and in worry to condense other men's articles than to write articles of one's own.

This volume contains not only many biographies, but many biographies of living men. This feature of the work—the inclusion of living theologians—may make the book look old before its time, but for the moment it is extremely useful.

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Surely the very climax on earth of the modern imitation of Christ was reached by the late Bishop Wilkinson of St. Andrews, and is expounded in *Some Laws in God's Spiritual Kingdom* (Wells Gardner; 5s. net). It is the book of a thinker, and it is arranged in order, as the things of the Spirit should always be. But its value lies not in the individual thoughts it offers us, or in the systematic arrangement of its theology, so much as in the atmosphere we breathe while we read the book. It is an atmosphere that hushes our strife, that brings us into the awe and majesty of the Cherubim and the Mercy-Seat. Yet there is no suggestion of a *school* of doctrine, whether Keswick or any other. Nor is the theology to be described as peculiar, as traditional, as modern, or by any other limiting adjective. Great was the effort of this man during his life to unite the branches of Christ's Church in Scotland. It is not improbable that he has accomplished his purpose by dying.

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The last book of Mr. George St. Clair has had to be edited by his son. For he died on June 13th, 1908, while correcting the proofs of it. It is a study of the Biblical doctrine of man, his origin and his destiny, its title being *Man: First and Last, Cave-dweller and Christian* (Griffiths; 9s. net). It is a study conducted on good orthodox lines. The commentator on Genesis in whom Mr. St. Clair believed most heartily was Dr. Marcus Dods. And he could not have placed his faith more wisely. The book is not entirely confined to the Bible, however. Mr. St. Clair knew something of geology or at least of the geologists, admiring and profiting by the writings of Professor Boyd Dawkins and Sir Charles Lyell. It is an optimistic, encouraging book. Mr. St. Clair was not ashamed of man's past or afraid of his future. But he desired that man who came from God should find God again in Christ.

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For the study of the social problem there is no book which we have seen that is more popularly useful and impressive than *Wealth and Want*, by Mr. W. B. Northrop (Griffiths; 5s. net). It is described on its title-page as 'A Study in Living Contrasts and Social Problems.' And one has nothing more to do in order to understand the difference between wealth and want, and remember it for ever, than just to look at the contrasts that are presented on every illustrated page. For each page has two pictures, one of the life of the poor, the other of the life of the rich. Here is a page, one half of which shows us a woman sinking on the pavement in the exhaustion of want, with the hand of death claiming her; the other half shows a rich man's table well supplied with wines, the company listening in carefully concealed impatience to the platitudes of some foolish hereditary lord. All very sensational? So are the facts on the opposite page of printing, and they are manufactured neither by writer nor by artist. Here, again, are two women picking oakum in a workhouse; beside them an orchid that cost £1207, 10s.

Mr. Griffiths has also published *English Church Architecture, from the Earliest Times to the Reformation*, by Mr. G. A. T. Middleton, A.R.I.B.A. (2s. 6d. net), a well-written and well-illustrated book.

That so many of the publishers are issuing books on religion is a sign that religion, which is a deeper and more primitive thing than theology, is the great study of the day. Messrs. Harper have just published a volume by Professor Flinders Petrie on *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity* (2s. 6d. net). Observe the double limitation—'personal,' not ecclesiastical or State religion, and 'before Christianity,' more nearly defined in the preface as 'from 500 to 200 B.C.' That is the date of the Hermetic writings. And to the Hermetic writings, as published in the 'Corpus Hermeticum,' Professor Petrie gives his almost undivided attention. Of all these writings, cosmological, theological, mystical, the god Hermes is the centre and inspiration, whence their name. But Professor Petrie proceeds with great deliberation, laying a foundation in 'Our View of the Mind,' which occupies his first chapter, and the 'Nature of the Religious Mind,' which fills the second. And in the final chapter he most conveniently provides a summary of the whole book. The religion of Egypt is an evolution. At 500 B.C. we find the belief in a supreme God, many subordinate gods, guardian angels and men. Indian influence appears in the doctrine of metempsychosis and the sacrifice of spices. But there is no mention yet of daimons, of logos, or of conversion.

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It is difficult to fix the features of the Arabs, ancient or modern, in the Bible or out of it. They are here to-day and away to-morrow. Are they treacherous or trustworthy? Are they religious or superstitious? Are they to be counted amongst the Israelites' enemies, or are they themselves Israelites? There is a great article on the religion of the ancient Arabs in the first volume of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* written by Professor Nöldeke. Along with that article read Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*. Or if you cannot attain to Doughty, read a small book called *The Witness of the Wilderness*, which has been written by the Rev. G. Robinson Lees, B.A., F.R.G.S. (Longmans; 3s. 6d. net). It is a popular but reliable account of the Bedawin of the desert, their origin, history, home life, strife, religion, and superstitions, in their relation to the Bible.

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Canon Bigg of Oxford had a great reputation as a preacher, but he never was himself satisfied with what he preached, and his friends could never persuade him to publish his sermons. They have done that for him now, and the volume is worthy of his reputation.

It was a reputation for originality. The originality sometimes bordered on the eccentric. There certainly never were sermons quite like these, either preached or published before. Sometimes the author gives out a text, and then, like the Apostles, goes everywhere preaching the Word. But you are constrained to go with him wherever he goes, sometimes much attracted, sometimes dissenting fiercely.

He preaches on 'the fruit of the Spirit' (Gal $5^{22}$). The first fruit is love. 'It is better called Charity,' he says, 'for it excludes those fierce, blind, sensual passions, which we commonly include under the name of Love'—just as if it had been in ignorance or wilfulness that the Revisers changed 'charity' into 'love' in the New Testament. And he does not repent. There is another sermon on 'Charity never faileth' (1 Co $13^{8}$). There he says 'Love is too passionate, too suggestive of extravagance, of jealousies, rivalries, and egotism. It was Love—may we not say?—Love with too strong an alloy of earth—that led James and John to claim the places nearest to our Lord in His kingdom, that drew down upon Mary Magdalene the tender rebuke, "Touch me not." The same kind of Love, again, has prompted certain kinds of adoration of our Lord's humanity, and of His blessed Mother, certain hymns also which are open to objection, which are too sensuous, and at bottom irreverent.'

The Dean of Christ Church has selected the sermons, and edited the volume, of which the title is *The Spirit of Christ in Common Life* (Longmans; 6s. net).

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There is no clearer evidence that a man has come to Christ than this, that he ceases to concern himself about immortality. For they who know Christ know that He brought immortality to light, and that there is no darkness round the fact of it any more. They know, not only that there is no darkness round the fact of it, but also that there is none round the state of it, that need give them trouble. And so to them spirit-rapping and everything of the kind is simply the outcome of unbelief and the evidence of its credulity.

Nevertheless there are many things to be said about *Immortality*, and the volume under that

title which has been added to the Oxford Library of Practical Theology (Longmans; 5s.) is very welcome. First of all there is the unbeliever to acquaint with the facts. And Canon Holmes is not ashamed to ply him with arguments old and new. But, more than that, the believer's thoughts have to be set in order, that the hope of immortality (notice that the word 'hope' is used in the Biblical sense of assurance) may move him to be stedfast, unmovable, and to abound in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as he knows that his labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. There are some chapters that are quite new in a volume on Immortality—the chapter on the sin of sadness, the chapter on the sin of suicide, and especially the chapter on immortality and common sense. It is a curious coincidence, after the review of Baron von Hügel's book which appeared in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES two months ago, that there should be a chapter on the pain of Paradise.

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The latest new series, we think, is Messrs. Longmans' 'Anglican Church Handbooks.' The general editor is the Rev. W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D., Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. Four volumes have been published—*Christianity and the Supernatural*, by Charles F. D'Arcy, D.D., Bishop of Ossory; *Social Work*, by W. Edward Chadwick, D.D., B.Sc.; *Pastoral Work*, by the Rev. R. C. Joynt, M.A.; and *The Joy of Bible Study*, by the Rev. Harrington C. Lees, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Beckenham (1s. net each). We hope to have something to say, especially about Mr. Lee's book, afterwards. It is enough at present to record the titles.

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When Professor George Cadwalader Foley, D.D., of Philadelphia, was chosen to deliver the Bohlen Lectures of 1908, he decided to lecture on Anselm's *Theory of the Atonement*, and wrote a large book upon it, making his Lectures consist of selections from the book. The book is now published in this country by Messrs. Longmans (5s. net).

Why did Professor Foley of the Protestant Episcopal Church choose a subject apparently so limited as Anselm's Theory? Because Anselm's theory is the theory of the Atonement held by the Reformers. And Professor Foley does not believe in the Reformers' theory of the Atonement, nor perhaps just very much in the Reformers themselves. It looks very much as if his purpose, first and last, were to discredit the Reformation. But we do not think he has gone wisely about it. Certainly this is a complete and not unfair exposition and criticism of Anselm's theory, but, as he himself shows, especially in an elaborate appendix of quotations, all the modern theologians without exception, have deserted Anselm here. And the whole book has very much the look of threshing empty straw.

Professor Foley's knowledge of the literature is nearly complete; and this value, at least, his book has, it gives a good full biography of the doctrine of the Atonement. It is accurate too. We have observed only one slip—Dr. P. T. Forsyth's *Religion in Recent Art* is called *Religion and Recent Art*, and is credited to another author, with the initials P. J.

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*The English Catalogue of Books for 1908* is now ready (Sampson Low; 6s. net). We possess the whole set of the English Catalogue, and use it constantly; there is nothing else worth using. The new method of publishing each year's volume separately is an enormous advantage over the old method of keeping back the publication till five or six years' books had accumulated. The mistakes are very few, though we notice one occasionally. The one that occurs most frequently (at least in the monthly numbers of the Publishers' Circular) is the repetition of the same book and not always exactly in the same form.

Who have been the prolific authors of the year? We notice with much interest that a man who is otherwise so well occupied as Professor A. S. Peake of Manchester is credited with five separate entries.

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Is there any man living who has more joy in writing on popular Ethics than Lord Avebury? Is there any popular writer who gives more joy to his readers? There are superior philosophical persons who think it altogether beneath them to write on Aspiration, Contentment, Adversity, Kindness, or the like, which everybody loves to read about and is much the better of the reading. Lord Avebury is none of these. The truth is we have not yet half enough of that ethical education which is not independent of religion or opposed to it, but which is pressed upon us as the fruit of

living faith, as that work without which, in fact, our faith is dead. That is the task Lord Avebury takes up. And he is surely as learned as any philosopher; for you never in all your life saw such a list of degrees and honours as he has printed after his name on the title-page of *Peace and Happiness* (Macmillan; 6s. net).

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If History is the reading which a man is sure to return to in the end of his days, he should prepare himself for the proper enjoyment of it by reading now some scientific history of History like Professor Bury's new book on *The Ancient Greek Historians* (Macmillan; 7s. 6d. net). It is a volume of Harvard Lectures, and it has all the charm of the lecture as a born lecturer like Professor Bury can handle it. To read the lecture on Herodotus, for example, is to return to our first great literary fascination, when this earliest and most artistic of historians laid his hand upon us, and, as Dionysius said so long ago, we admired what he wrote to the last syllable, and always wanted more. That Herodotus was a conscious artist, under the spell of the Homeric manner, is the key which Professor Bury uses to enter into his secret. His history is an epic in prose, as the *Odyssey* is an epic in poetry. On certain vexed questions Professor Bury has his own mind. The speeches of Thucydides are not free invention. Thucydidean as they are in style, he probably heard those delivered at Athens, he was informed of the heads of those delivered at Sparta, and he has simply reproduced the drift of them all.

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Mrs. F. S. Boas writes easily, and popularly. Her latest book is *Heroes of the Hebrew Monarchy* (Horace Marshall; 1s. 6d.).

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Mr. Wilfred T. Grenfell, M.D., C.M.G., in *A Man's Faith* (Marshall Brothers; 1s. net), has set down a plain statement of his own faith, and it is the only way of faith for you and me.

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There are many collections of sermons published on the seven words from the cross. But there is room for *The Great Oblation* (Masters; 1s. 6d. net), by the Rev. Francis Logie Hutchieson, M.A. It is devotional and thoughtful.

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How do we stand, after all our recent controversies, towards the great doctrines of the faith—the doctrine of God, the Fall, the Atonement, the Resurrection, Everlasting Punishment, Inspiration, Miracles? That is the question which the Rev. Percy Ansley Ellis, Vicar of St. Mary's, Westminster, answers in *Old Beliefs and Modern Believers* (Melrose; 3s. 6d. net). The modification which these controversies have made is enormous. For example, 'There is nothing in the Bible,' says Mr. Ellis, 'to suggest that man began at the top and was degraded by sin. *That* has come from Milton. The most that can be gathered from the Bible is that man was made for progress, and that progress has been retarded by sin.' But modification is not abolition. All the great doctrines stand; and they stand to this generation as firmly as they did to our fathers.

If a volume of *Selected Essays of Thomas Carlyle* (Melrose; 2s. 6d. net) sells, it is the Introduction that will sell it. For the essays we have already, those of us who care for Carlyle; but the Introduction is new, and it is written by Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, LL.D. It is really an essay on Carlyle himself, although a trifle short for our appetite. Carlyle's own essays in the book are Biography, Boswell's Johnson, Burns, and Sir Walter Scott.

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The Rev. Wilfrid Richmond has gone through St. Paul's early Epistles and gathered out the texts that bear upon any of the clauses of the Creed. He has set down the clause of the Creed in his margin for comparison. And he has succeeded in making each chapter an exposition of the theology of the particular epistle. The title is *The Creed in the Epistles* (Methuen; 2s. 6d. net).

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Messrs. Mowbray of Oxford Circus are the publishers in this country of *The Living Church Annual* (50 cents), which is the Year-Book of the Episcopal Church in America. It contains portraits of some bishops to make it popular; but it is really a work of Science, so intelligently is its mass of information set forth.

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*The Confessions of Al Ghazzali* is the new volume of the 'Wisdom of the East' series. The translation has been done by the very capable hand of Mr. Claud Field (Murray; 1s. net).

A surpassingly clear and comprehensive introduction to the study of Ethics is provided in *A*

*Primer of Ethics*, by Miss E. E. Constance Jones, of Girton College, Cambridge (Murray; 1s.). The ethical vocabulary at the end is well selected, and will be useful.

In good time for the quater-centenary, the Rev. C. H. Irwin has published a popular biography of Calvin. The title is *John Calvin, the Man and his Work* (R.T.S.; 2s. 6d.). It is popular, but it has not been written too easily. Mr. Irwin has verified his references. And if Calvin is his hero, he shows that Calvin is heroic.

The R.T.S. has been to press with yet another impression of Edersheim's *The Temple* (2s.). It is a triumph of beautiful binding.

The latest 'Oxford Church Text-Book' is *A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, by the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A. (Rivingtons; 1s. net). It contains an amazing amount of matter; for there has been a merciless use made of small type, and the book runs to about 150 pages. And what is more wonderful at the money, every line of it has cost the author time to investigate and time to set it down succinctly. For Mr. Box is one of our most conscientious scholars.

Mr. W. S. Walford, M.A., has published a translation of *The Apology of Aristides* (Walter Scott; 1s. net), with valuable short introductions and two appendixes, one on the Syriac Version, the other a translation of the Armenian Fragment.

*The Melody of the Heart* is a small, exceedingly attractive volume of selections of great thoughts. It is not always good for authors to pick out their plums from the rest of the pudding, and it is not always good for us. But as we walk through the wilderness of this world we need some encouragement to hold our head up. And here we have the company of great men who are every moment reminding us what to say and do that we too may make our lives sublime. The book is published by Messrs. Simpkin at 1s. net in cloth.

Who will admit ignorance of the Tractarian Movement in Oxford? Who will claim knowledge of the Noetic Movement? We have had the Tractarians described till we know the colour of their eyebrows. Some of the Noetics we scarcely know by name; and those of them we do know, we know not as Noetics but as something else. Well, here are their names at last—Eveleigh, Copleston, Whately, Arnold, Hampden, Hawkins, Baden Powell, and Blanco White. And here is a satisfactory, even a most discriminating and delightful, account of them written by the Rev. W. Tuckwell, M.A., the author of *Reminiscences of Oxford*, and just the man of all men to tell the story of the Noetics and make them live at last, and live for ever. By his title *Pre-Tractarian Oxford* (Smith, Elder, & Co.; 7s. 6d. net), Mr. Tuckwell has cleverly attached Noetism, of which we are ignorant, and about which we are indifferent, to Tractarianism, which we do know something of, and always believed we were much interested in. He loves the men; they are heroes to him; and he makes us love them also. And then he tells good stories about them, making his book a delight from cover to cover.

Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co. have done a most graceful deed in issuing Sir Leslie Stephen's *Hours in a Library*, the three volumes beautifully printed and handsomely bound, at a price within everybody's reach (3s. 6d. net each). The old expensive edition has been the unattainable desire of many a student of English Literature. This edition is attainable. And it is better than the old, for the contents have been revised and re-arranged. This is the work by which Leslie Stephen will be known when all the rest of his books have been forgotten. It is more delicately literary, and it is more characteristic of its author than even the *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*.

The thirty-fourth Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology contains *Physiological and Medical Observations among the Indians of South-Western United States and Northern Mexico* (Washington: At the Smithsonian Institution). The author is Mr. Aleš Hrdlicka. There is no uncivilized race in the world that is contributing so much to the progress of science as the American Indian. And this is due to the far-seeing and untiring efforts of the Bureau of American Ethnology as directed by its chief, Mr. W. H. Holmes. The amount of scientific information gathered into this volume is amazing.

Canon Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., has repub-

lished the articles on *The Use of Dante as an Illustrator of Scripture* which he contributed to THE EXPOSITORY TIMES in 1905. He has made a few additions; he has brought down the list of books to 1908; and now the little book is without question the easiest and best introduction to the Biblical study of Dante in English (S.P.C.K.).

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Mr. Charles L. Marson has issued a fourth edition of his *Psalms at Work* (Elliot Stock; 6s. net). In doing so, he says: 'In presenting a fourth edition of *The Psalms at Work*, like the former editions somewhat enlarged, the collector must own to some delay. Another author has stepped into the breach, and by a daring piece of free trade, has incorporated almost the whole of the second edition into a work of his own and cried it freely before the public. He was not aware of the third edition, or he could have enjoyed more freely still his powers of digestion and assimilation.'

Is the opinion that our Lord is already come for the second time gaining in favour? There are some signs that it is. One of them is a substantial volume written by Mr. Thomas Nayler, to prove that the Second Coming took place at the end of the siege of Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D. Its title is *Light on the Advent.* It is published by Mr. Elliot Stock (5s. net).

*Consider the Butterflies how they grow* (Elliot Stock; 3s. 6d. net) is a pleasantly written and prettily illustrated book by Lucas P. Stubbs, and the butterfly is made good use of to lead to religion and morality.

*Light for Lesser Days* is the title of a volume of 'Studies of the Saints.' It is written by the Rev. Horace Finn Tucker, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Vicar of Christ Church, Melbourne. It consists of readings, meditations, devotions, and illustrations for the minor festivals commemorated in the English Kalendar (Elliot Stock; 6s. net).

Mr. Elliot Stock has also published (1) *Miracle and Infidelity*, by Samuel Knaggs, M.R.C.S. (1s. 6d. net); (2) *Thoughts on Bible Teaching*, by Constance Nankivell (1s. net); and (3) *Resurrection Life*, by the Rev. Nathaniel Jones, M.A. (1s. net).

One of the most useful books on Palestine, especially for the preacher's purpose, that has ever been written is the Rev. James Kean's *Among the Holy Places.* We have been accustomed to put it next to Thomson's *Land and the Book.* Its popularity is therefore no surprise to us. Mr. Fisher Unwin, after issuing a sixth impression of the first edition as late as November last, has now published a second edition (5s.). At least we understand that this is a second edition. We cannot lay our hands on our copy of the first edition, but we think that the attractive outline drawings at least are new, although we think we have seen the photographs before.

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The translation of Professor Bousset's 'What is Religion?' has been followed by a translation of *The Faith of a Modern Protestant* (Fisher Unwin; 2s. 6d. net). The translator is the same, Miss F. B. Low, and the translation is very well done. What are we to say about the Faith of a Modern Protestant? It lacks just one thing, but, alas, it is a very great thing. Jesus is the highest we have known on earth, but He came and went as other men. Professor Bousset rises gradually in his exposition of his faith till he reaches the forgiveness of sins. But the forgiveness of sins is not bound up with the redemption that is in Christ. The most that Jesus did was to make us certain and secure of a God who forgives sins.

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Messrs. Washbourne have published the third volume of the Rev. D. Chisholm's *The Catechism in Examples.* Its contents are 'Charity' and 'The Commandments.'

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*The Vulgate, the Source of False Doctrines*, by Professor George Henslow (Williams & Norgate; 2s. 6d. net), is really a good strong Protestant polemic. Its chapters deal with doctrines—oblation, propitiation, repentance, purgatory, absolution. And under each doctrinal heading there is very plain statement of the false teaching of the Roman Church, and the reason of it, the reason of it being that that Church has followed the Vulgate instead of going to the original Hebrew or Greek. A simple example is Repentance—Vulgate *pœnitentia*, whence penance, and all the agony of hair shirts.

# The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., D.Litt., Oxford.

II.

**15. 'Jahweh God took the man.'**—Similarly, in the Babylonian story of the Deluge, Utu-napistim states that 'Bel took my hand and led me' to the Paradise 'at the mouth of the rivers' of Edin, where he and his wife were 'made like the gods' (*Epic of Gilgames*, xi. 198–205). The conception of the deity or his representative, the priest, taking the man by his hand and leading him to the image and dwelling-place of the god was peculiarly Babylonian, and we find many representations of it on the early seal-cylinders. The ceremony of 'taking the hand of Bel,' *i.e.* Merodach, and thereby becoming his adopted son, which was needed to legitimize the title of a Babylonian king, is connected with the same idea. Since 'Yahweh-Elohim took the man and led him into the garden,' the creation of Adam would have been in Eden, outside the garden (see v.[8] and $3^{23}$).

Babylonia was an agricultural country before it became a commercial one, and to the last agriculture formed the basis of the State. But 'the man' was delivered from the hard work of ordinary agriculture by being conducted to the garden or plantation of the deity, where the lighter work of tending the sacred trees and shrubs was assigned to him. As the garden was that of the deity, and the produce of what was grown in it was used in the divine worship, 'the man' was thus engaged in the service of his god, the very reason, in fact, on account of which, according to the Sixth Tablet of the Epic of the Creation, mankind was created. Adam's services were thus owed to Yahweh-Elohim alone; he could not obey the instructions of any other god without breaking the contract into which, in the eyes of the Babylonian, he would have entered, and forfeiting all his rights as the servant of Yahweh. Hence he was required not only to 'cultivate' it, but also to 'watch' and protect it from hostile attack. In the legend which gathered round the early life of Sargon of Akkad, the great king is similarly said to have become the gardener of Istar, and 'in his gardenership' to have been loved by the goddess. The 'garden' here also was strictly a plantation. It was in a similar plantation (of cedar trees), according to Assur-bani-pal,[1] that Susinak, 'the god of Susa,' had his secret dwelling (*mûsab*) and 'oracle' (*piriśti*) with its hidden knowledge of good and evil.

**16.** The Babylonian original of the latter part of the verse was probably *inib kal etsi ina gani akala takul.*

**17. The Food of Death.**—The threatened death 'on the day' on which the fruit of the tree of knowledge was eaten did not take place (see note on $3^{4}$). A parallel is to be found in the Babylonian myth of Adamu, who was told by his god Ea that he would be offered 'the food of death' (*akala sa muti*) and 'the waters of death' (*mê muti*), which he was accordingly to refuse, but who was actually offered 'the food of life' (*akal baladhi*) and 'the waters of life' (*mê baladhi*), which he refused in accordance with his lord's command, and so lost the gift of immortality.

The belief in a 'food of death' and a 'food of life' was Babylonian. In the Penitential Psalms the penitent is made to say, 'the cursed thing of my god unknowingly did I eat' (see my Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian Religion, p. 350). But why the fruit of the oracle tree should have been forbidden does not appear at first sight, unless upon the supposition that as a gardener and servant 'the man' was not allowed to obtain the knowledge which only the priest as the representative of the deity was permitted to possess. Ea, the All-wise, at all events, freely communicated his knowledge of spells and incantations to his son Aśari, and through him to mankind, and this knowledge included how to heal the sick and raise the dead to life. On the other hand, the tablets of destiny were the property of Ellil of Nippur, and no one else was allowed to become possessed of them. They had been the spoil of victory torn from the breast of the demon husband of the dragon Tiamât, the possession of which secured the sovereignty of the world to the gods of light,

[1] See *W.A.I.* v. col. v. 129, vi. 30.

and their theft by the god Zû made him an outlaw, pursued and condemned to death by the gods of heaven. Has there been an intentional identification of the fruit of the oracle tree of Ea with the tablets of destiny of Ellil? At the same time it must be remembered that the 'oracle' of the god of Susa in the cedar grove near that city was, according to Assur-bani-pal, tabooed to all but the priests.

**18. 'A helpmeet for him'** is a curious expression, *êzer* (Ass. *iẓru*), 'a succour,' being hardly the description of a woman that we should have expected in a Semitic writer. Can the orignal have had *eẓirtu*, 'form,' 'image'? The Babylonian lexicographers confound the two roots *eẓeru* (יָצַר) (with its derivatives *eẓirtu*, *uẓurtu*, etc.) and *naẓaru*, 'to defend' (with its derivatives *iẓru*, *uẓẓuru*, etc.). In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the *ẓ* of *naẓaru* becomes *z*.

**19.** That *eẓirtu* (or *eẓru*) existed in the original of v.[18] seems clear from this verse, which otherwise would have no connexion with what precedes. The 'creation' of Yahweh-Elohim was not the woman, but 'the beasts of the field and the fowl of the heavens,' since the passage reads: 'And Yahweh-Elohim said, It is not good that the man should be alone (Ass. *edissu*); I will make for him *ezir* [like himself]. So out of the ground Yahweh-Elohim formed every beast of the field,' etc. The creation of the woman came afterwards when no '*ezir* like himself' had been discovered among the beasts and birds.

The 'ground' is that of the garden, according to v.[9]. Hence 'the beast of the field' means the domesticated animals of Babylonia (who were offered in sacrifice to the gods), like the Babylonian *pul tseri* or *pul Edinna* of which it is a translation.[1] But it included the serpent (3[1]), which was naturally to be found in a garden or plantation. The *pul tseri* are also called 'the cattle of the god Ner,' who would thus have been the god of 'the field.' Tiglath-pileser I. speaks of *pul tseri gimirta u itstsur samê*, 'all beasts of the field and fowl of the heavens.'

[1] *Pul tseri* is opposed to *umam tseri*, 'the wild beasts.'

The Heb. נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה, *nephesh ḥayyâh*, 'breath of life' (Ass. *baladh napisti*) comes from v.[7], and must be a gloss upon the words 'that (was) their name,' which has made its way into the text. That it should precede הוּא שְׁמוֹ is due to the fact that Hebrew is written from right to left, whereas in Assyrian, which is written from the left to right, the gloss is always in the right hand column.

**20.** 'All cattle' is another gloss explaining 'every beast of the field,' which in Hebrew would have included wild beasts as well as domesticated ones. As in v.[19], the original order would have been 'every beast of the field and every fowl of the heavens.'

**21, 22.**—Mr. King compares the statement of Merodach in the Epic of the Creation, that 'My blood will I take and bone will I [fashion]; I will make man,' where the Assyrian word for 'bone' is *etstsimtum*, the Heb. *'etsem* (*Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. p. 87). In the story of the Descent of Istar into Hades the verb used when it is said that Ea 'made' the androgyne Atsu-sunamir is *ibni*, like יִבֶן, *yîben*, here.

As the animals had been 'made to come' by Yahweh-Elohim to 'the man,' so, when it was found that they were no *ezir* like himself, the woman was made to come to him.

**23. Woman.**—This etymological note is of West Semitic origin, since, though *assatu* is 'woman' in Babylonian, *nisu*, and not *isu*, is 'man.' In *W.A.I.* ii. 32. 24, *astu* is given as the West Semitic equivalent of *assatu*.

**24.** Among the Hebrews and Beduin the woman married into the family of the man, not conversely. Hence in this verse we seem to have a reflexion of early Babylonian feeling which placed the woman more on a footing of equality with the man.

**25.** Adamu in the Babylonian story of the first man was similarly naked until he received garments from Ea and Anu. The likeness in Hebrew between עָרוּם, *'ârûm*, 'naked,' and עָרוּם, 'wise,' reproduces that in Babylonian between *erum*, 'naked,' *urum*, 'shame,' and *ersum*, 'wise.' In the original there would have been a play upon the words *erum* and *urum*.

# The Pilgrim's Progress.

By the Rev. John Kelman, M.A., D.D., Edinburgh.

## The Flatterer.

This is a curiously handled passage, which leaves more room than most for various interpretations. One writer takes the Flatterer to be the devil, another antinomianism, and a third self-righteousness; while the shining one has been understood sometimes as the Holy Ghost, sometimes as the Fatherhood of God, and so on. Offor's refreshing comment is that 'When ministers differ, private Christians must think for themselves,' and under the shelter of that permission we may be allowed to regard the natural interpretation of the incident as not theological at all, but psychological, and to make the Flatterer simply stand for the flatterer.

It is probable that John Bunyan personally was less troubled with this than with almost any temptation. The sort of flattery he met with seems to have been such as this, that 'It began to be rumoured up and down among the people that I was a witch, a Jesuit, a highwayman, and the like.' Yet in his *Brief Account of his Call to the Ministry*, we find a good deal of allusion to dangers of this sort in connexion with his gifts as a preacher. He gives us certain considerations which he speaks of as 'a maul on the head of pride and desire of vain-glory'; and he tells us how pride and self-conceit and such vices are 'easily blown up at the applause of every unadvised Christian, to the endangering of a poor creature to fall into the condemnation of the devil.' In his later days, when his popularity as a preacher was altogether phenomenal, we are told that 'It pleased him, but he was on the watch against the pleasure of being himself admired. A friend complimented him once after service, on "the sweet sermon" which he had delivered. "You need not remind me of that," he said. "The Devil told me of it before I was out of the pulpit."'

Flattery was a very common fashion in the high society of his time, and no doubt like other vices it spread down through the whole community. Court-life is always subject to it, especially the life of such a court as that of Charles II., where Shakespeare's earlier criticism was applicable enough, that 'they'll take suggestion as a cat laps milk.' Partly in view of this, and partly because it is so congenial to poor human nature apart from court-life, we can understand the subtle significance of the clever sentence, 'they came at a place where they saw a way put itself into their way.' There was no stile to cross this time, and indeed the way 'seemed withal to lie as straight' as their own. It *put itself* into their way—as if it and the landscape generally were responsible for anything that might happen rather than the pilgrims. It seemed to be a heavenward path, and the first man they met on it assured them that that was whither he was going. They all say that, deceivers and blunderers and pilgrims. Everybody either thinks or pretends to think that of himself, and (so good are their apparent intentions) each man we meet seems surer of the path than the last man.

But the annoying thing is that Christian should over and over again be deceived by strangers, who appear only to have to say 'Follow me,' and he follows. But very near to the conscience and the soul of Bunyan was Luther's Commentary on Galatians. That Church had been flattered into self-righteousness, bewitched and entangled in the nets of this dark magic, and 'Luther was wont to caution against this white devil as much as the black one.' These had taught him how subtle a temptation this is. His Christian is indeed a lonely man, whose soul often dwells apart, austere and strong. Yet even such a man may be on one side of his nature extremely impressionable, and indeed the very austerity may add to the bewitching power of human society and fellowship, and may lead to hours of strange and violent reaction.

The mention of Flatterer's blackness is one of the rare colour touches in John Bunyan's writing. First of all it may be supposed to stand for badness when used by a member of any of the white races. It is a curious fact that the black races reverse this order, and whiteness is for them the colour of fear or of wickedness. It is said that an illustrated edition of the Bible was lately published, and had a great sale among the negroes in the Southern States of America, in which the angels were depicted as black and the devils white. It

is a fine instance of national self-satisfaction that this phenomenon presents. But behind this obvious explanation there is a second. The whole district through which the pilgrims are now moving is a region half-understood, with mystery and magic in it. The dark colour may well have been chosen to fit with this enchantment. There is a certain sensuous suggestion, an uncanny lusciousness, about that dusky body half visible beneath the light robe. It is a familiar kind of picture, often used to the same effect in the early romances of chivalry; and it would be difficult to find an apter physical counterpart for the effect of flattery upon spirits sensitive to its power.

1. The simplest interpretation of the Flatterer would be that which takes him for a human friend and companion. Literature is full of wise words and shameful pictures on this subject. Montaigne comes to mind, with his flatterers of Dionysius that ran against one another in his presence and stumbled to show they were as purblind as he; Bacon, with his scorn of the praises of the common people. Johnson explains the pleasantness of flatteries even when we know them to be insincere, 'for they prove at least our power, and show that our favour is valued, since it is purchased by the meanness of falsehood.' Goldsmith, in singularly brutal fashion, wrote of Garrick:

> Of praise a mere glutton, he swallow'd what came,
> And the puff of a dunce, he mistook it for fame;
> Till, his relish grown callous, almost to disease,
> Who peppered the highest was surest to please.
> But let us be candid, and speak out our mind;
> If dunces applauded, he paid them in kind.

It is a humiliating record of one of the weakest things in our poor human nature. Now and then most of us need to remember our essential human independence. We know ourselves better than those who flatter us do. We know worse things, aye, and better things too, about our own souls than they can ever guess. And it is a safe plan for every man often to retire into the solitude of his own soul, and pronounce upon himself so clear and unflinching a judgment, that he will trust that and act upon it rather than the pleasantest things that others say about him.

Perhaps the strangest feature of this incident is that it is a total stranger who thus beguiles Christian. The excessive gratitude of those he had helped and guided might have found an entrance, but how could this casual person know? Christian knew himself to be just a very ordinary pilgrim, with a very average record. Yet when this wayside acquaintance of the moment calls him a paragon, he falls at once into the snare. It is said of a well-known divine that when some such incident befell him he replied, 'I don't take tips—pass your praise up!'

Dr. Whyte, in one of his richest and most suggestive chapters, deals with this subject, and is at great pains to distinguish between praise and flattery. It is a vital distinction, for there is no more imperative duty than that of appreciation. For want of a little kindly speech, a little recognition when a man is trying honestly to do his best, lives grow discouraged, and many men sink under the sense of failure. In a world which for countless people is so discouraging and disheartening as this, it becomes a manifest part of every generous man's mission in life to appreciate and to give praise. We all know among our acquaintances some who make us feel small and incapable and useless; while there are others who have the power of drawing out our best and making us feel that we are not quite such failures after all. Such friends are among God's blessed ones, and few of all His servants have chosen a more God-like task.

The test which will enable us to distinguish between a flatterer and an encourager, between just appreciation and excessive and hurtful praise, is not one that can easily be expressed in words. It lies partly in the character of the speaker. An honest, sincere, and hearty friend, who is simply speaking the truth in love, may generally be trusted even though we know well enough that our friends often think too highly of us. On the other hand, there is an untoward race of people who are afflicted with a positive disease of smooth-speaking, people who seem to be always bidding for intimacy and affection—a craving which is rather a token of self-indulgence than of love. On the other hand the test lies partly in the hearer. There are some who can not only stand praise, but who are better for it. It braces them for fresh endeavour, and inspires them to be worthy of the good opinion with which their friends have honoured them. Others are so vain, so silly, so unused to self-examination, that praise intoxicates them. For want of independent self-examination many a pleasant character has been disfigured and destroyed, in this way, through its very virtues.

2. A subtler interpretation of the Flatterer is permissible—he may be within, and not without, the soul of the flattered one. It is significant that this flatterer is almost silent in the story, and that he does not utter a single word of praise. This reticence must have cost the author a considerable amount of self-denial. A conversation brilliant and facetious would have been so obviously welcome and so easy for Bunyan to construct. One is tempted to think that there must have been some special reason for this reticence, and to ask whether it may not have been that he was thinking of silent flattery within the soul rather than of any external voice of foolish friend or sinister and hypocritical enemy. 'If he be a cunning flatterer,' says Bacon, in his famous essay on Praise, 'he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself therein the flatterer will uphold him most.'

The context of the story would seem to support this view. Christian had certainly been lacking in meekness both towards Hopeful and towards Ignorance. Even if he had in both cases been wholly in the right, which he was not, there was a note of superiority which would have stained his righteousness with *hauteur* and neutralized it with consciousness. The Pharisees of Christ's day were not the last of that race of religious persons who 'trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others.' Sometimes good people, sailing off upon some theory of holiness or perfection, grow blind to the actual facts of sin in their own lives, until they present a spectacle at once of amazement and of scorn to sensible men who make no such profession. Such one-sided living on theory unchecked by self-examination leads them to overestimate their own advance in character, and to forget that they are professing to have advanced beyond the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle Paul.

It has been pointed out that this incident comes late in the pilgrimage. The wiles of the Flatterer are 'decoys for a ripe and real spirituality which is off its guard.' That the spirituality is real there can be no question. But spirituality, like all other high things, has dangers corresponding to its height. It cannot but be aware of its own preciousness. Humility does not involve ignorance, or the denying of obvious and blessed facts of one's own growth in grace. And here again we have to remember the difference between praise and flattery. It is simply untrue to say that 'self-praise is no honour.' That were to canonize Uriah Heep. The witness of a good conscience is one of God's great rewards, and no man ever asserted himself more boldly against unjust detraction than did Paul with his 'I know nothing against myself,' or John with his still stronger 'We are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.' It would say little for the reality of Christian experience if an experienced Christian like this pilgrim did not feel the superiority of his condition to that of a poor creature like Ignorance. To feel glad when we are sure of our principles and are doing right; to say to one's soul, and that often, that it is a great and high thing to be a Christian, exalted above the world and made free of our inheritance among them that are being sanctified—surely this is inevitable, if righteousness and victory be in any sense realities of experience. And yet such assurance demands much carefulness of spirit. That banner is almost too heavy for our hands to carry on the march without overbalancing and bringing us to earth.

The account of the disillusionment is not, perhaps, a particularly happy passage from the artistic point of view; but point by point it is true to life. They were so interested and entertained by their dusky guide with his light garment that they failed to notice the curve of the road. By imperceptible degrees it bent until the direction of their walk is the opposite of that in which the highway ran. The guiding lights of life had all changed their position, but they did not see it. They had no eyes but for their companion, whose flattery acted on them like some powerful drug, until at last the fluttering robe fell off him, and they saw his blackness. It is the old story of the veiled leper who had posed as a great prophet till the veil was withdrawn. Then come the nets, and their souls are bitter with the sense of treachery. Life has grown complicated and unclean. Progress is impossible, for they are entangled with the nets of self-satisfaction that has turned suddenly to shame.

This blunder, however, is neither fatal nor final. God's shining one is there, to rescue them, though it be with pain and bitterness. This better mood reveals at once as by a flash the true facts of the case. They had not imagined—such was their very lame excuse—that this fine-spoken man had been the Flatterer. As if fine speech were not the

very mark of flatterers! But this is always the way. Our foolish and wayward hearts refuse to recognize the devil unless he comes wearing the traditional horns and tail—a thing he is far too wise to do.

Then comes the whip, whose lashes are shame and the sense of folly, and conscience, and the discouraging humiliation of a grand mistake. The dreams of sin are sweet, but their sweetness is not worth the bitter misery of the awaking. And in that many-thonged scourge there was one iron-tipped cord that cut deeper than all the rest into their flesh. It was the thought of Ignorance coming on behind. They would see him following with his open mouth agape. They would imagine him rebelling against his accusers as self-sufficient egotists, and having his ignorant mind persuaded and convinced that he was the wise one and they the ignorant fools. They would know that this folly of theirs must destroy any hope of their warnings having good effect upon him. They could not but foresee his doom, for after all their view of him was true, and remained true; but they would never now be able to think of that impending doom of his without remembering that in some measure they were responsible for his destruction. Truly no man—still more no Christian man—liveth unto himself. We have no right to our careless follies, even if we are prepared to pay for them in our own humiliation. They are more serious and dangerous matters for others than they are for ourselves.

The chief fault, here as elsewhere, was their not looking at the roll and the map which had been given them. They had their Bible, and they had their own past experience. But they had them both in their pocket, and there neither was of any use whatever. Some of the great words of God (such as Pr $29^5$, which no doubt suggested the whole incident) were despised and neglected. Some of the great lessons of life were forgotten. It is a proverb that 'experience teaches fools'—a proverb to which much objection might be taken, for he is no fool who learns the lessons of experience. These men showed their folly in nothing so plainly as in this, that experience had *not* taught them wisdom. And the end of the whole matter is this, that the only antidotes to flattery are the Bible and one's own past experience. These are the true guides for pilgrims who would walk past the haunted byways of life, and keep a true course on the plain, clean, straight highway that leads to the Celestial City.

# Contributions and Comments.

## Emerods.

I ENCLOSE a reprint of a letter of my brother to the *British Medical Journal*. I am convinced it contains *the* explanation of the terrible mortality that accompanied the progress of the Ark through Ashdod, Ekron, and Beth-shemesh.

R. H. CHARLES.

*Oxford.*

[Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Havelock Charles, K.C.V.O., M.D., whose letter on this subject to the *British Medical Journal* has been sent us by Professor Charles of Oxford, and follows herewith, had a distinguished career at various Universities, both at home and abroad, and passed into the Indian Medical Service in 1881. He was appointed to the Chair of Anatomy and Comparative Anatomy in Lahore Medical College. He made a special study of the Bubonic Plague in India, carrying on his researches for many years under exceptional advantages.—Editor *E.T.*]

SIR,—In the *Proceedings of the Society of Tropical Medicine*, reported in the Journal of January 2nd, there is a very abbreviated report on an historical incident bearing on the possible spread of plague by the agency of the flea.

The incident is as follows: On the defeat of the Israelites by the Philistines, when the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phineas, were slain, the Ark of God was taken, carried to Ashdod, and lodged in the temple there. An outbreak of pestilence followed, and, owing to it, the Ark was sent to Gath. There, again, plague occurred, and 'he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and they had emerods in their secret parts.' Whereupon the Gathites forwarded the Ark to Ekron. 'And

it came to pass, as the Ark of God came to Ekron, that the Ekronites cried out, saying, They have brought about the Ark of the God of Israel to us, to slay us and our people.' 'There was a deadly destruction throughout all the city.' This plague was evidently of a very acute nature, and not bubonic only, for 'the men that died *not* were smitten with the emerods.'

These three outbreaks, ascribed to the Ark, thoroughly frightened the Philistines, so that they determined to send back to Israel the captured trophy. They arranged to give, as 'a trespass offering,' golden images of the things which struck the observation of the people most as connected with the outbreak. They had noted (*a*) the emerods (buboes) on the sick, and the presence of a plague of (*b*) mice (the Hebrew has only one word for *rat* and mouse—*ākhbar*) that marred the land. Five golden 'mice' and five golden emerods, placed in a coffer, accompanied the Ark, which was dispatched on a new cart drawn by milch kine. These took the straight line over the frontier to 'the way of Beth-shemesh.' The journey from Ekron to Beth-shemesh was about 12 to 14 miles, and the cart, at the end, was accompanied by the Philistines. There was no human contact. The kine, 'lowing as they went,' arrived in the field of a Bethshemite where the wheat was being cut. The people were rejoiced. They made a burnt-offering of the kine, using the wood of the cart for fuel. The Ark being taken aside, curiosity prompted some to look within it. 'Punishment' followed, and fifty thousand three score and ten men died for this 'offence'!

The points in the story are:

1. Plague was raging at Ashdod.

2. In its temple rats would swarm, as in such buildings at the present day in India, owing to the amount of food of all sorts thrown about.

3. The Ark with its trappings—that is, its three coverings—was interned in the temple.

4. Its coverings were (*a*) 'a vail of blue and purple and scarlet'; (*b*) a '*covering of badger skins*'; (*c*) 'a cloth wholly of blue.'

5. The middle covering of badger skins would thus form an ideal place of refuge for the fleas escaping from the rats dead from plague.

6. Outbreaks of pestilence followed on the arrival of the Ark at Gath and Ekron. At both these places human contact entered also.

7. Since no Philistines went with the Ark to the field of Joshua the Bethshemite, there was no human contact in that instance.

8. Looking into the Ark involved removing the trappings, and hence a disturbance of the fleas in the badger skins.

9. This historical incident I suggest as demonstrating the active part played by the flea in the spread of plague. It is strongly borne out by the valuable work of the India Plague Commission on this subject.

In the Literary Supplement of the *Times*, December 31st, 1908, a reviewer of Butler's 'Characters' quotes—and here is the suggestion of a controversy not extinct yet—'fifty thousand Bethshemites were destroyed for looking into the Ark of the Covenant, and ten times as many have been ruined for looking too curiously into that book in which that story is recorded.'

Sir, I suggest that modern science has afforded an explanation for the singular event mentioned, and has thus cleared, in a natural way, what to many has been a stumbling-block in understanding the severity of this 'punishment.' Many years ago, whilst travelling in the neighbourhood of Beth-shemesh and Ekron it seemed to me a 'hard saying.' In 1896 I brought to the notice of a High Church dignitary the explanation of the mice and emerods. He did not receive it as it was meant! I trust I am not following 'too curiously' this subject, lest some may say 'after whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog, after a flea.'—I am, etc., R. Havelock Charles.

*London, W.*

## St. John i. 41.[1]

Every letter of the Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest is precious, and Mrs. Lewis deserves thanks for her recovery of the evidence that the Greek original of that MS in the above verse read πρωὶ, and not πρῶτον or πρῶτος. We may assume with practical certainty that the original autograph of so careful a work as the Fourth Gospel was written in an uncial hand on papyrus. It is also not impossible that the form πρῲ, common enough in Attic, was intended by the author, and very probable that it was so pronounced by him in dictating in any case. If this were so, no final ι would appear either after the word or below the line. Now observe that the

[1] P. 229 ff.

word which follows is the article τὸν. In the original the line would read

ΟΥΤΟCΠΡΩΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ.

No change is easier, whether accidental or intentional, than

ΟΥΤΟCΠΡΩΤΟΝΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ.

This is the first step. The next is the intentional improvement of πρῶτον into πρῶτος. Note also that in the only other passages where πρωὶ occurs in this Gospel, it comes, as here, *after* its verb, not before it (18[28] 20[1])—a strong confirmation of the correctness of the reading. It is not at all impossible for early versions to preserve the correct reading where all Greek MSS have lost it.

A. Souter.

## The Last Supper not a Paschal Meal.

In their interpretation of Lk 22[15. 16], which was discussed in the December number of The Expository Times, p. 97 f., and which has such an important bearing on the historical accuracy of St. John, Dr. Burkitt and Mr. Brooke believed themselves to be in a minority of two.[1] It is of interest, therefore, to notice that their view has since gained the weighty support of Professor Harnack in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1909, col. 49 f. The only difficulty the Berlin Professor finds in adopting it is that St. Luke did not himself notice the contradiction between this statement that the Last Supper was not a Paschal Meal, and the general 'Synoptic' view as embodied, for example, in Mk 14[12]. But, as he goes on to point out, even the Marcan account is not wholly consistent, for in Mk 14[2] (cf. also 15[21]) it is distinctly implied that the Crucifixion took place before the Feast had really begun (cf. Wellhausen, *ad loc.*; Dr. Burkitt also draws attention to the inconsistency). And the general result is that the 'Johannine' view of the Last Supper can now be shown to be in accord not only with the Lucan passage as understood above, but also with one of the Marcan sources themselves. Such a threefold cord will hardly be lightly broken.

George Milligan.

[1] It should be noted, however, that, so far back as 1903, this interpretation was advocated by the Rev. G. H. Box in the *Critical Review*, p. 32 ff.; see his note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1908, p. 106 f.

## Postscript to the Forty Wrestlers of Sebaste.

But after their spirits from earth had fled,
Ere the violet woke from its wintry bed,
There were heralds who shouted a-down the street
That Cæsar had knelt at the Nazarene's feet;
For the fadeless glory of Christ's renown
Outshineth for ever the Roman crown.

## Entre Nous.

**A Month's Reading.**

A short time after the publication of the first volume of the Dictionary of the Bible, a professor in one of the Colleges of the United Free Church told the editor that he had begun at the beginning and was reading it right through. And now there is no man in his Church more highly esteemed for scholarship.

If the Dictionary of the Bible could be read right through by a man of sufficient determination, the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics can be read in that way by any one. For the Encyclopædia contains far fewer unimportant articles, and its articles are in many cases of more fundamental as well as of more general interest. Not only so, but it may fairly be claimed that more attention has been given to their style, and that they are in many cases a contribution to English literature as well as to Religion and Ethics.

Recognizing this, the publishers have begun to issue the Encyclopædia in monthly parts at half a crown, each part being enclosed in an attractive cover. Any bookseller will send the parts regularly along with the monthly magazines.

**The Review of Theology and Philosophy.**

Dr. Menzies is steadily making his Review more necessary. He has always been able to make it interesting. One of the difficulties that have to be overcome is the getting out of the reviews in time.

Sometimes he beats the weeklies and even the dailies. Sometimes he is a little behind.

He is a little behind with the second volume of the DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS. But in this case there is no harm done. And the review, which has been written by the Rev. William Edie, B.D., of Dumfries, is a very fine piece of work.

The first article which Mr. Edie mentions is Mr. Barnard's 'Text of the Gospels.' He properly says that Mr. Barnard's work in this department of study is a guarantee of careful treatment. It is now no secret, but it is perhaps not yet generally known, that Mr. Barnard has laid aside these studies and has become an antiquarian bookseller. The work he did in textual criticism has not been surpassed by any one, and he has not yet lost the scholar's hunger of heart. But in the meantime he is throwing his scholarship into the distribution of rare books. His catalogues are the work of a scholar. After opening in Tunbridge Wells, he has so prospered that he has had to transfer the major part of the business to Manchester. But Barnard, Bookseller, Tunbridge Wells, will obtain his catalogues.

We began about Mr. Edie, however. What he says in general about the *D.C.G.* is—'Taken as a whole, these two volumes will prove a most valuable addition to the library of the student and the preacher. To the latter especially they will be full of suggestiveness and help. Having read the volumes, we may be allowed to say that one of the surprises of this Dictionary is its disclosure of numerous fresh and interesting subjects on which to preach. For this as well as other reasons it will doubtless have an effect upon the preaching of this and of many days to come.'

### The Judgements of the Lord.

To your list of misunderstood texts add Ps $19^9$, 'The judgements of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether.' A correspondent of the *Church of England Pulpit* (March 6, 1909) quotes the verse to prove that we are not to reprehend such acts as the slaughter of the Amalekites. How inadequately do we recognize the necessity of explaining the *English* words of the Bible.

### Experience.

With the October issue, *Experience* (a quarterly journal for class leaders) entered on a new series. It is certainly a magazine for the study. If the scholar can neglect it, he cannot despise it (Partridge; 3d.).

### Christian Ethics.

There is an article in the *Guardian* for February 24 on Professor Clark Murray's *Handbook of Christian Ethics*. It is apparently in the form of a review, and it *is* a review of the book. But the reviewer, whoever he may be, has a conception of what reviewing means which is quite unusual. In seven lines he gives the contents of the book. The rest of the article is occupied with the worth of it, with the contribution which the book makes to our power of appreciating and appropriating the ethics of Christianity.

The book shows, he says, that Christianity stands apart, and that its ethical point of view is its own. But it shows, further, that Christianity has living connexion with the whole movement of human thought; that the Christian supremacy, in fact, lies in its comprehensiveness, in the way in which it takes up into itself all that is excellent and vital in other systems. 'It is a real gain to have this stated clearly, and, we may hope, once for all. For Dr. Murray not only shows that Christianity is comprehensive of other systems, but that Moral Philosophy has had to move towards a solution of the moral question which is in essential harmony with the Christian ideal.'

One of the difficulties, says the reviewer, which confronts the writer of a treatise on Christian Ethics is that Christian morality cannot be divorced from the Christian religion. In the words of Dr. Murray, which he quotes: 'Thus the problem of man's chief end cannot be solved without going beyond himself. It is inextricably bound up with the problem of a cosmic end, an end to which the whole evolution of Nature points. It is therefore by a necessary movement of thought that morality passes over into religion, and it is this movement that Christian ethics represents.'

This is the great practical problem that confronts the preacher of our time. To preach an ethic that is divorced from religion is to descend to that 'mere morality' which secured, and rightly secured, the contempt of our evangelical fathers. To preach a dogmatic that is divorced from conduct is to contradict Christ. 'Two especially interesting chapters in Professor Clark Murray's book,' says this reviewer, 'are those which deal

with the evolution of the Christian ideal, and its relation to the moral ideal of the Hebrews and Greeks, and with the facts of sin, repentance, atonement. When there is so much denial of the reality of sin, so much tendency to blame circumstances for moral failure, it is refreshing to find a writer insisting so vigorously upon the fact of human choice and free personality.'

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**A Song and its Ceremonial.**

There is an extraordinary article in *The British Friend* for January about an American Indian hymn. The Friends interpret the precept *Nihil humanum a me alienum* so literally that, of course, they include the American Indians in their interest. An article of this kind should have appeared elsewhere. It would have made us all include them. The author is Mrs. Carta Sturge.

'Any who have had the good fortune to meet with certain Washington publications brought out by the "Bureau of American Ethnology"—rather hard to come by in England—will be well acquainted with the absorbing nature of these apparently technical documents. One scarcely expects, when taking up a dry-looking Report, to find oneself suddenly rapt away into a world of Poetry, or immersed in a mystic realm where one seems to stand in the awesome silence of unseen and eternal energies. Yet such may be the case, and there are some who speak of these documents with bated breath.'

After describing the hymn, Mrs. Sturge says this: 'So wonderful is the effect of these songs, in conjunction with the ceremonials of which they are a part, that words fail, it would seem, in any way to convey it. But it may give some idea of it when I mention the fact (I could not have believed it if I had not cross- and re-cross-examined the witness upon it) that a friend of mine, one of the students of Indian Ceremonial of whom I have spoken, told me that, when attending one particular ceremonial, in which many of these hymns were sung, she sat entranced for twenty-four hours upon a straight-backed chair, without food, without sleep, without lapse of attention, and without once rising from her chair! and that at the end of it she was not tired!

'Can it be that our Friends of the olden time had discovered in some like degree how to realize in absorbed meditation the living presence of God, when they, as we know they repeatedly did, sat through Meetings three or four hours in length, and the very children seem not to have been tired?'

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**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. Hugh T. Kerr, Chicago, to whom a copy of Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for May must be received by the 1st of April. The text is Rev $1^{10}$.

The Great Text for June is Rev $1^{17.18}$—'And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the Living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of Hades.' A copy of Fairweather's *The Background of the Gospels* or any recent volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for July is Rev $2^{7}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God.' A copy of Adeney's *Greek and Eastern Churches* or of Rutherfurd's *Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for August is Rev $2^{10}$—'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.' A copy of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* or any volume of the 'Scholar as Preacher' series will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for September is Rev $2^{17}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.' A copy of Dr. Robert Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* or of Dr. W. G. Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

The application of critical methods to the study of the Old Testament has brought about a change in our thinking which is properly enough described as a revolution. But there is a greater revolution to come. It will not come to the men who passed through the change wrought by the Higher Criticism. The same generation is never required to change its most cherished ideas twice. It is the men who are now passing into the pulpit, the men who have been taught the critical study of the Old Testament and have never known another, who will be called upon to return to the Old Testament, and it may be also to the New, at the demand of a new Science which the teachers of their youth may never have named in their hearing.

That new Science is Psychology. The revolution wrought by Psychology, we say, will be greater than the revolution wrought by criticism. For two reasons. Criticism affects documents: psychology touches men. Criticism is possible of application, and even of comprehension, by the few: psychology is intelligible to every one. And when it is understood it will be applied to the Bible as readily and as sweepingly by the uneducated Sunday School teacher as by the most advanced scholar.

Let the subject of study be the third chapter of Exodus. Criticism tells us whether the chapter, or what portion of it, belongs to J, E, or P. The Sunday School teacher does not care two straws about J, E, or P. But psychology says that the Lord did not appear to Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush; for God was no more perceptible by the human eye in the days of Moses than He is perceptible now. It asserts that He did not call to Moses out of the midst of the bush and say 'Moses, Moses,' because God was no more audible to the ear of man then than He is audible now. The Sunday School teacher is arrested at once. If he is ignorant he is brought up all the more sharply. He cannot continue to teach the story of Moses' call as he has been accustomed to teach it. He has either to shut his mind to the things which psychology says to him, or pass through a revolution.

There is not much literature on the subject yet. We mean on the application of psychology to the Bible. And such literature as exists is mostly in magazine articles. But we must remember that magazines are likely to have far more influence with the coming generation than they had with the past. One volume, however, has been published. Its author is Mr. Jacob H. Kaplan, Ph.D. It has been published in America, where part of it had already appeared in the *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*. Its title is *Psychology of Prophecy: A Study of the*

*Prophetic Mind as manifested by the Ancient Hebrew Prophets* (Philadelphia: Greenstone; $1.50 net).

Dr. Kaplan has a chapter on 'The Prophetic Call.' It is the first of a series of chapters in which he deals with 'peculiarly prophetic elements that require explanation in the Psychology of Prophecy.' The chapters which follow it deal with premonition, revelation, dream, vision, audition, ecstasy, and inspiration. The chapter on the Prophetic Call is the most momentous of them all. In the course of it the author touches the call of Moses.

But first of all, Dr. Kaplan emphasizes the fact that the Prophet of Israel was called. Leaving aside for the present the manner of the call and the explanation of it, it is patent, he says, that there was a moment in the life of the prophets, one and all, when they became conscious of a call from God to the office of prophet. He refers to Moses, to Samuel, to Amos, to Jeremiah, to Ezekiel, to Isaiah. Even Hosea, with all the perplexity of it, had no doubt whatever that he had received a call. And we have no doubt. For in spite of the wonder that it should have come from the Holy One of Israel (a call expressed in the words, 'Take unto thee the wife of whoredom, and the children of whoredom'), it was only the assurance that it did come from God that made the prophet obedient.

So psychology will not deny the fact of the prophetic call. The revolution it will work will not reduce the prophet of Israel to the level of a Greek rhetorician. It is no figure of speech, no trick of style, that makes Isaiah say, 'Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' There is nothing of which Dr. Kaplan is more sure than that psychology will not deny but rather establish such experiences in the life of Isaiah or of Moses. So far as the fact of a call is concerned, the prophets remain on that mountain-top of God's nearness which they have always occupied. They will not be brought down. Let psychology be scientifically used, and it will be found no leveller. What it will be found to do is not to bring the prophet down to the level of common men, but to make common men consider whether they have received a call to their work in life similar to the prophetic call.

'At the age of twelve,' says Dr. Kaplan, 'I was taken from school and devoted myself to a business career in my father's business. For six years I was in that business, occasionally "turning aside to see" longingly, without the slightest hope or idea, however, that I should ever be called to a student's life. No means and no opportunity presented themselves. One cold winter evening I visited all alone the German theatre. The music made me sad. I felt oppressed, alone and miserable. All the inheritance of my ancestors was suddenly awakened into life, and in a very serious and sincere sense of the word I felt the call to the higher life. I cared not what it was, but something it had to be, something that would unveil the mysteries of the world, prepare me to be a student, a helper and a guide among people. That night I walked home several miles in deep snow and was assured—I felt certain, I was determined—that I would become a student, though the opportunity and the means for obtaining that end were as vague as are my opportunities at present for becoming King of Prussia. From that moment to this the ambition and the hope has never for a single moment left me that I would be a student, a teacher, and a helper among men.'

Is that a call? Is that the call of a prophet? Let us leave the question unanswered. We cannot get all our questions in a new Science answered in a day. Let us leave the question unanswered, in case too soon we dare to take a place beside Isaiah in the purification of the lip, or even beside Hosea in the clash of moral emotions. There is an earlier question and a simpler. Why can we no longer teach that the Lord spake unto Moses out of the midst of a bush?

The poetical answer is, in Mrs. Browning's words,

that 'earth's crammed with heaven, and every common bush afire with God.' But we said that Moses' call is not rhetoric; and it is not poetry. It is experience. It is life. And psychology comes not to turn poetry into prose, but to tell us how it came to pass that Moses could speak of His call in such language.

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Now, the first thing that psychology enables us to see is that there is an Eastern attitude to God, and there is a Western. There is an Eastern attitude. It is the attitude of immediacy. It does not recognize secondary causes. The men of the East do not need towers by which to climb to God. The Orientals who said, 'Go to, let us build us a city and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven,' were faithless to their fatherland as well as to their God. They would imitate the ways of the West. The men of the East need no tower. They clasp hands with God. Did the voice come from a teacher? from the reading of a book? did it come to them out of the silence of their own heart as they journeyed by day? or in a dream by night? When they tell the story of it, they tell it in such words as these: 'God called out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses.'

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That is the first thing. And it is very great. It is the first great step in that revolution which is to take place in the attitude of men's minds to the Old Testament. It is not an entirely new thing. Five-and-twenty years ago a brilliant young Scottish scholar, of the name of Peter Thomson, who was closely associated with Robertson Smith, and of whom scarcely less was expected—twenty-five years ago, Thomson contributed two articles to the *Expositor* on the indifference of Orientals to secondary causes. And the characteristic has occasionally been recognized by other scholars in the interval. But now psychology comes with the authority of Science, with the influence of a science becoming almost too rapidly popular. No longer will it be a scholar here and there calling attention to an overlooked fact in the interpretation of the Bible. It will be worked out in many books. It will become the subject of innumerable magazine articles. Unless the new knowledge is wisely guided and well restrained there is danger that the call of Moses and of Isaiah may be taken to be nothing more than an ordinary experience of life coming to an unscientific mind and expressed in the illustrative language of the East.

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That would be a revolution indeed. Think of it. The call of Isaiah which has been to countless generations of men the occasion of their first thrilling sight of themselves standing unclean in the presence of a holy God; the call of Moses which had been their first clear summons to take up the duty that lay immediately to their hand and do it—the call of Moses and the call of Isaiah resolved into Oriental hyperbole! Psychology has come, not to bring such a catastrophe to pass, but to save us from it.

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It does not reduce the call of Moses to the way in which an Eastern tells us that he chose his profession. Psychology insists upon it that when a man is called of God, whether Eastern or Western, he knows that the choice has been made not by himself but by God; and that what he enters upon is properly spoken of not as a profession, but as a calling. Psychology may not deny that God is ready to call any man, to call every man. It denies that every man is called. For the second thing is that before a man is called of God he must be competent to undertake the work for which God calls him, and he must be able to hear the call.

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He must be competent to undertake the work. Dr. Kaplan believes that there is a prophetic temperament and a prophetic training. He is probably right. But let us not make mistakes here. The minister need not be 'a son of the manse'; the prophet may never have entered the schools of the prophets. God's idea of temperament is larger than ours. It includes the temperament of a Jonah as well as the temperament of an Amos. And if He usually moves slowly, some-

times He acts with lightning rapidity. He does not always wait for the training of the schools. The most that we can be sure of is that in every case there is a psychological moment, and that God knows that moment. He waited forty years for Moses in Egypt, and forty years more in Midian. Then the bush burned and was not consumed. The psychological moment had arrived. *Moses turned aside to see.* When God saw that Moses had turned aside to see, He called him.

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And Moses obeyed the call. That is necessary also. Did he obey it reluctantly? His reluctance does not pronounce him unfit. It was the reluctance of humility. It was due to a sense of the greatness of the calling. Moses obeyed the call, simply because he was in sympathy with God's purpose in calling him. I have seen, said Jehovah, the affliction of My people which are in Egypt. Moses had seen it too. Forty years ago he had lifted his hand to deliver them from their bondage. Forty years ago; and all the while that he kept the sheep of Jethro, his father-in-law, in the desert of Midian, he had had time to think of it. We spoke of training. He had not forgotten it a single day. And now when God called he was ready. He took the rod in his hand and went down into Egypt.

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Under the title of *Psyche's Task*, a title calculated at least to awaken curiosity, Professor J. G. Frazer has published 'A Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions' (Macmillan; 2s. 6d. net).

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Superstition has been called to the bar of judgment, and Professor Frazer appears as its advocate. It is not a bad thing? It is bad, he says, irretrievably bad. He says it is 'a hoary-headed offender.' The sentence of death must be passed upon it. He appears as its advocate, but he appears at night. 'At Athens cases of murder were tried before the Areopagus by night, and it is by night that I have spoken in defence of this power of darkness. But it grows late, and with my sinister client I must vanish before the cocks crow and the morning breaks gray in the east.'

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Now this is not the first time that an advocate has appeared to plead the cause of a client upon whom, if he had been judge, he would have pronounced the sentence of death. He has appeared as the advocate because he was well paid for it. But no mercenary motive affects Dr. Frazer. If he comes forward as the advocate of superstition, it is simply, but singularly enough, because he believes that in this world there are times and circumstances in which the bad may be better than the good. Superstition is bad. It is the lie of which religion is the truth. And it is all a lie. Nevertheless in the history of the world and throughout great spaces of its history, superstition has been the mainstay of that respect for Government, for Private Property, for Marriage, and for Human Life which is necessary to their well-being.

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Now, Government, Private Property, Marriage, and Human Life are good things. Some regard for them is essential to the very existence of civil society. By strengthening them, superstition has rendered a great service to humanity. And Dr. Frazer comes forward, not to whitewash the character of superstition, not even to plead for a remission of the death-sentence—for he holds that the death-sentence is overdue—but to plead that the despatch may be without indignity. For in God's hands even superstition has been the instrument of great good in the world.

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Take Government. And take the Melanesians. Among the Melanesians the government belonged to the Chief, and all security for good order rested upon the awe which invested his person. The person of the chief was sacred. It was hedged in by a magic circle of tabu. It might not even be touched. What gave the person of the chief this sacredness? It was the superstitious belief that he was in correspondence with the Unseen,

and that to approach so near to his person as to touch him was to incur the wrath of those unseen powers who watched over him.

The superstition was sometimes grosser than that. Among the Maoris the chief was believed to be a living god. He himself believed it. 'Think not,' said Te Heu Heu, the great Taupo chief and priest, shortly before he was swallowed up by a landslip, 'think not,' he said to a European missionary, 'that I am a man, that my origin is of the earth. I come from the heavens. My ancestors are all there. They are gods and I shall return to them.'

So sacred was the person of a Maori chief that it was not lawful to touch him even to save his life. 'A chief,' says Dr. Frazer, 'has been seen at the point of suffocation and in great agony with a fish bone sticking in his throat, and yet not one of his people, who were lamenting around him, dared to touch or even approach him, for it would have been as much as their own life was worth to do so. A missionary, who was passing, came to the rescue and saved the chief's life by extracting the bone. As soon as the rescued man recovered the power of speech, which he did not do for half an hour, the first use he made of it was to demand that the surgical instruments with which the bone had been extracted should be given to him as compensation for the injury done him by drawing his sacred blood and touching his sacred head.'

Now all this is superstition. And superstition is bad. But persuade these people that their chief is as other men are, and his power vanishes. With his power vanish law and order. In Fiji, says Mr. Basil Thomson, the first blow at the power of the chiefs was struck unconsciously by the missionaries. Neither they nor the chiefs themselves realized how closely the government of the Fijians was bound up with their religion.

It is an interesting situation. How do men regard it? The passing adventurer looks at it, perhaps he interviews the chief, who sulks in his tent,—for the passing traveller is not to be accused of receiving superficial impressions,—and then he comes home and demands that the Maoris be left alone. What have the missionaries done? They have driven the unclean spirit out of a man, out of many men. That is not denied. The men are there as evidence. They are clothed and in their right mind. But what of the respect for law and order, and especially for private property? The Gergesenes prayed Jesus to depart out of their coasts, and He departed. For He was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But His command to His followers now is not to depart.

Messrs. George Bell & Sons are the publishers in this country of a manual of *Ethics* (8s. 6d. net), which has been written by two American scholars, Professor John Dewey of Columbia University, and Professor James H. Tufts of the University of Chicago. It has been, we think, for some time the deliberate intention of American scholars of the highest reputation, to break down those stiff walls of partition which have so long separated the study of Ethics from the study of Religion. In this volume the walls are laid even with the ground. We do not know that we are passing from one room to the other. Religion and Ethics live together in a single airy chamber, to the great advantage and enlightenment of both.

There is a chapter on the Hebrew Moral Development. It is no surprise that Religion and Ethics are found enlightening one another in that chapter. But it is significant that in a scientific manual of Ethics such a chapter should be found. And it is yet more significant that there is no hesitation whatever in showing that the influence which Religion had upon Ethics in ancient Israel was the determining factor in the separation of that nation from all the other nations of the world, and the means by which the promise made to Abraham, that in his seed should all the

families of the earth be blessed, has actually and undeniably been fulfilled.

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The point of departure is the Covenant. What is it that to a savage makes an act right or wrong? It is custom. The tribe does this, or forbids that to be done. Their fathers did it, or did it not. The power to enforce the laws of custom will likely belong to the chief. But even the chief does not make them. He is himself as much under their authority as any man. Now custom may have been originally the result of experience. It may have been found that an occasional period of abstinence was necessary for the health of the community, and that certain rites of initiation, with their amazing severity, helped the young men and women to endure hardness. But custom prevents growth. Under new circumstances, some forms of abstinence may become hurtful to the health. Initiation may become wanton cruelty. But to the protest of the missionary the answer is a helpless *non possumus*. Our fathers did it. To the end of time we must do as our fathers have done.

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When Moses came down into Egypt he found the Israelites in the grip of custom. But he carried in his hand a Covenant. It was a thing of religion. There was a God in it, and the name of a God. What religion the Israelites in Egypt were professing as they went out to the brickfields in the morning, or what influence it had upon their moral life, we cannot tell. But when Moses came down into Egypt with the Covenant in his hand, we know that from that moment those Hebrew slaves occupied the first rank among all the nations of the world, both in religion and in morality. It was the Covenant that did it.

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The Covenant did its work gradually, no doubt. It did not make this stiffnecked, flesh-lusting, slave-hearted people, the most religious or the most moral people in the world all at once. 'Forty years long' is the bitter reproach of their long-suffering leader. But when Moses came down into Egypt with the Covenant; when they agreed to let the customs of their fathers go and accept Jehovah as their God by a mutual understanding and engagement, they took that step which in time placed them visibly in front of all other peoples, civilized and uncivilized; until at last, in the fulness of time, out of a little town of theirs, a byword of insignificance, there came the highest we know in Religion and in Ethics, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

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For the Covenant was an engagement made between two persons. From the moment that an Israelite accepted it he decided whether an action was right or wrong, not by comparing it with the customs of his fathers, but by referring it to the personal will of Jehovah. 'I am the Lord thy God—thou shalt not.' And when the Israelite had time to reflect upon it, he found that everything must be referred to the personal will of God, to whom he stood personally responsible. Not the ritual of worship only, but also his treatment of his fellows. And with the generalization of a great religious genius, a genius begotten of the Covenant, he said all religion is comprehended in this one word—thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart and soul, and strength and mind; and in this other word is all morality comprehended — thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

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It was not all at once. At first Jehovah was Lord of Hosts. He led the army of the Israelites in war and gave the victory. If He was jealous of the interference of other gods with His people, He seemed willing to confine Himself to Israel and leave other nations to serve their own gods. And the conditions of the Covenant were extremely simple. If the Israelites kept the commandments of Jehovah, and especially the commandment to have no other gods before Him, then He undertook to give them victory over their enemies and abundant outward prosperity, every man sitting under his own vine and under his own fig-tree

in a land that flowed with milk and honey. As yet no question was raised whether His commandments were right or wrong. It was enough that they were His commandments.

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But now we see the greatness of the Covenant. It was a free engagement on either side. Nothing is more striking than the way in which Joshua emphasizes this and insists upon the people recognizing it. 'Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth; and put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the River and in Egypt; and serve ye the Lord. And if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, *choose you this day whom you will serve.* . . . And the people said unto Joshua, Nay, but we will serve the Lord. And Joshua said unto the people, Ye are witnesses against yourselves that *Ye have chosen you the Lord* to serve him. And they said, We are witnesses' (Jos $24^{15-22}$).

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Now, to conceive of the relation between God and people as due to voluntary choice is to introduce a powerful agency towards making morality conscious. The Israelite has exercised his own will in the choice of Jehovah to be his God; he will certainly take the further step, and examine Jehovah's commands to see whether he is to obey them because they are the commands of Jehovah, or because they are true and right. This is the point at which the Israelites depart from the nations round them.

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For the Babylonians had their god also, and obeyed his commands. But they never were able to say, 'The judgments of our God are true and righteous altogether'; they never got beyond saying they are the judgments of our god. And so when calamity fell upon a Babylonian he accepted it as punishment for sin. He might not be able to tell what sin he had been guilty of. The fact that he suffered was evidence that his god was angry with him. And he felt his guilt, one is compelled to see, as keenly as any Israelite. The penitential psalms of the Babylonians express the deepest conviction of sin and the utmost desire to please the Babylonian god. But the Babylonian psalmist is often in the utmost perplexity as to the nature of his sin. He feels remorse, though he does not know that he has done wrong. And the possible failure to repeat a formula aright is as heinous an offence as manslaughter.

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This is the position of the three friends of Job. And here, it is possible, we have a way of determining the date of the Book of Job, a date so amazingly disputed by experts. The book is written at a time and under circumstances which made it, as we should now say, a burning question whether calamity is evidence of guilt. If, then, as is now so generally held, the Israelites learned most of their Babylonianism in the Exile, the Book of Job would belong to that or a closely subsequent period. For the Babylonians had no doubt whatever that calamity spelt sin. Job's three friends, excellent men, a Temanite, a Shuhite, and a Naamathite, cannot admit a doubt of it. But Job is an Israelite. His is the Covenant. He cannot feel remorse for sins which he has not committed, and he refuses to repent of them.

As God liveth who hath taken away my right,
And the Almighty who hath vexed my soul;
Surely my lips shall not speak unrighteousness.
Till I die, I will not put away mine integrity from me.
My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go ($27^{1-6}$).

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What is the solution? The solution is that the Covenant between Jehovah and Israel is not a mere material bargain, so much prosperity for so much observance. On the one hand, the service of God is not confined to outward acts. On the other hand, God's love for man (which never fails to respond to man's love for God, and even anticipates it) expresses itself not entirely in warding off outward calamity, but in causing everything to work together for good to them that love Him.

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Nor was this the highest reach to which the Covenant engagement attained. The one admirable element in the primitive notion of tribal custom was the sense of common interest which it sent

through every member of the tribe. The Covenant takes up that element into itself and transfigures it. Perhaps the average Israelite was all his life content with a covenant of give and take; so much religious service for so much outward prosperity. Perhaps a few thinkers reached independently the higher conception of a prosperity that included the loss of all things, and of a service that expressed itself best in a broken spirit and a contrite heart. But only a religious genius (forgive the modern word) like Isaiah, could reach the sublimity of an innocent man taking upon him the calamities of other men, and even (marvel of marvels) actually carrying their sin. But that also was due to the Covenant. It was a natural, and with God to guide, an inevitable outcome of the engagement into which Israel entered with Jehovah, that day they said 'We are witnesses.'

Is there a still greater thing that can come out of it? Not on the part of Israel. Israel has exhausted the possibilities of the Covenant on the human side when it has found a man of whom it can say, 'Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows.' But on the part of God there is. St. Paul puts it into words, 'God made him, who knew no sin, to be sin for us.' To be sin —it is not that. Isaiah discovered that. Who knew no sin — it is that. Even Job who held fast by his integrity, in face of the calamity which had swept over his house, never claimed to be, or hoped to find in this world, one who knew no sin. God found Him. God sent Him to give His life a ransom for many. In His unspeakable gift God made known what had been His purpose when He made a Covenant with Israel, and said, 'I will be your God.'

# The Tests of Life.[1]

By Principal the Rev. J. Iverach, D.D., Aberdeen.

The Kerr Lectures have won for themselves a position second to none, among the lectures of our country. From the first lecture by Dr. Orr down to the latest by Mr. Law, the Kerr Lectures have reached a high level, and have taken their place among the books which must be read by students. The former series were philosophical or theological, or dealt with subjects on the borderland of both. Mr. Law has made a new departure. He has made a book of Scripture the subject of his lectures, and as he has treated it, he has made a wise choice. From whatever point of view we regard these lectures they are admirable. If the reader desires an exegetical study of the First Epistle of St. John, Mr. Law gives him in the exegetical notes at the end of the volume a series of studies in which the wealth of modern learning is exhausted, and the exact meaning of words and phrases is set forth with a fulness and vividness which leaves nothing to be desired. Does the student desire to know what can be said regarding topics belonging to Introduction proper, then his desire is amply gratified in the chapters given to that discussion. Authorship, date, readers, and so on are discussed with ample learning, historical knowledge, and critical judgment. Is he interested in theology? in the elucidation of special ideas peculiar to, characteristic of the Epistle? or in the concatenation of these ideas, then the main part of the volume is given to the satisfaction of that desire.

There are other features of interest in this admirable volume. There is the wide learning which has taken note of all the relevant literature which has clustered around this Epistle, throughout the ages. There is no parade of learning, no ostentation in the reference to books, but a student can see behind every paragraph the wide reading and the anxious pondering of a man who has resolved to leave nothing unransacked which could help him in his arduous task. Best of all the author has not allowed the material

[1] *The Tests of Life.* A Study of the First Epistle of St. John. Being the Kerr Lecture for 1909. By the Rev. Robert Law, B.D., Minister of Lauriston Place Church, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d. net.

gathered round the Epistle to come between him and the Epistle itself. He wears his learning lightly, he is determined to come into direct contact with the Epistle itself. There are signs that he has brooded over the Epistle, given his days and nights to it, until it has become, as it were, part of himself, and what he sends forth to his readers has become a vital part of his own experience. He has lived in the Epistle, and he speaks forth what his own life has won. We do not know anything better even on this Epistle, and when we write so we remember Rothe, Candlish, and the wondrous work of Dr. Watson of Largs, along with such commentaries as those of Westcott, Haupt, and the luminous recently published work of Dr. Findlay. These Lectures occupy a distinguished place in the literature of the Epistle, and will keep that place for a lengthened period.

As to the Lectures themselves we wish we had a larger place to note the various features of them which would justify a lengthened notice. There is the analysis of the Epistle, which deserves commendation for its thoroughness, its lucidity, and its exhaustiveness. It takes full account of everything, and neglects nothing in the Epistle. It takes full account of the peculiarities of thought and diction of the sacred writer, and traces the connexion of thought and feeling in a way which is persuasive and convincing. The opening chapter, called Style and Structure, is too condensed to suffer further condensation at our hands. But the condensation has not interfered with lucidity. One of the most admirable features of the book is the absolute clearness of the style, and the admirable lucidity of the arrangement. The remarks on style and structure are full of learning and insight, and prepare the way for the exposition which follows. We find that this chapter is a real help towards a right understanding of the Epistle. Exact historical knowledge appears in the chapter on the Polemical Aim of the Epistle. This chapter tests the historical knowledge of the author. For it supplies a test as to his insight into the conditions of the time in which the Epistle has been written. Does he know, can he appreciate the various forces at work in that seething and creative time in which the Epistle was written? Can he measure them? Estimate their value and their influence? What has he to say about Græco-Roman culture, about other influences at work at that time when all the separate streams of ancient civilization met in the unity of the Roman Empire? One finds that here, too, Mr. Law has worked and thought to purpose, and the chapter is luminous and instructive.

Equally good is the chapter on The Writer. Since the rise of historical criticism this has been a bone of contention. It has been keenly contested, and the contest still goes merrily on. Some have, indeed, ceased to discuss it, and calmly take for granted that the Johannine writings are the product of an Ephesian school at the beginning of the second century. Others contend that the Apostle John was the writer. Into the contest we do not enter. But we say that the readers of this volume will find themselves in the hand of one who has read, thought, meditated on the question, and has come to conclusions which he can defend on reasoned grounds. He has put much in a few pages. His reasons and conclusions will be found in the book itself, and readers will find them satisfactory. But the main strength of the author has been directed towards the elucidation of the doctrines and the teaching of the Epistle, and in this attempt he has been singularly successful. It will be well to give the names of the topics which he successively discusses. The doctrine of God as life and light, the doctrine of God as righteousness and love, the doctrine of Christ, the witnesses to the doctrine of Christ, the doctrine of sin and the world, the doctrine of propitiation, eternal life, the test of righteousness, the test of love, the test of belief, the doctrine of assurance, the growth of Christian experience, eschatology, and finally the relation of the Epistle to the Fourth Gospel. In connexion with some of these topics, there are some additional notes, dealing with difficulties which seemed to the writer to need further elucidation.

While particular paragraphs form the starting-point of his expositions, and are dealt with in some fulness, yet the plan of the writer is not to give us a continuous commentary on successive sections of the Epistle. His plan is to take a particular topic, *e.g.* the doctrine of God as Life and Light, and to trace that doctrine through the whole Epistle. He notes the broad and general statement in which the doctrine is first expressed in the Epistle, and then follows it throughout the Epistle, noting its development, its varying uses and applications and qualifications, until the whole doctrine as it stood before the mind of the Apostle

is fully and clearly stated. The method has its advantages; it also has its drawbacks. If, on the one hand, it enables the author to trace the main thought through all its spiral ascents, and into all its relations with other conceptions, it sometimes hinders him from doing full justice to the thought in itself, and in its majestic entrance into the Epistle.

To pass from that, we notice as worthy of the reader's attention the masterly discussion on the theme God is Light. What is the meaning of the term? Mr. Law asks, does it refer to Essence or to Revelation? He had shown that light is used in the Scriptures in both meanings, and then he continues: 'For the interpretation of the Epistle, it is of some importance to determine with which of these ideas, essence or revelation, St. John's conception of the Divine Light comes into line. In my judgment it is with the latter. That God is light expresses the self-revelation of God: First, as a necessity that belongs to His moral nature; secondly, as the source of all moral illumination. But while maintaining this interpretation, I must admit that the exegetical authorities, almost with one voice, declare for the opposite view, namely, the Light here denotes the essential Being of God. "It is the innermost, all-comprehending essence of God, from which all His attributes proceed" (Haupt); "Absolute Holiness and Truth" (Huther); "The Absolute Holiness of God, especially as love" (Rothe); "the new idea of God as unconditioned Goodness, holy Love" (Beyschlag); "the love which constitutes the essence of God" (Grill).

'To this whole class of interpretations there is only one objection—a serious one, however—that they are irrelevant to the context' (pp. 58–59). Mr. Law is not daunted with the weight of authority against his view, in fact this independence of judgment, and fearlessness of the weight of authority against him when he believes he is right, is one of the noteworthy things in the book. It seems to me that he is right in his interpretation, and we recommend his readers to follow him in his detailed justification of his view. Support might be had for his view from the great American divine, Jonathan Edwards, to whom Self-Communication was the essential characteristic of God. Perhaps a better word than self-revelation to express what Mr. Law means would be the word used by Edwards, namely, that of Self-Communication. It is something more than self-revelation, or rather self-revelation is a step towards the self-communication of God, which may be looked at as the goal of all the activity of God. It is not possible for us to follow into detail the luminous exposition of this thesis, God is Light, but we commend it to the careful study of our readers.

The other discussions are also worthy of the deepest study. We invite special attention to the Excursus on the Correlation of Righteousness and Love, appended to the chapter on the Doctrine of God as Righteousness and Love. We call attention to this excursus as it reveals in Mr. Law qualities which throughout are rather kept in the background. In the main parts of his book he is expository, he is Biblical, and theological so far as regards the particular theology of this book of Scripture. In this excursus he reveals himself as a thinker and a theologian of no mean order. The excursus manifests such qualities and such possibilities, that we look forward to just such work as is here as the main contribution which Mr. Law is fitted to make to modern theology. If every age has to write its own theology, we look to Mr. Law to take a prominent share in the rewriting of theology for the immediate future.

There are many topics which invite notice and discussion. We might have noted the admirable chapter on the Doctrine of Christ, and the worthy discussion on the Doctrine of Propitiation. But we may not linger on these, but we lay particular stress on the chapter on The Growth of Christian Experience, which is valuable in itself, and noteworthy as a contribution to the theology of St. John. The concluding paragraph we quote: 'To take as starting-point the gift of God in Christ, the forgiveness of sins and the knowledge of the Father, then to advance, with this as our strength and the Word of God as our weapon, to faithful and victorious warfare; finally through this, to arrive at the sure perception of the Everlasting, in union with Whom our human life and its results become an eternal and blessed reality,—such is the curriculum which St. John here maps out for human experience. It is well to remember the alternative to this—the experience which teaches with equal intensity the illusiveness of all good; which writes "vanity of vanities" upon the life of man and all with which it is concerned; which proclaims, as the sum and end of all wisdom, that "The world passes away

and the lust thereof," because it has not "known Him that is from the Beginning," nor that "whosoever doeth His will abideth for ever."'

Lastly, there is the masterly chapter on Eschatology, on which we should like to linger. All we can do in this relation is to quote: 'Even of this body of flesh and blood the soul is, in wonderful measure, the sculptor. Faces are made pure by purity of heart. Strength and nobility sit upon the countenance, when high resolve and heroic endeavour fill the mind. There is a calmness of feature which is an index to peace in the soul; a dignity and beauty which patient suffering alone gives; and when some strong tide of the spirit is sweeping through a man's heart, it alters the fashion of his countenance, causes his very form and figure to dilate, and makes the weakest like an angel of God. These facts, so far as they go are a prophecy, and, indeed, a beginning of that final transfiguration by which Christ "shall fashion the body of our humiliation into the likeness of the body of His glory." The very idea of a spiritual body is that it perfectly represents the character to which it belongs. As the material body is strong or weak, comely or uncomely, according to the animal vitality, so is the spiritual body according to the spiritual vitality that animates it. The outward man will take the mould of the inward man, and will share with it in its perfected likeness to the glorified manhood of Jesus Christ.'

It is significant of the spiritual life of to-day, that the writings of St. John are gathering to themselves more and more of the study and devotion of our time. Is it too much to say that the theology of the present is becoming more and more Johannine? We remember how Principal Rainy in his later years dwelt with increasing devotion on the writings of St. John. His thought and his life were passing more and more under the thought and life depicted in the Johannine writings. Twice from the Moderator's Chair, once in the Union Assembly, and once when he was Moderator during the time of stress and strain, he quoted as his highest word to the Assemblies the concluding verses of this first Epistle of St. John: 'We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and Eternal Life.'

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF REVELATION.

REVELATION I. 10.

**'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.'**

### THE SITUATION.

St. John is about to tell how he received the messages for the Seven Churches in Asia. He mentions the place, the condition, and the time, bringing them close together by the use of the same preposition. He was in (ἐν) the isle that is called Patmos—that is the place. He was in (ἐν) the Spirit—that is the state or condition. And it was on (ἐν) the Lord's day—that is the time. We have to do with the state and the time.

### THE LANGUAGE.

1. *I was.* The verb he uses is not the verb to be (εἶναι), but the verb to become (γενέσθαι). We cannot easily express it in English. If it were an event we could say 'it came to pass that.' But as it is a person, we can only use a phrase like 'came to be' or 'found myself in'; or else simply say 'was,' leaving the distinction unexpressed.

Does the past tense mean that he was no longer in Patmos? Not necessarily, but probably it does.

2. *In the Spirit.* To be 'in the Spirit' (with εἶναι) is the normal state of the regenerate man, just as to be 'in the flesh' is the state of the unregenerate (Ro $8^9$). But here (with γενέσθαι) it is a higher state than the normal, the state of the prophet, under special inspiration, for some special purpose. There are, indeed, four states to be distinguished. First, two of the unregenerate man, his normal state of being in the flesh (Ro $8^9$), and his abnormal of being possessed with an unclean spirit (ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, Mk $1^{23}$). Second, two of the regenerate man, his normal

state of being in the Spirit, and his supernormal state of coming to be in the Spirit, such a state as St. Paul was in—'while I prayed in the temple, I was in (R.V. 'fell into,' ἐγένετο) a trance' (Ac 22[17]). The return to the normal state is spoken of as 'coming to oneself.' The prodigal 'came to himself' (Lk 15[17]); Peter 'came to himself' (Ac 12[11]).

3. *On the Lord's day.* This has been explained in more ways than one. (1) Easter, the annual feast-day observed by the Church in commemoration of the Resurrection. (2) The seventh day of the week or Sabbath. These suggestions have little to say for themselves. (3) The Day of judgment, as in Jl 1[15] 3[14]. Hort (*Apocalypse i. to iii.*, p. 15 f.) prefers this meaning, 'though with some doubt.' He thinks it suits the context best. Swete, however, feels that it is foreign to the context; and it is certainly contrary to usage.[1] (4) The first day of the week. This also has the usage of the language against it,[2] for the adjective employed by St. John occurs only once elsewhere in the N.T., in 1 Co 11[20], where it is used by St. Paul of the Lord's Supper (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον). It used to be thought that St. Paul coined the word and gave it currency in the Church. But it has been found in the papyri in the sense of 'pertaining to the Lord' (that is, the Emperor), 'imperial.'[3] But very early in the history of the Church we find the first day of the week called the Lord's day. The earliest occurrence after St. John is in the Didache; after which it appears with increasing frequency. It is impossible to say that it was first used by the writer of the Apocalypse, but it is remarkable that its earliest occurrences are all in Asia Minor.

## The Sermon.

To do a thing well we must get into the spirit of it. Even to enjoy a thing or profit by it we must be in the spirit of it. And everything has its own spirit.[4] The commemoration of a great victory is nothing to one who has not the spirit of the patriot. Shakespeare's birthday is kept by those who have the spirit of poetry. Darwin's centenary is commemorated by those who have the spirit of scientific investigation.

It is told of the widow of Schumann, the musical composer, that whenever she was going to play any of her husband's music in public she would read over some of his old letters to her, written in the lover days. Thus, she said, his very life seemed to fill and possess her, and she was better able then to interpret his work.

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One Sunday morning my way to church led me through a street of respectable working-class dwellings. At one of these a man, in his shirt sleeves, was bidding good-bye to a visitor. As they parted he said, 'Well, good morning, I'll go in and read my *Tit-bits!*'

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A Glasgow minister has told of a man of his acquaintance who was an inmate of one of the Poorhouses,—a man of spirituality and true refinement. 'I don't know how you can live in Stobs-hill,' said a friend who visited him one day. 'I am not living in Stobs-hill,' was the gentle but dignified reply, 'I am living in God.'

St. John was in the Spirit on the Lord's day. It was a spirit in keeping with the Lord's day. It was the spirit of the Lord's day. A mere note of time is not in his manner. Our subject, therefore, is the Spirit of the Lord's day. What is it?

I. *It is a Spirit of Victory.* For the day was associated in the Seer's mind, first of all, with the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead. And the great fact about the Resurrection was that it was a victory over sin and death. It is easy to see that it was a victory over death. He rose from the dead. But death, in the teaching of Christ, and afterwards to the mind of the Apostles, is not the death of the body. To be dead is to be 'dead in trespasses and in sins.' 'She that liveth in sin is dead while she liveth.' The sting of death is sin, and the devil has the power over it. Christ submitted to physical death that He might taste the sting of death. But it was not possible that He should be holden of death. It was not possible: because just in dying He gained the dominion over sin, and so inevitably rose again from the dead. To be in the spirit of the Lord's day is to stand upon the triumph of Christ over sin and death.

When General Wolfe was mortally wounded at the battle of Quebec he said after his third injury, 'Hold me up: do not let my brave boys see I am wounded.' A little later, as his blood was fast ebbing away, he said in faint tones, 'The victory is ours! Oh, keep it!'

[1] The Day of the Lord elsewhere is ἡ ἡμέρα (τοῦ) κυρίου (1 Th 2[2], 2 P 3[10]); cf. ἡμέρα χριστοῦ (Ph 2[16]).

[2] Elsewhere the first day of the week is (ἡ) μία (τῶν) σαββάτων, or πρώτη σαββάτου (Lk 24[1], Jn 20[1.19], Ac 20[7], 1 Co 16[2]).

[3] See Deissmann in The Expository Times, xviii. (1907), p. 206, and in *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 82.

[4] See Matheson, *Side Lights from Patmos*, p. 3.

This day my Saviour rose,
And did inclose this light for His;
That, as each beast his manger knows,
Man might not of his fodder misse:
Christ hath took in this piece of ground,
And made a garden there for those
Who want herbs for their wound.

The rest of our creation
Our great Redeemer did remove
With the same shake which at His passion
Did th' earth and all things with it move.
As Samson bore the doores away,
Christ's hands, though nail'd, wrought our salvation,
And did unhinge that day.

The brightnesse of that day
We sullied by our foul offence:
Wherefore that robe we cast away,
Having a new at His expense,
Whose drops of bloud paid the full price
That was requir'd to make us gay,
And fit for Paradise.

Thou art a day of mirth:
And where the week-dayes trail on ground,
Thy flight is higher, as thy birth.
O, let me take thee at the bound,
Leaping with thee from sev'n to sev'n,
Till that we both, being toss'd from earth,
Flie hand in hand to heav'n!

GEORGE HERBERT.

II. *It is a Spirit of Revelation.* For the first day of the week was associated, next, with Pentecost. (1) It is a revelation of the past. There were many things which the disciples did not understand until Jesus rose again from the dead. Nor could the Spirit be given until Jesus was glorified. It was promised, however, that then He would bring to their remembrance what Jesus had said unto them. The resurrection, as interpreted by Pentecost, was a revelation to them of *Jesus Himself*, His words, His acts, His person. It was a revelation to them of the *Father*. The veil of the Temple was rent in twain, for God may no longer be hidden away in mystery. 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.' And it was a revelation of *themselves*. They were ambitious to know which of them should be greatest. Now they understood what greatness meant, and what the cup contained which they had first to drink. (2) It was a revelation of the future. The Spirit was sent not only to call to remembrance but also to show the disciples things to come. Moreover, on this occasion St. John was in the Spirit in that fuller measure which gives larger vision and makes a man a Seer. And the business of the Seer is to reveal the future as well as throw light on the past. The light thrown on the past was for the sake of the future. St. Luke speaks of the Third Gospel as a history of the things which Jesus *began* to do and teach. The Book of Acts is a history of the things which He continued doing and teaching after the Ascension. The Apocalypse (whatever theory of interpretation we allow) is a history of the things which He is doing and teaching while He is with us still, even unto the end of the world. The Seven Churches are your church and mine, and you and I are their Angels. The Apocalypse itself may be called a revelation of the future, in the light of the past, for the use of the present.

III. But the Spirit of the Lord's day is also *a Spirit of Christian Response.* There are three channels into which the response may run.

1. REST. Not rest of body merely. That is better obtained every night in sleep. And to spend the first day of the week in bed is not to be in the spirit of the Lord's day. Nor is it rest of mind merely. To transfer the attention from buying and selling and getting gain to visiting picture galleries, playing games, and getting amusement is not to be in the spirit on the Lord's day. The day is properly called a day of rest when it is made a day of quiet, confident response to God. On that day the first disciples received their pentecostal gift. The 'tongues as of fire' were as the 'coal from off the altar' which touched the lips of Isaiah, taking away their iniquity, filling them with a sense of God's presence, making them ready to say, 'Here am I, send me.'

2. WORSHIP. As the question of a day of rest in seven for the body belongs to a different order of things from that which we are considering, so also we do not discuss the question of special times and seasons for worship. We are to pray without ceasing. Yet we will have our hours of prayer. And since worship implies not only fellowship with God but also fellowship with one another, it is necessary to have times of worship in order that that fellowship may have an outward expression in the meeting of the saints. Only let it be understood that worship is not in the observance of days or the regulation of forms, but in fellowship with God as a holy God, and with one another as saints of God, a fellowship that

may be partly silent, but ought certainly to join audibly in the song of the seraphim, 'Holy, Holy, Holy.'

He who had had the greatest fulness of Christian hope and Christian service,—he says 'I was in the island.' You know what that means, you people who have an insular experience of loneliness here to-day, whom nobody loves and nobody sympathises with, who seem to have to go to heaven on a single line, no one before, none to follow, none at the right hand, none at the left. That is all he says about his loneliness; and a verse or two after he says 'I was in the Spirit.' That will do; for he that is in the Spirit is joined to God. He is not lonely any more; he is not separated any more; and his pains are over and his isolation is done, and what he begins with when he says in the first chapter of the Apocalypse, 'I was in the Spirit,' is only the first sentence of what turns out to be a great ladder which runs right up into heaven itself.

J. Rendel Harris, *Union with God*, p. 146.

3. Service. The response of the Christian to Christ's victory over sin, and to the illumination of the Holy Spirit, expresses itself not only in quiet confidence or rest in God, and not only in united worship, but also in service. The final response is, 'Here am I, send me.' And the Lord's day should be fuller of service than any day of the week. More actual work should be done, since it is work with a more abiding value. And it should cost more. It is easy for some men to enter into the spirit of their work on the other days of the week. To enter into the spirit of the work of this day is to be crucified with Christ. But it is work done in the spirit of the Lord's day that has its reward. Come, ye blessed, inasmuch as ye did it.

Some one once asked Quintin Hogg, the founder of the Polytechnic Institute in London, who had devoted a great fortune to that enterprise, how much it cost to build up such an institution. 'Not very much,' was Mr. Hogg's reply, 'simply one man's life blood.'

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Some years ago a Swedish cook in the kitchen of a friend of mine, moved by an appeal which she had heard in her church, gave herself as a missionary to China, and went off to that distant land. Years passed. The Boxer Rebellion broke out. She returned for a short visit to the town where she had lived in America, and went to see the mistress for whom she had worked as a servant. The lady did not recognize the sweet-faced dignified woman who had called upon her, until she told her name. Then as she looked into her face, she could hardly believe it was the same person who years before had been her servant. Her face was transformed into a new beauty as she told of her work and of her purpose to return, now that the Rebellion was over. To the lady's suggestion of the imminent danger, she said: 'O, they are my people. I love them and they need me.' And as, with simple and unquestioned sincerity, she told her purpose and showed her heart, my friend said that her face shone with the very image of Christ. Her loving self-forgetting service had already changed her into His likeness.

# The Religious-Historical Movement in German Theology.

By the Rev. J. M. Shaw, M.A., Edinburgh.

## IV.

What, then, is the picture of Jesus and the Gospel which remains as the result of this pure historical inquiry? Let us take it as it is presented to us in the pages of Bousset's *Jesus*—perhaps the most popular of the *religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*. Jesus comes before us there as 'the child of his time and his people.' His figure is the noblest and most perfect that has appeared on the plane of history, but even He 'never outstepped the limits of the purely human.' 'Throughout his life he placed himself on the side of men, and not on the side of God.' Even if He did claim Messianic dignity—that is denied by Wrede, but allowed by Bousset—yet He never made Himself the object of faith. All passages in the gospel in which Jesus appears as demanding faith in Himself are explained as due not to Jesus Himself, but to the dogmatic convictions of the community, working upon and colouring the tradition. The founder of the Christian religion He is in this sense only, that He is the first subject or illustration of the Christian faith in God the Father, and 'we are taking from Jesus no honour to which he himself would have laid claim when

we refuse to acknowledge his Divinity.' His gospel of the Fatherly Divine Love is presented by Jesus, it is said, in complete independence of any idea as to His own personal place in the scheme of Divine redemption. On one point Bousset is emphatic: 'One thing certain,' he says, 'is, that Jesus never conceived or expressed the thought that God's forgiveness of sins depended absolutely upon his own sacrificial death or upon a vicarious atonement rendered by that death.' 'In his preaching we find no trace of the dogma of the atonement.' The only condition of salvation that Jesus recognizes is ethical trust in the fatherly love of God and obedience to His commandments. 'This do, and thou shalt live.'

Such are the conclusions which, it is claimed, are arrived at by a disinterested historical study of the facts and that true *feeling for reality* ('Wirklichkeitsinn') which is the fundamental requirement of a scientific theology. What are we to say to them?

The contrast between the teaching of Jesus (as presented in the Synoptics) and that of Paul we must admit. In Jesus we look in vain for any such developed doctrine of His Person and work such as we have in Paul. But that need not dismay us. Jesus, it has been said, came not to preach the gospel, but that there might be a gospel to preach. Or to express the same truth in more scientific language, the nature of the cause only becomes apparent in the effect. That is the essential truth in the Ritschlian position that the Revelation given in Jesus Christ can only be rightly apprehended when taken in connexion with its effects in the thought and life of His followers. The Christ of apostolic faith is no extraneous addition to the Jesus of gospel history, but only the explication of the true nature of that fact. 'We can discover the full compass of His historic actuality only from the faith of the Christian community.'[1] It is indeed an unjustified exaggeration of this truth to make, as Kähler does, the apostolic witness *in its whole extent* normative for faith in all ages. This is a danger from which Ritschl himself, under Biblicist influence, is not free. In the working out of his dogmatic he is always eager to take up into his system in the completest form possible the entire apostolic doctrinal formulation. Much in this, however, is only of relative historical worth, conditioned as it was by the psychological atmosphere and historical situation of the time. The Christian faith is never synonymous with the Christian theology of any one time, and is not therefore to be identified with the *Pauline* theology. 'As theologians we are the product of our time, as Christians we are the product of God.'[2] But granted Paul's dependence on current conceptions for the form of his theological formulation—for example, a certain view of man which is not specifically Christian in origin; a certain view of sin, its origin and consequences; a certain view of history; supposing, even, that the Christianity of Paul were 'syncretistic,' in the sense that a certain pre-existing Messianic dogmatic was taken up and applied to Jesus, the question remains, why was this predicted of *Jesus*, the man of Nazareth, and that too of a crucified Jesus? The predicates may not have been new, but their predication of this subject certainly was new, and in the new copulation they received a new, an incommensurable significance. The fundamental principle of scientific thinking—a principle one might expect to see peculiar justice done to by a theology which claims to be in a special sense scientific—is the *Principle of Sufficient Reason*, that the cause must be adequate to the effect. Is the historical Jesus, then, whom these writers give us, such a person as to explain and justify the faith which the Church has built upon Him? The influence on the Pauline intellectual formulation of this faith of these other factors referred to need not be denied, but the more we minimize the figure of Jesus, and the less we make of the influence of the personality of Jesus on Paul, whether directly in his own religious experience or indirectly through the primitive Christian society, the more mysterious and inexplicable appears the apostolic witness as to the Person and work of Jesus.

On careful examination, indeed, we think, one cannot escape the conclusion that the picture of Jesus on the one hand, and that of Paul on the other, given by these religious-historical writers, is drawn, not from the study of history as such, but from certain philosophical *presuppositions* or 'speculative postulates' as to what that history should be. Bousset in his *Jesus* claims to be governed by the sole desire for historical truth and reality; but in his more recently published work *What is Religion?*

[1] Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*, iii. p. 1 f.

[2] Hermann, *Der Verkehr*, 4th ed. p. 8.

('Das Wesen der Religion'), we see the presuppositions behind which determine his historical presentation. The result of the thoroughgoing application of the historical method to religion is, he there holds, to destroy the halo of the 'supernatural' which had woven itself around Christianity. Everywhere a course of events is discerned which is *on the whole*[1] explicable by universal immanent laws. All forms a stream in which everything is mutually dependent. History nowhere shows us a place where a divine supernatural revelation in any specific sense took place. The whole is a natural-supernatural evolutionary process, in which all is Divine, yet all human. The belief in the Deity of Jesus, and in the miraculous, in any sense in which the whole process of religious history is not miraculous—this, Bousset holds, is opposed to our whole modern evolutionary mode of thought, and our changed views of the nature and working of God. And the Church must simplify its doctrine of Redemption, if it is to commend the gospel to 'the modern mind.' The effort of Bousset, and other members of the school, therefore, is directed to the attempt to reduce Jesus to the scale of other historical personalities. A prophet He was, a religious hero, or spiritual genius—the greatest indeed—but nothing more. Not only is the significance of Paul's testimony to Jesus minimized, but even in the Gospels themselves all is ruled out or called in question that cannot be brought within the common measures of humanity. Our Lord's claim to be the judge of the world, for example, is denied to be historically trustworthy. The saying that He would give His life a ransom for many is rejected, as out of keeping with the historical view of Jesus, and due, ultimately, not to Jesus, but to Paul, and the faith of the primitive Church. And in the story of the miracles only that is allowed as genuine which the modern mind, through its acquaintance with hypnotism and such-like facts, can accept as psychologically conceivable.

All this, however, is the result not of the application of the historical method as such (with its three principles of criticism, analogy, and correlativity), but of an unscientific or dogmatic use of these principles which settles beforehand the limits of the historical—a proceeding which is not the less dogmatic that it styles itself 'non-churchly' or 'non-theological.' It is the dogmatism which takes scientific principles which have been found useful in one realm of knowledge,—changes these from being merely regulative into constitutive principles of the universe, and then, coming to the study of history with a certain preconceived notion of what history must be, rules out all evidence that might conflict with its point of view.[2] If Jesus be actually historical—such is the implicit logic of its thinking—if Jesus be a person who appeared in human history, He must be capable of expression in purely human terms. He must be a man like other men, the noblest and greatest it may be but yet one of a series, one more 'hero' or 'genius' added to the race.

It is true, indeed, that these writers are at times compelled, even against their philosophical principles, to do more justice to the historic facts. Bousset, for example, when proceeding in the spirit of genuine historical inquiry, assigns to Jesus a place, and makes assertions about Him, which cannot be justified on his evolutionary monistic theory of history. He acknowledges that Jesus is a leader 'with whom no other is comparable.' He speaks of His 'unique position,' of His 'superprophetic significance.'[3] He allows His sinlessness (a miracle in the moral world), and goes the length of recognizing that 'the life of Jesus, and with His life also His death, are facts which have a relation to the forgiveness of our sins.'[4] Troeltsch too, though in general he holds that the predicate 'absolute,' as applied to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, is but a relic of the dogmatic method of the old churchly supernaturalism (a '*dogmatische Quälerei*'), recognizes again and again that Jesus is not only the highest that has appeared in the religious series, but is 'the highest conceivable.' We cannot think anything higher; we do not want anything more final, because, he says, 'in him we

[1] In the creative personalities of history, Bousset allows we have 'a mysterious force' which cannot be explained by immanent laws. So Troeltsch also.

[2] This philosophical dogmatism finds its boldest expression in the editor's 'Vorwort' to the *Volksbücher* series in which Bousset's *Jesus* and Wrede's *Paulus* appear. The fundamental principle governing the investigations of the series is, he says, 'the *inviolability* of the scientific method' ('die Unverbrüchlichkeit der wissenschaftlichen Methode, die alle Weltgebiete nach ihrer Besonderheit ordnet unter den gemeinsamen Regeln der Vernunft').

[3] *Jesus*, p. 198 f.

[4] *Die moderne Theologie auf der Hannoverischen Landessynode*, p. 14.

experience fellowship with God and salvation. 'To whom shall we go but unto thee? Thou hast the words of eternal life.'

The fact is, two contradictory motives may be traced working together in these writers. The one secondary and subordinate — the genuine endeavour, governed by a profound feeling for ethical and spiritual reality, to do justice to the facts of history and experience. The other primary and in general determinative — the philosophical or apologetic motive which seeks to make history the illustration of a certain preconceived theory, and argues, in effect, that because Jesus was a person who appeared in history, and history is the sphere of the relative only,[1] therefore Jesus cannot have the absolute significance which must attach to one who can be the *object* of religious faith, and is attached to Jesus throughout the New Testament. The starting-point, however, for Christian theology must be not a preconceived philosophical theory of history, but the historic Christ. It does not become our place in the universe to dictate the conditions under which alone history is possible. We must let the historical personality of Jesus make its own impression. The business of theology is not to *make*, but to *interpret* the facts of Christian faith and history; and that is the only 'scientific' method which fulfils the conditions necessary to the bringing out of the true nature of these facts.

Now this does not mean that we must approach the study of these facts without presuppositions. That Kant has once for all shown to be impossible, in any subject. What it does mean is, that we must come to the study of them with the fitting or appropriate presuppositions. The members of the movement or 'school' under discussion come to the interpretation of Jesus with presuppositions of a predominantly intellectual, æsthetic, pantheistic or rather 'panentheistic' kind, drawn from so-called 'modern culture'—the culture, *e.g.*, of Goethe and Bismarck which, governed by a certain conception of evolution, rules out the supernatural in Christianity, and preaches the gospel, not so much of ethical salvation or redemption, as of immanent self-realization or development. Theirs is the ideal of the *Aufklärung* rather than of the Reformation. The fundamental mistake, indeed, according to Bousset, in the Pauline interpretation of Christianity, is that it is based on the opposition between sin and grace, that in the centre of it is placed the ethical-religious consciousness of sin. Jesus, however, is a fact not, in the first place, for the intellect — even when this is 'touched with emotion'—but for the conscience and the will; and only the mind that is steeped in conscience is in a position properly or adequately to interpret Him. The significance of Jesus, that is to say, is a saving significance, understood only by the man who knows what sin and guilt are; and the return to a truer view of Jesus Christ and His gospel is to be found not through the enlightenment of 'modern culture,' but first and foremost through an ethical awakening of mind and heart to the realities of sin and grace.[2]

Approached in this way Christianity becomes the one truly supernatural, ethical-redemptive religion—in Harnack's[3] words, 'not one religion by the side of other religions, but *the* religion' beside which no other really is, religion in the final and absolute sense; 'and Christ not merely one Master by the side of other masters, but *the* Master,' unique and alone, in whom we have the Atonement. For it is as we know ourselves to be sinners redeemed through Him that we come to realize that He is not one of a class, that He is what no other can be, our SAVIOUR and our LORD. As He Himself declared: 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. No man cometh to the Father but by me.' 'None other name wherein we must be saved,' that is the only Christian faith that is truly historical—a faith, not whose first and greatest *subject* merely, but whose *object* has been Jesus Christ, and any theory which fails to do justice to this fact stands self-condemned as an adequate interpretation of Christianity, as a matter either of history or experience. It may explain what

[1] See *Die Absolutheit*, pp. 41, 74. This is the old Hegelian construction of history back again, a construction which found expression in Strauss' well-known *dictum*: 'Die Idee liebt es nicht, ihre Fülle in ein Individuum auszugiessen.'

[2] Therefore, the true theology—the 'scientific' theology—must be a 'churchly' theology, not in the sense of corresponding to the teaching of any particular organization or body, but in the sense that it interprets and expresses the faith of the community of believers. Much that is said in the way of disparaging the Church and its doctrine is rooted in a false conception of what 'the Church' means on the one hand, and what . . . 'doctrine' means on the other.

[3] *Die Aufgabe d. theol. Facultäten*, p. 16. This lecture of Harnack is important as recognizing more clearly than in *The Essence of Christianity* the central significance of the Person of Jesus Christ for Christianity.

it conceives Christianity ought to be; it does not interpret what Christianity has been and is. And it is because in Paul we have, behind and beneath the thought forms of his time, the classic representation and interpretation of this saving significance of Jesus, that for a true conception of the Jesus of history our cry must be, not 'Back from Paul to Jesus,' but 'Back to Jesus through Paul.'

The aim which the religious-historical movement has set itself, viz. to recommend the gospel to 'the modern mind,' is one with which every good and honest heart must sympathize. A restatement of the Church's faith in terms more suited to modern thought—this is a crying need. For it cannot be denied that many at the present day are estranged from the Church, because of the Church's bondage to the doctrinal formulation of a past age. The Church—the believing community, that is—must assert and exercise its Christian liberty to state its faith as to the meaning and significance of Christ in terms more suited to the modern mind. And towards this restatement the new historical-psychological study of religions has helped not a little by calling men's minds back to the distinction between religion and theology—between the religious attitude of the soul to Christ, which we call faith, and the doctrinal formulation of the faith. But our quarrel with the movement is, that it gives us not so much a new theology as *a new faith*, a view of Jesus and His Gospel which is true neither to Jesus' own teaching nor to His apostolic witness, and is not the Gospel that sinners need.

In the religious-historical theology we have one more attempt—this time from the side of the historical-psychological science of comparative religion and mythology—to eviscerate Christianity of all that in it is unique or original, and, under the guise of doing right by the genuine historical character of Jesus, find its centre in that which it has in common with other religions. But we cannot accept from any theology, whatever claims it may make to the 'scientific,' a picture of the historical Jesus to which the only history we have bears no witness. Nor can we allow the Jesus whom the history we have does attest, to be dismissed from the world of historical reality on grounds which after all are not historical but 'dogmatic.'

# In the Study.

### Let no Man despise Thee.

*The Future Leadership of the Church* is the title which Mr. Mott has given to a volume of lectures on the Christian ministry (Hodder & Stoughton; 3s. 6d.). The first chapter contains the problem. The problem is to find ministers and missionaries enough, and to find them of the right kind. One way is to make young men believe in the greatness of this calling. Mr. Mott quotes Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University. 'The only profession which consists in being something,' said Dr. Wilson, 'is the ministry of our Lord and Saviour—and it does not consist of anything else. It is manifested in other things, but it does not consist of anything else.'

Mr. Mott believes that it is the home that makes the minister or the missionary. Professor Austin Phelps tells us how his father magnified his office: 'He honestly believed that the pastoral office has no superior. To be a preacher of the Gospel was a loftier honour than to be a prince of the blood royal. So pervasive was this conviction in the atmosphere of our household that I distinctly remember my resolve, before I was four years old, that I would become a minister.'

But sometimes the eye is opened afterwards to the height of this high calling. 'Principal Rainy of Edinburgh not long before his death told me that the spiritual quickening he received at the time of the great Disruption turned him from his plan of being a physician and made him a minister. He added, "It woke me up. Religion became great in my eyes."'

### The Saints.

*New Things and Old in St. Thomas Aquinas* (Dent; 3s. 6d. net). Is there anything in this? Is there anything in it for the modern pulpit? Mr. H. C. O'Neill has translated certain writings

of the Angelic Doctor, and written a long introduction to them. The introduction is excellent, a useful addition to the literature of St. Thomas. There is no way of describing the contents of the book but by quoting one of the writings translated in it. The title of this one is 'The Saints.' It is an exposition of the words 'so great a cloud of witnesses' in Heb $12^1$.

'Now the saints are called clouds, firstly, by reason of the sublimity of their conversation: "*Who are these that fly as clouds?*" (Isa $60^8$). Secondly, because of the fruitfulness of their teaching: "*He bindeth up the waters in his clouds, so that they break not out and fall down together*" (Job $26^8$), and likewise ($36^{27}$): "*He poureth out the showers like floods that flow from the clouds.*" Thirdly, by reason of the utility of spiritual consolation: for just as the clouds furnish refreshment so also the examples of saints: "*And as a cloud of dew in the day of harvest*" (Isa $18^4$). We have therefore this cloud of witnesses given us, since from the lives of the saints to some extent the necessity of imitating them is brought home to us. "*Take, my brethren, for an example of suffering evil, of labour and patience, the prophets*" (James $5^{10}$). "*As the Holy Spirit speaks in the Scripture, so also in the deeds of the Saints, which are form and precept of life to us*" (Augustine). (*Epis. to Hebr.* chap. xii. lect. 1).'

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### Another Misunderstood Text.

'And so I remember how the same venerable elder, in reading Psalm ciii, paused after the words, "He will not always chide, neither will he keep his anger for ever," to expound the words as meaning that the Lord will not always limit himself to chiding, but will take much more decisive measures; nor will he much longer keep back his anger, but will launch his thunderbolts of wrath'—J. Allanson Picton, *Man and the Bible*.

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### Plagiarism.

The Muhammadan name for it is 'brand-seeking.' Professor D. B. Macdonald of Hartford has published his Haskell Lectures on Comparative Religion. Professor Macdonald says, 'I am neither metaphysician, psychologist, nor ethicist; I am simply a student of Arabic and of Islām who desires to suggest to those who are metaphysicians, psychologists and ethicists some of the problems which lie for their science in that vast and so broadly unknown territory.' He discovers and discusses three things in Muhammadanism: first, the reality of the Unseen, that is, of a background to life unattainable to our physical senses. Second, man's relation to this Unseen as to faith and insight therein; that is, the whole emotional religious life ranging from a prayerful attitude and a sense of God's presence to the open vision of the mystic with all its complicated theological consequences. Lastly, the discipline of the traveller on his way to this direct knowledge of the divine and during his life in it.

But Professor Macdonald very modestly calls himself a borrower, and just misses calling himself a plagiarist. That he is not a plagiarist, we know. We know that he is no more of a borrower than he ought to be. Few men have done so much original work in Muslim theology or know so many of its texts at first hand. Yet he almost calls himself a plagiarist, for he opens his new book in this way:—

'You may remember how Robertson of Brighton used to say, speaking of his sermons and their inspiration, "I cannot light my own fire; I must convey a spark from another's hearth." The same idea and the same expression occur in Islām. Muhammad, following the usage and speech of the desert, tells (*Qur'ān*, xx, 10; xxvii, 7) how Moses left his family and went aside to the Burning Bush to seek from it a brand, a *qabas*, for their own fire. Thence *iqtibas*, "brand-seeking," persists in the rhetorical language of Islām, for such borrowing of fire from predecessors. Permit me, then, having both Christian and Muslim authority, to quote, by way of text for these lectures, a couple of sentences from Mr. William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, that give very precisely the thesis which I propose to set before you as illustrated in Islām. At the beginning of his third lecture, when approaching the broad question of the reality of the Unseen, he says: "Were one asked to characterize the life of religion in the broadest and most general terms possible, one might say that it consists of the belief that there is an unseen order, and that our supreme good lies in harmoniously adjusting ourselves thereto. This belief and this adjustment are the religious attitude in the soul."'

The name of Mr. Macdonald's book is *The*

*Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (University of Chicago Press; $1.75).

### About Results.

Nothing better has been said about results than a saying of Mr. W. L. Watkinson's brought to light by the Editor of the *Christian World Pulpit* and now to be conveniently read in *The Art of Sermon Illustrations* by Mr. H. Jeffs (Clarke; 3s. 6d. net)—by no means the only good thing in that book.

'We ought to know better than to despair over the visible result of spiritual endeavour. During a recent visit to Johannesburg I spent a day at one of the gold-mines. There was immense activity, gangs of workers, clouds of dust, hissing steam, deafening stamps, heaps of quartz, torrents of water and cauldrons of slime; but I came away without having seen a single speck of gold. The engineer touched the bottom of a turbid stream, and exclaimed, "There is a particle"; it was, however, as invisible to me as the same metal usually is on the collection-plate. Yet, when on the return journey our ship anchored at Southampton, we discharged boxes of gold-dust to the tune of a million. Thus to-day our evangelical work proceeds with noise of machinery, smoke and stir, sweat and blood, and a thousand things that are trivial and trying to the carnal eye, but the practical spiritual gain is often depressingly dubious (Isa $55^{11}$).'

### Abba, Father.

#### I.

**1.** There are a few words in our English version of the New Testament which clearly do not belong to the English language. Without including words that are almost proper names, like Aceldama (Ac $1^{19}$), Gabbatha (Jn $19^{13}$) and Golgotha (Mt $27^{33}$), they are such as corban (Mt $27^{6}$), mammon (Mt $6^{24}$), raca (Mt $5^{22}$), maranatha (1 Co $16^{22}$). The New Testament is written in Greek, and the Greek is translated into English. But these words are Aramaic, which is the dialect of Hebrew that was spoken in Palestine at the time of Christ, and as they have been preserved in the Greek New Testament in their Aramaic form, they have been taken over in that form into English. Among the most noticeable of these foreign expressions are three that occur in St. Mark's Gospel: Talitha cumi ($5^{41}$), Ephphatha ($7^{34}$), and Abba ($14^{36}$). Let us look at the last example, Abba.

**2.** The word 'Abba' is found three times in the New Testament, in Mk $14^{36}$, Ro $8^{15}$, and Gal $4^{6}$; and in each case it is followed by the word 'Father' (Gk. ὁ πατήρ). Now 'Abba' itself means Father; so that to a person who could speak both Aramaic and Greek the meaning would be 'Father, Father'; and the Syriac versions have actually found it impossible to avoid the repetition.[1] Why is it, then, that the word for 'Father' is given in all these three passages first in Aramaic and then in Greek?

A number of interesting suggestions have been made.

1. Bishop Lightfoot thinks that our Lord in Gethsemane repeated the name 'Father' as an expression of the earnestness of His prayer, and that He gave it in both languages just because He was acquainted with both. He quotes an instance from Schöttgen of a woman who begins her intreaty to a judge in two words, one Aramaic, the other Greek, and both meaning 'my lord.' And then he recalls the other examples of doubles in the New Testament—Abaddon, Apollyon, in Rev $9^{11}$; and satan, devil (*diabolos*) in Rev $12^{9}$ $20^{2}$; and he finds in the combination 'a speaking testimony to that fusion of Jew and Greek which prepared the way for the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen.'[2] Sanday and Headlam in like manner think that our Lord, 'using familiarly both languages, and concentrating into this word of all words such a depth of meaning, found Himself impelled spontaneously to repeat the word, and that some among His disciples caught and transmitted the same habit.[3]

Still more emphatically Salmond says: 'The double title is the utterance of deep emotion. Strong feeling is apt to express itself in reduplicating terms; and in the case of those accustomed to speak at times an acquired tongue, it is the fond vernacular that springs first to the lips in moments of profound or agitated feeling.'[4]

If this is the explanation, the use of the repetition by St. Paul would be either some imitation of its use by our Lord in Gethsemane, or else a like spontaneous outburst of emotion in the thought of the new filial relationship to God which he had found in Christ.

On the supposition that the repetition is due to Jesus Himself, other explanations of it have been given, two of which are worth noticing.

[1] Although it is possible in other languages to leave the Abba simply untranslated as in A.V. and R.V., this has not always been done.

[2] *Galatians*, p. 169. [3] *Romans*, p. 203.

[4] *St. Mark*, p. 328.

(1) 'Abba' was probably in the time of Christ, and certainly a little later, applied as a title of reverence to men as well as to God. Several of the Rabbis mentioned in the Mishna and Tosefta have this title[1] of whom the most distinguished is Rabbi Saul. There is a story in the Talmud[2] to this effect: 'There was a great drought in the land and the Rabbis sent the little children to Hanan the Hidden One, to ask him to pray for rain, and when the little ones came to him they said, "Abba, Abba, Father! Father! give us rain!" Hanan knelt in prayer and cried, "O Master of the World! For the sake of the innocent ones, who know not how to discriminate between the Father who giveth rain and the father who cannot give, but only ask for rain, hear our prayer!"'[3]

Now it has been suggested that Christ added the Greek word because it was necessary in order to give 'Abba' its unmistakeable application to God, and fill the word with its fullest reverence.

(2) On the other hand, Dr. E. A. Abbott[4] points out that in Greek the article with the nominative when used in addressing a person is often vernacular and imperious, as addressed to a slave. While, therefore, it was possible to use the vocative of the word in the Greek (πάτερ) as is done in Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer (11[2], R.V.), it required the combination of the Aramaic and the Greek, or some other method of the kind, to give the Greek word its proper value when addressed to God. In that case, however, the repetition would not likely be due to Jesus, but would be added by the evangelist or some other.

2. The opinion has been held that our Lord did not repeat the word in Gethsemane, but that the repetition is due to transmission.

(1) The Greek might be an explanation of the Aramaic word inserted by the Evangelist himself, or found in his source, just as in other cases he adds the explanation of Ephphatha and Talitha cumi. But it must be observed that in these cases attention is drawn to the assertion by the words 'which is, being interpreted' or 'that is,' while here there is no such notice given.

(2) Bishop Chase has suggested[5] that in each of the three occurrences of the expression there is a reference to the first clause of the Lord's Prayer. He thinks the addition of the Greek word is due to the Evangelist and that the omission of such a phrase as 'that is' or 'that is, being interpreted' may be accounted for by its incongruity with the context. But his own opinion is that by the time St. Mark's Gospel was written the repetition had become a familiar form of words to Christians in prayer. Now if the Lord's Prayer began with the simple word 'Father,' as in St. Luke, Hebrew Christians would use the Aramaic word and Greek Christians the Greek; whereupon it would become customary to combine the two, and the Prayer might even be known by the combination, just as we call it the *Pater noster*.

(3) In any case it is now held by many expositors that by the time when St. Paul wrote and therefore, of course, when St. Mark wrote, it was customary for Christians to begin their prayer by using both words. It was almost a liturgical formula, just as at the end we sometimes say 'Amen, so let it be.'

## II.

1. We have then, as to the origin of the 'Abba, Father,' a choice between two opinions. Either the repetition was due to our Lord in Gethsemane, or else it was due to the fact that the early Christians spoke sometimes Aramaic and sometimes Greek; and that in public prayer it became customary to open with the word 'Father,' according to Christ's command, and to express it at once in both languages. It is of little consequence which opinion we make ours. The important thing is that 'Abba, Father' occurs three times in the New Testament with a meaning which is the same every time but is not fully understood until the three occasions are studied separately and then brought together. The three occasions are these: (1) By Jesus in Gethsemane. The words are: 'And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me: howbeit not what I will, but what thou wilt' (Mk 14[36]). (2) By St. Paul, in writing to the Galatians. The words are: 'But when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem them which were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father' (Gal 4[4-6]). (3) By St. Paul to the Romans. The words are: 'For ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear;

[1] From 'Abba' comes the title Abbot with its cognates; and Kohler claims that the Church simply took it over from the Synagogue.

[2] See J. Kohler in *J.Q.R.* xiii. (July 1901), p. 567 ff.

[3] In *Sanhedrin*, 113b, Elijah is called 'Abba Elijah,' and there is a curious story told of a certain Rabbi who accused him of being quick-tempered because of his treatment of King Ahab. Jastrow thinks that the title 'Abba' is used sarcastically, and Bacher translates 'Väterchen Elias.' But Kohler holds that he is called 'Father Elijah,' just as any other highly venerated Rabbi (*J.Q.R.* xiii. 579).

[4] *Johannine Grammar*, p. 519.

[5] *Texts and Studies*, vol. i. No. 3, p. 23.

but ye received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God: and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him' (Ro 8[15-17]).

**2.** Take the thoughts in order.

1. Here are all the persons concerned in redemption: (1) the Father, to whom the cry is made; (2) the Son, who makes the cry for Himself in Gethsemane; (3) the Spirit of the Son, who makes it in the heart of the other sons; (4) the sons themselves, who under the power of the Spirit, cry, 'Abba, Father.'

2. The cry is the cry of a son to a father. That in every case is the whole point and meaning of it. In one case it is the cry of the Only-Begotten Son; in the other cases it is the cry of the adopted sons. But it is always the cry of a son who has the heart of a son. An adopted son might not have the heart of a son. But in each case here the Father says, 'My beloved son,' and the son responds, crying, 'Abba, Father.'

3. The true heart of a son whereby we cry 'Abba, Father' *is due to the gift of the Spirit.* Look at St. Paul's argument to the Galatians. There he states two things: First, that when the fulness of the time came God sent forth His Son into the world; second, that because we are sons God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts. Why did God send forth His Son into the world? He sent Him to make us sons. That is the whole purpose in a sentence. The Son fulfilled that purpose. He did not make us all sons, because we did not all receive Him. 'But as many as received him to them gave he the right to become sons.' Then, when we had become sons, God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts. This is an additional gift. It is necessary, because without the Spirit of His Son in our hearts we should not be able to feel that we were sons, we should not be able to respond as sons, we should not be able to behave as sons. After Jesus rose from the dead He ascended to the Father. He had done the work which God had sent Him to do. To as many as received Him He had given the right to become sons, and they had become sons. But they were not conscious yet of their sonship. They were not conscious of it until that day, the day of Pentecost, upon which God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into their hearts. Then they became conscious of their sonship. They cried, 'Abba, Father,' and the place was shaken where they were assembled together. And they said to the rulers who threatened them, 'Whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak.' Thus to the fulness of sonship two gifts are necessary—the gift of the Son unto the world to make us sons, and the gift of the Spirit of the Son into our hearts to make us conscious of our sonship.

**3.** What are the advantages of receiving the Spirit of God's Son into our hearts? That is another way of asking, what is the Spirit of God's Son?

1. *It is a spirit of knowledge.* We come to know God as the Son knows Him. Now the Son knows God as Father. God was not known as Father before Jesus came into the world. We must say that with full responsibility, and yet with emphasis. The relationship of father to son is applied in the Old Testament metaphorically to the relationship of Jehovah to the nation of Israel, and even to the individual Israelite. But it is merely a figure of speech. It is a rhetorical comparison; and in all the Old Testament there are only sixteen passages in which the comparison is used, while in the New Testament God is called our Father, or we are called His children two hundred and sixty-three times.[1] In the time of Christ the Jewish Rabbis were careful *not* to speak of God as Father,[2] but used some periphrasis in order to avoid it. The name which Jesus preferred to use, and which He taught His disciples to use, when addressing God was 'Father.' Dalman thinks it probable that He always said '*my* Father.' For no doubt He used the word Abba, speaking Aramaic; and properly 'Abba' is not simply 'Father,' but 'my Father.' Therefore the Spirit of God's Son is the knowledge of God as Father, as my Father. And to address God as 'my Father' is to receive new knowledge of God, with the sense of a new and wonderful experience.

When Paul says, 'Ye received the spirit of adoption, in which we cry, Abba, Father. The spirit itself bears witness with our spirit that we are children of God; because ye are sons, God sent forth the spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father'; and when John says, 'Behold what

[1] See the statistics set forth in Dr. James Drummond's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 173 ff.

[2] Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 191.

manner of love the Father has given us that we should be called children of God'; it seems clear that the writers are referring to some new experience, which had imparted to their minds a holy exaltation, and awakened within them the consciousness of a hitherto unacknowledged relationship. The semi-pantheistic absorption of the soul in the essence of God had become the conscious intercommunion of Father and child; philosophy had turned into faith; and to become a perfect son of God was not only the intellectual ideal, but the operative aim and purpose of life.[1]

2. *It is a spirit of confidence.* This is the immediate result of the knowledge of God as Father. And it is the object of all Christ's teaching about the Father to beget this confidence. 'Fear not, little flock, your Father knoweth.' It is confidence both in His power and in His willingness. His power was recognized already. The God of Israel was known as the Almighty God. The Spirit of God's Son reasserts His power. 'Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee.' The new knowledge is that the Almighty God is a loving Father, withholding no good thing from us. When the leper came to Jesus, saying, 'If thou wilt, thou canst,' he recognized, like Nicodemus, that Jesus was a Prophet come from God, because He had the power of God. His hesitation as to Christ's willingness was due to his ignorance of God's Fatherhood.

3. *It is a spirit of liberty.* This is St. Paul's point, both in Galatians and in Romans. But there is a difference. In Galatians it is liberty from the bondage of the Law that he emphasizes; in Romans it is liberty from the bondage of the flesh, from sin and death. (1) The Spirit of God's Son is a spirit of liberty from the Law simply because it is a spirit of sonship. If there are slaves in the household they must be governed by laws—'Thou shalt not.' But who ever heard of a father drawing up a code of rules of conduct for his children? If they have the heart of children it is a heart of love; and they need no other constraint than the love of the father. It is a great point with the Apostle that the sons of God are not under law. He spoke and wrote often about it although there was so much to do in the way of making men sons. (2) But liberty from the law is not liberty to do the deeds of the flesh. The Spirit of God's Son is liberty from habits of sin, even from any desire or motion towards sinfulness. It is the liberty that gives us courage to say in every temptation, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.'

4. *It is a spirit of obedience.* 'Howbeit, not my will, but thine be done.' My will?—Yes, because it is a spirit of liberty. The Son of God said, 'My will' in Gethsemane. And when the sons of God receive the Spirit of God's Son they can say 'My will' for the first time in reality. But 'our wills are ours to make them thine.' 'Not my will, but thine be done.' There is a cup put into our hands. We shrink from it. Shall we drink it? Our wills are ours. Yes, we shall drink it. We may say, and we may say it with something of the deep emotion of a Gethsemane, 'Abba, Father, let this cup pass from me'; but we shall add, 'Nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done.'

[1] Drummond, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 172.

In their great reprint of Wyclif's Bible, published in Oxford in 1850, Forshall & Madden give some illustrations to show the courage that was necessary to translate the Bible in Wyclif's days. From a manuscript volume preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, they quote the apprehension which one unnamed translator felt: 'Brother, I knowe wel, that I am holde by Crystis lawe to parforme thyn axinge, bote natheles we beth now so fer yfallen awey fram Cristis lawe, that if Y wolde answere to thyn axingus, I moste in cas vnderfonge the deth; and thu wost wel, that a man is yholden to kepe his lyfe as longe as he may. And perawnter it is spedful, to holden oure pes awhile, tyl that God foucheth saf, that his wille be yknowe.'

I said, Let us walk in the fields;
He said, No, walk in the town.
I said, There are no flowers there;
He said, No flowers, but a crown.

I said, But the skies are black,
There is nothing but noise and din;
And He wept as He sent me back—
There is more, He said, there is sin.

I said, But the air is thick,
And fogs are veiling the sun.
He answered, Yet souls are sick,
And souls in the dark undone.

I said, I shall miss the light,
And friends will miss me, they say.
He answered, Choose to-night,
If I am to miss you, or they.

I pleaded for time to be given.
He said, Is it hard to decide?
It will not seem hard in heaven
To have followed the steps of your guide.

# The Nomenclature of the Parables.

By the Rev. R. M. Lithgow, Lisbon.

That common denominator, by which we have been guided in our study of the parabolic symbolism, sheds light on other aspects besides this of the parabolic record and its doctrine. The fact it bears witness to, of a subject common to all the Synoptic parables, the development of which is traced throughout their whole sequence, gives us a unifying element, its relation to which should prove the distinguishing feature of each single parable. The history we have been following in these parables of our Lord is that of man's spiritual nature, from the point where it is only potential, or at most dormant, to that where it has attained its full development and glory, honoured with the fellowship, and entrusted with the authority of its Maker.

We might well expect that this would have been seen all along, and have its reality and importance kept before us, in the common designations, as well as in the popular expositions, of the several parables. As a matter of fact, however, the case is very far from answering to these legitimate expectations. Quite one-half of the Matthean parables, and a full third of the Lucan ones, are generally referred to by names, which distinctly withdraw our attention from the main and unifying point of their teaching. Our present purpose is to study this popular nomenclature, and to note its influence on parabolic exposition.

At the very outset we are confronted with what warns us to be careful in our criticism. For our Lord's first parable, although clearly picturing man's spiritual state in the several soils therein described, and expounded in this sense by its divine Author, is referred to by Christ Himself as the Parable of the Sower. It is one of two designated by name in the New Testament, the other being that of the Tares. There is this common to them both, that they were spoken at the very outset, and so prior to any development, of the parabolic teaching. Appearing thus, these parables might the more readily be named after the leading figure, or special word, which their several narratives present.

It is, however, only the first of them to which their Author Himself gives its name. And as it opens with the sower going forth to sow, so the other which immediately follows, opens with a man sowing good seed, and his enemy thereafter sowing tares in his field. Now it is these two sowers who make possible every element in the parabolic doctrine. But for the Sower of the good seed, and that enemy who sows the tares, the whole atmosphere and environment of man's spiritual development would disappear. There is then a special fitness in Christ's drawing attention, by the designation He applies to His first parable, and by the way in which He opens His statement of the second, to these the great opposing forces in that spiritual world to which all His parables relate, and the contrast between which is the special subject of their opening triad.

These two initial parables are distinguished in having Christ as their first expositor; and, in as far as relates to the former of them, the divinely authentic interpretation has been generally followed by all expositors since. And consequently this parable has as a rule been expounded in relation to the several soils it sets before us. Thus Dr. Bruce says it is meant to teach that there are diverse classes of hearers, corresponding to the four sorts of ground; while Dr. Dods regards it as explaining why the good seed fails so frequently to fructify, by showing that this depends upon the nature of the soil upon which it falls.

The same good guidance has not been so generally followed in regard to our Lord's interpretation of His second parable, that of the Tares. Christ distinctly says in His exposition of its imagery, 'The field is the world,' but the perversity of expositors, even good ones, has led them to maintain that this field is the Church. The spirit of the Old Testament chronicler, whose whole view of his nation's history is coloured by the ecclesiasticism of Jerusalem, lives in the view of this parable taken by Augustine, Luther, and Beza, not to mention others, and retained by several modern expositors. It was the exigencies of a desperate position that led the Donatists to maintain the other view, which, with his strong good sense, Dr. Dods has accepted. It is enough

for us that we have its Author's clear exposition in favour of regarding this parable as having reference to those influences for good or evil which characterize the whole field of humanity, and thus have a wider range than any Church on earth, although the contrast between them is here set in that full light which the coming of the Son of Man has brought to bear upon the kingdoms of light and of darkness.

There is a premonition of the many ecclesiastical controversies with which the interpretation of this parable has become associated, in the fact that its original hearers have shown, by the designation which they gave it, how far the trying tares had got a foremost place in their minds. When, similarly affected, we substitute here an uncalled-for guidance on the treatment of heretics for the plain warning of the parable in regard to the evil influences affecting us all every day, we clearly miss the point of the parable. And we cannot say but that its ancient designation, by diverting attention from the two sorts of seeds, has had its share in producing this result.

But whether this be so or not, there can be no doubt that the Net of that third parable, whose immediate connexion with the initial two, others have recognized before us, has proved a snare for more than one excellent theologian. It is the spirit of a narrow-sighted ecclesiasticism that causes Dr. Trench here, as in the case of that tare-sown field, to see but the Church, where a much wider net, that of humanity itself, is clearly indicated. But why Dr. Bruce should tilt against the sane judgment and common sense of Grotius, in contending that the net is the kingdom, is not so easy to understand by those who have felt the inspiration of his wide unconventional outlook and wise spiritual insight. For surely it is the deadening blight of the letter that, in the formula, 'the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net,' is put forward, to eclipse the sunlight of Christ's own expository reference to the end of the world. But here, again, one must not overlook the fact that this parable of the good and bad Fish has not yet got rid of its puzzling entanglement with the net. If owing its position in the Matthean record to its symbol, that of course must be the fish, but it is possible that its distinctly eschatological reference may account for its postponement here, till after parables with more relation to the course of man's life on earth.

The Matthean parables of growth have not, like those of the great distinction, caused any misapprehension of their meaning through their names. There has been but some slight difference of terms, too, in their exposition. Thus, while the Mustard Seed for Dr. Trench is Christ, for Drs. Bruce and Dods it is the kingdom; and while for the former the Leaven is the gospel, for the latter divines it is the Christian morality and spirit, affecting the world through personal influence. Mark's Parable of the Growing Corn has had its true place and value assigned it by Dr. Bruce, but why Trench and he should severally put so much weight on the secrecy, and sourness, associated with the growth here depicted, as to designate the parable in view of these features, is not so easy to appreciate. The point of the parable is to portray the development of the kingdom in the individual, as the growth of the mustard does that of the visible Church, and the diffusive potency of the leaven that of the Christian spirit. Now Growing Corn as a name denoting the growth of good seed, seems best to meet all the needs of the case.

We meet with misleading names again, in the next group of the Matthean parables, in the cases of those of the Hid Treasure, and the Pearl of Great Price. For it is the Treasure Finder, and the Pearl Merchant on whom we must fix our attention, to read aright the lessons taught us here. It is man's finding and winning of the kingdom, that is the subject of these parables, as it is these actions, rather than the value and nature of either the treasure or the pearl, which are here described. And in the latter of the two parables, the usual formula itself puts us on this the right interpretation, for it reads, 'the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a merchant, seeking goodly pearls.'

The conventional designations have, however, led expositors to extract as much as possible from the little that is said about the thing found or sought for, to the neglect of what is plainly told us about the seeking. The mention of a field in the earlier parable again enables Dr. Trench to get a sight of the Church, although his conscience seems to trouble him lest this should prove to be the Bible. In every exposition of these parables, full justice and more is done to every glint of light shed upon the Treasure, and the Pearl. Fortunately there is no serious difference, if any,

as to what these represent, the kingdom and its value, nor can these parables be expounded at all, without some fair share of justice being done to the active agents who figure in them. But it shows how entirely apart from their place in the development of the parabolic doctrine they have been treated, to note that Dr. Dods says their purpose is to exhibit the incomparable value of the kingdom of heaven, and that Dr. Bruce sums up their meaning as the kingdom of God the *summum bonum*, in both of which cases we see that it is the Treasure and the Pearl, rather than the Finder and the Merchant, that are most considered.

It is the light got from Matthew's next parable, that most encourages us in the view we take of these two. For here, in this Parable of the Unmerciful Servant, or Unforgiving Debtor, as Dr. Dods prefers to call it, we have a third parable on finding, here conjoined with again losing, which beautifully crowns and interprets the other two. It proclaims grace to be the thing found, and in furnishing us with a condition of its retention, draws our attention to the conditions of its procural too. That, in our judgment, is the main point of the preceding parables, explaining, as it does, the need for the purchase of a field, in connexion with an already discovered treasure.

Now in view of this, it is distinctly interesting to note how these two sets of conditions, those of the getting, and of the keeping, are associated in the expositions given of this parable. Thus Dr. Bruce regards the implacable spirit as not only justly forfeiting, but as precluded from any receipt of mercy; Dr. Trench says of the forgiven man, that in showing mercy he renounces no right, having pledged himself on asking and accepting grace to show it. And Dr. Dods finds this parable proclaiming in the plainest language, that the mere cancelling of our guilt does not save us, and that unless the forgiveness of God begets within us a truly gracious spirit, we cannot be owned as His children.

It is such expositions as these, showing how close is the connexion between what relates to the finding and the forfeiting of grace, which enable us to see how suitably this Parable of the Unforgiving Debtor follows that of the Pearl Merchant, and to appreciate how much underlies that parting with all, required in order to the purchase of the treasure-field and of the pearl. But it would seem as if the connexion, between this, the last of the Galilean parables, and the two earlier finding ones, had escaped expository notice.

The Matthean parables on the divine claims, or man's duties towards God, are, like those on growth, in no way misleading, through their ordinary titles of the Labourers, the Two Sons, and the Husbandmen or Tenants. For it is in these several relationships that the human soul is at this point represented. And hence we prefer the Labourers as a title, to that of the Hours, given this parable by Dr. Bruce.

The expository treatment of these parables attests our contention, that, with the finding group, we step from the sphere of morality and law into that of grace. Thus Dr. Bruce notes that it is the spirit of the service, rather than the amount of work done, that is held of account in the payment of the labourers, in keeping with which Drs. Trench and Dods find the parable directed against mercenary service, and the bargaining spirit, in man's dealings with his Maker. Again, in the Parable of the Two Sons, Dr. Bruce finds a rebuke of insincerity, and Dr. Trench one of a vain self-righteous profession, while Dr. Dods regards it as commending deeds not words, all alike thus emphasizing its call to a hearty loyalty to God as man's loving Father. And so, too, with the third parable of this group, for all three expositors regard the conduct of the husbandmen as representing man's abuse of the divine trust. Trench says it sets forth the despite done to Jehovah by His favoured people; Bruce that it portrays the truculent ill-treatment of Jesus by the Jews; and Dods that it represents the selfish perversion of sacred duties and official dignity, on the part of men set to maintain and further God's own cause.

The parables of the Wedding Feast and Robe, of the Ten Virgins, and of the Talents, which close the Matthean record, are all somewhat misleading in regard to their titles. The Royal Wedding Guests and the Intruder, the Bridesmaids, and the Trading Servants, are designations which would better indicate their relation to the parabolic doctrine as a whole, for, as we have pointed out, it is the complimentary relationships which these terms denote, with the duties they imply, which constitute the subject of their teaching. Dr. Trench passes censure on the

Wedding Garment, as a faulty name, for the first of these parables, and himself calls it the Marriage of the King's Son, although both names alike divert attention from the real point of the parable. We note with interest Dr. Trench's observation that in these later parables the deity ever figures in a higher rôle. He is thus in turn Employer, Father, Landlord, King, Bridegroom, and Supreme Lord. This is the only contribution to our own view of the parables which we have come across, and we hail it as adding a confirmatory point which we had missed.

Our modern expositors have not failed to do justice to the several notes of warning, in regard to the contempt and abuse of grace, the lack of vigilance, and the neglect of active Christian duty, which these solemn parables afford. Just as the word Virgins led Chrysostom and others strangely astray in their exposition of this parable in the early ages, so has the oil in this parable proved a stumbling-block to some modern expositors, and Dr. Bruce has rendered a good service in showing that it ought to be regarded as a symbol of the means of grace, rather than of grace itself. No less has the wedding robe given rise to various and conflicting interpretations. Theophylact's words 'that the entrance to the wedding-feast being of grace is without scrutiny, but not so the life of those who have entered,' sheds most light on this matter, and shows such interpretations as faith, or charity, to be but partial expressions of what is better denoted as a gracious and righteous disposition, or a character worthy and recognizant of divine grace. Dr. Trench, true to his predilections, finds the Church here doubly symbolized, alike in the bride and in the guests of this wedding-feast. His comparison of the over-confidence of the bridesmaids, and the under-confidence of the unprofitable servant entrusted with the talent, has more to commend it, while Olshausen's remark that 'while the children of darkness are cast into eternal fire, the children of light are cast into outer darkness,' serves to remind us that it is the duties and responsibilities of grace that are set before us in these last three parables.

Turning now to the Lucan record, we find nothing to criticize in the designations of the lost and found parables. Complaint has been made that their main feature as a notable evangelic utterance would be more fitly denoted by the titles of the Good Shepherd, the Good Woman, and the Good Father. But such names, we can see, would be out of keeping with the unity of the parabolic doctrine. Besides, in view of the divine standpoint from which they regard man's natural condition, we prefer the names, Lost Coin, Lost Sheep, and Lost Son, even to those of the Strayed Sheep, and Prodigal Son, which have more relation to the human side of this subject.

In regard to their exposition, we note that our modern divines seem to be at one, in identifying the elder brother of the Lost Son with the Pharisee, while Trench stands suggestively alone, in considering the woman of the Lost Coin as a symbol of the Church, with her candle representing the Bible. We have our doubts about this strange honour done to the Pharisee, in view of the father's words, 'Son, thou art ever with me,' and since making acquaintance with Mr. G. O. Barnes' suggestion of the Trinity being represented in the agency of the three-one parable, have been no less fascinated by the view that the woman represents the Spirit, than convinced that the Good Shepherd, and the Heavenly Father, are severally represented in the two companion parables.

One is at a loss to understand why the prayer parables, of the Midnight Borrower, and the Importunate Widow, should have come to be so much better known as those of the Friend at Midnight, or Selfish Neighbour, and of the Unjust Judge, as the latter two figures have at most but the impersonal significance of a frowning providence, and are invariably utilized expositorily on the score of their unlikeness to the Hearer and Answerer of prayer. It is clearly the petitioners here, as also in the Parable of the Pharisee and Publican, whose conduct furnishes the lessons which these parables are intended to teach. In connexion with their exposition, we note that Dr. Trench does not miss the chance of finding the Church symbolized by the Importunate Widow, an amusingly suggestive and dubiously complimentary similitude.

The parables of the Two Debtors, the Good Samaritan, and Dives and Lazarus, belonging to the typical rather than to the symbolical class of parabolic utterances, give us examples, rather than symbolic pictures, of the effects and fruits of grace, as also of the ungracious character and its fate. They in fact translate into actual life and

experience the figures of Matthew's finding group of parables, revealing in the needs of a robbed and half-dead man, and of a leprous beggar, the real field in which a lasting treasure may be found, and exposing the disaster of neglecting such opportunities of manifesting grace, and winning an immortal prize. Their titles are in no way misleading nor unsuitable to their teachings.

The Lucan parables on the divine claims give us, in that of the Barren Fig-tree, one, the title of which fully explains itself, and a pair by no means so satisfactorily designated. These are the parables of the Pounds, and of the Unprofitable Servants, or of Extra Service, as Dr. Bruce has better named it. The Farm Servant would perhaps best designate the latter, and the King's Pedlars the former parable. For what is set forth in them is severally, the devotion of a hard-wrought but faithful attendant, and the duties of servants, who, with a very small capital, are set to trade by the master who becomes their king. The poor endowment in this case is clearly made with a view to testing the ability of his subjects, in order to their state employment, by the sovereign.

Expositors generally have recognized in the Barren Fig-tree, a symbol applicable alike to the Jews as a nation and to man's personal disposition towards God, although some have contented themselves with expounding it in the former connexion. The resemblance which the Parable of the Pounds bears, in some of its features, to historic incidents in the fortunes of the Herodian family, has led Trench here, as in the former case, to deal mainly with its Jewish bearings, while Dr. Bruce has well turned to account its more helpful personal ones.

The several names under which Drs. Trench and Bruce expound the Parable of the Farm Servant, serve well to show how the parabolic nomenclature may affect parabolic exposition. Trench's Unprofitable Servants is a parable describing, but not prescribing, duties which God might, but does not, exact of His servants. Bruce's parable of Extra Service shows how in the household of a gracious lord, no duties are held irksome or exacting, because a loving devotion is the cardinal virtue of all its members.

The story of the Rich Fool presents no less solemn a parable of judgment, than any of the final three in Matthew's Gospel, and on it many an impressive sermon has been preached. Its teachings are obvious, its exposition easy, and its title suitable enough. That of the Great Supper represents no less forcibly the fate of those rejecting God's grace, than the other does that of those serving Mammon. Even more to the point than its suggested name of the Excuses, or the title it generally bears, would be that of the Recusant and Ready Guests, for it is the indifference of the former that is its main feature, as it is through the cheerful acceptance by the latter of a gracious host's invitation that we have a sunny side put upon this dark parable of doom.

In the name we give the Parable of the Unjust Steward, may be discerned something like a lack of that very sagacity which this parable commends. For thus absurdly designated, it has naturally given occasion for such misconceptions of its meaning, as found their extreme expression in the charges made against its attributed Christian teachings, by that philosophic but prejudiced apostate, the Emperor Julian. While Christ, by His use of the term unjust as descriptive of this steward, passes condemnation on his unscrupulous conduct, it is for his prudence and alertness that he is commended, as an example to be imitated by the servants of God. Clearly, then, the title of the Sagacious Steward would best suit this parable, and remove the ground for those misapprehensions to which its usual designation is fitted to give rise.

Matthew and Luke have each his respective introductory formula for the parables recorded by them, while Mark uses one which approaches that of Matthew. That of Matthew is 'The kingdom of heaven is like (or likened) unto,' and that of Mark, 'is as if,' while Luke begins, in more narrative fashion, with 'A certain man.' Four parables in Luke, one in Mark, and one in Matthew begin interrogatively; and two in Matthew, the Sower, and the Husbandmen, severally 'Behold,' and 'Hear,' while Mark in his report of the Sower parable begins with both these words. It is undoubtedly the general adoption of the first leading word after these formulæ to designate the several parables, that has occasioned the use of the misleading titles of which we have taken note, but it is the lack of a synthetic view of the parabolic doctrine that has hitherto prevented the adoption of a series of more helpful, because more consistent, names.

THE PARABLES, DESIGNATED IN TERMS OF THEIR SYMBOLISM FOR THE HUMAN SOUL, INDIVIDUALLY OR COLLECTIVELY.

*The Great Distinction.*

Soils, good and bad, Mt 13.
Seeds (Wheat and Tares), Mt 13.
Fish, good and bad, Mt 13.
Lost Coin, Lk 15.
Lost Sheep, Lk 15.
Lost Son, Lk 15.

*Growth and Prayer.*

Growing Corn, Mk 4.
Mustard Seed, Mt 13.
Leaven, Mt 13.
Midnight Borrower, Lk 11.
Importunate Widow, Lk 18.
Pharisee and Publican, Lk 18.

*Grace and its Conditions.*

Treasure Finder, Mt 13.
Pearl Merchant, Mt 13.
Unforgiving Debtor, Mt 18.
Dives and Lazarus, Lk 16.
Good Samaritan, Lk 10.
Two Debtors, Lk 7.

*The Divine Claims.*

Labourers, Mt 20.
Two Sons, Mt 21.
Tenants (Husbandmen), Mt 21.
King's Pedlars (Pounds), Lk 19.
Farm Servant, Lk 17.
Barren Fig-tree, Lk 13.

*Judgment and Doom.*

Rebels, Royal Guests and Intruder, Mt 22.
Bridesmaids, Mt 25.
Trading Servants (Talents), Mt 25.
Recusant and Ready Guests, Lk 14.
Sagacious Steward, Lk 16.
Rich Fool, Lk 12.

# Literature.

## *SOCIAL LIFE AT ROME.*

SOCIAL LIFE AT ROME IN THE AGE OF CICERO. By W. Warde Fowler, M.A. (*Macmillan.* 10s. net.)

THE leading authority on the religion of Rome, in this country at least, is Mr. W. Warde Fowler, Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Mr. Fowler does not confine his attention to Roman Religion. His principal books are on the Roman festivals of the Republic and on the City-State of the Greeks and Romans. But he recognizes, as all reliable writers now recognize, that secular and sacred is a distinction without existence among ancient peoples, probably even without comprehension, and that every act of life was a religious act. It is, therefore, not in spite of his wider interests that he is spoken of as the leading authority on religion. It is because his interests are wider than those we now associate with religion. It is because he sees that however little depth religion might have to a Roman, it had an unlimited breadth, war being as religious an act as worship.

In his new book Mr. Warde Fowler has a separate chapter on Religion. But that does not mean that the rest of the book is not on religion. Let the subject be marriage or aqueducts, ever there appears on the page the name of Jupiter or of Juno, or else there is some reference to tabu or divination. The chapter on Religion is the last chapter in the book, and it is not so much a separate chapter as a summary of the whole.

When St. Paul was in Athens he told the Athenians (according to the Authorized Version), 'Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.' By some he has been much taken to task for his rudeness of speech; while by others much ingenuity has been exercised to rub the rudeness smooth. The Revisers translate his words, 'somewhat superstitious,' and allow us (in the margin) to say 'religious' if we like. But notice two facts, both brought clearly out by Mr. Warde Fowler.

The first is the clear-sightedness of the phrase 'in all things.' On that phrase Mr. Warde Fowler's book is a commentary. The other thing is the word 'superstitious' itself. St. Paul was speaking to Greeks. If he had been speaking to Romans (and very likely there were Romans in his audience), he would certainly have said 'religious.' But what would he have meant? He would have meant superstitious. For, says Mr. Fowler, to the Roman '*religio* meant primarily awe, nervousness, scruple—much the same, in fact, as that feeling which in these days we call superstition.' And not only was it what we call superstition, but it was what they—the philosophers whom St. Paul addressed—themselves called superstition. So that when we condemn St. Paul's bad manners, we merely make it known that we have not read Mr. Warde

Fowler yet, and know nothing about Greek or Roman religion.

### *THE CHILDHOOD OF MAN.*

THE CHILDHOOD OF MAN. By Leo Frobenius. (*Seeley*. 16s. net.)

For a popular introduction to the most popular study of the day, the study of primitive religion, try *The Childhood of Man*, by Dr. Leo Frobenius, which has just been translated into English by Dr. A. H. Keane. That it is intended, in the English translation at any rate, for the use of the absolutely uninitiated is fairly manifest on the face of it, and is frankly stated by the translator in his preface. All the same, it *is* an introduction. Frobenius took incredible pains to get first-hand facts, and then to fit them into their place in some sort of evolutionary system. For he had no doubt whatever that the most grotesque, uncouth, and infantile custom of a Papuan or an Arab had some spiritual significance in itself and some place in that progress in the heart of man out of the darkness which is described by the Apostle Paul as 'seeking the Lord, if haply they may feel after him, and find him.' We have still to ask, perhaps, why they were left seeking so long. But we are now discovering that their darkness was not so Cimmerian as we used to think it was. And that is at least a beginning in the answer to the problem.

The method which Frobenius took to gather his facts was this. He got into correspondence with officials, seafarers, traders, explorers, missionaries, and others engaged in various pursuits among rude and barbarous peoples all over the world. And he transformed his house into a museum for the reception and classification of the gifts they sent him. Thus he got his information, which he then determined to give to the world. But he knew that the world would never read a museum catalogue. And he wrote this popular book, carefully setting things down in order, that their relationship might be seen, suggesting theories and furnishing facts to support them, and succeeding in making the whole work a contribution to science.

The illustrations are numerous. Not one of them has been inserted simply because it is picturesque. One and all they serve the purpose of illustrating the text and enforcing the argument. Among the rest, there are seven full-page plates which present reproductions of water-colour drawings made by John White, Governor of Virginia in the days of Sir Walter Raleigh. These and the number of the black-and-white drawings make the book somewhat costly. But such an introduction to such a subject is worth the money.

The chapters on Secret Societies and Masks, on the Discovery and Use of Fire, on Picture Writing, and on Ancestor-Worship are excellent short descriptions of facts that are fairly familiar; while the chapters on Drums and Bells, on Dress Language, and on Skull Worship contain facts that are unfamiliar and wonderful; and a great ethical revelation to some will be the chapter on the Tests of Manhood.

## Among the Books of the Month.

There is so much attention given now to the education of the eye in children, and so little to the training of the imagination, that it would be better if the preacher who preaches to children should endeavour to draw them away from the external world and teach them to look for realities beyond the reach of the senses. But the Rev. John S. Hastie, B.D., in his volume of Open-air Studies with Young Folk entitled *Under the Blue Dome* (Allenson; 3s. 6d.), occupies himself entirely with things that the eye can see. He draws useful moral lessons out of the descriptions of the grass, the lighthouse, and the clouds, but does not often touch that higher faculty which must be touched in youth if the man or woman is ever with full confidence to say, 'Whom not having seen we love, in whom, though now we see him not, yet believing we rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.'

We have been so much taken up with the criticism of the Bible that its exposition has been suffering. In America, commentaries have been coming out quite steadily, most of them, it must be confessed, regardless of the results of our criticism, but occasionally incorporating them, and so getting in front of us. Here is one. Its general title is 'The Interpreter's Commentary on the New Testament.' The volume on *The Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians* (Barnes; $1.50) has been written by Professor McFadyen of Knox University, Toronto. Is it possible to test it by one comment? Take the comment on 'Abba, Father' in Gal $4^6$:

'It is the *spirit* that cries through them; in Rom. viii. 15, "*we* cry." The word *cry* recalls the ecstatic spiritual experiences alluded to in 1 Cor. xiv. *Abba* was Jesus' own word (Mark xiv. 36); it had been familiar to Aramaic Christians, and had passed from them to Greek-speaking Christians. The sons who used this word would feel themselves peculiarly one with *the* Son who had taught them to use it. It would be natural for them to add to it their own native Greek word, just as we might say, "Abba, *Father*." This blending of Greek and Aramaic, in a context which has been arguing for the abolition of the distinction between Jew and Greek (iii. 28), is suggestive, though of course this is not the *reason* for the juxtaposition of the words.'

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Big prices are now given for the octavo editions of Ranke's Histories in their English translation. But it is a mere fashion, and a foolish one. For the editions which are published by Messrs. George Bell & Sons are not only as good, though cheaper; they are in every way a great deal better. The translations are more accurate, the volumes handier, the notes and indexes fuller and more accessible.

There has just been issued in this series a new edition of Ranke's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (6s. net). The book was first issued in English in Bohn's 'Standard Library' twenty-two years ago. The translator was Mr. P. A. Ashworth. Mr. Ashworth's name now disappears from the title-page; for so thoroughly has his translation been revised by Mr. G. R. Dennis that it has been revised almost out of existence. The new edition further contains a new feature in the form of an introduction contributed by Mr. Edward Armstrong, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

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Messrs. James Clarke & Co. of Fleet Street have issued four new volumes this month, and re-issued a fifth. The re-issue is *Our City of God*, by Mr. J. Brierley (3s. 6d.).

One of the new volumes is the result of an article which appeared in the *Hibbert Journal*, and of which some notice was taken in The Expository Times—an article entitled 'Jesus or Christ?' written by the Rev. R. Roberts. The article was certainly not worth a place in any magazine. But it said openly and without any literary grace, the same thing as a good many other writers are saying, that Jesus Christ was merely a man, with a man's weakness and sin, and that, in short, if we are not to fall intellectually into the rear we must all make haste and become Unitarians. The only significance which the article had was in the description of its author as a Congregational minister. But in the following number of the *Hibbert Journal*, Dr. Horton points out that the title is misleading, as Mr. Roberts 'has not been a minister in the Congregational sense for eleven years back.' So the value of Dr. Warschauer's book is not in its occasion but in itself, and especially in the excellent answer it makes to those who, unblest with reverence, find our Lord Jesus Christ no better than He should be. The title of the book is *Jesus or Christ?* (1s. 6d. net).

*The Judges of Jesus*—what a title! And yet it is quite appropriate. Who were they?—Judas, Annas, Peter, Caiaphas, Herod, Pilate's wife, Pilate. And now they themselves have been judged, and Jesus is their judge. It makes a striking course of sermons in the hands of the Rev. J. G. Stevenson, the temporal and the eternal rubbing shoulders together, for once visibly, but just to the same issues as they do with ourselves every day (2s. net).

*The Art of Sermon Illustration*, by the Editor of the *Christian World Pulpit*, will be considered on another page (3s. 6d. net).

The book that has attracted us most has the title of *The First Things of Jesus* (3s. 6d. net). The author is the Rev. John Reid, M.A., one of the few men in our day (even when we take all the Churches together they are few) who have the gift of exposition. The volume contains studies of certain sayings of our Lord in which He used the word 'first.' Now in the mouth of Christ 'first' is a significant word. It looks like a word of time; it is really a word of eternity. Even the Son of Man must first suffer—suffer before something else certainly; but also as the chief thing; and to-day we write about the significance of Christ's death as the event on earth with most manifestly eternal issues. Of the last of the chapters the title is 'The First Stone.' In that chapter Mr. Reid handles the difficult subject of the woman taken in adultery, and in handling it keeps us in a clean bracing atmosphere. We wish to recommend this book. Its simplicity

is a triumph, for it is the fruit of much reading and experience.

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Mr. Culley has been good enough to send us a copy of *A Lineal Index to the Methodist Hymn-Book* (6s. 6d. net), although we do not belong to the 'People called Methodists.' But Mr. Culley is a wide-awake publisher. He knows that we have readers among the 'People called Methodists,' and many of them. More than that, he is full of pride in his own publications. He believes that the Methodist Hymn-Book, even if it is not used publicly at worship, is likely enough to be used privately in the study, by Christians of every Church and denomination. Now a hymn-book that is to be used in the study, that is, for illustration, needs an index. For how often have we a word or a thought, or even a shred of a verse, which would have been an illustration and a telling one, if we could have fixed it down by means of an index. We can fix it down now. We can fix down hundreds of thousands of words and thoughts. And we owe that inestimable boon to the Rev. William Miles.

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Mr. Frowde is not too late yet with his Oxford edition of *The Complete Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (2s.), though we shall soon be off with the old love and on with a new, so many are the centenaries that fall due this year. It is an edition which does credit even to Oxford editorship. There is a memoir, a bibliography, all the poems in good large type, an index to their first lines, and three essays on poetry.

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What is a classic? It is not a book about the classics. But if a book about the classics takes such a hold of the readers of literature that it passes through edition after edition till the author has nothing more to do with it than let it circulate and the publishers simply produce another impression; and if it is itself literature, being written both with knowledge and distinction—is not that book a classic? The book is *A History of Greek Literature*, by Frank Byron Jevons, M.A., Litt.D., Principal of Hatfield Hall in the University of Durham (Griffin; 8s. 6d.).

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In *Health and Happiness* which comes from the Griffith & Rowland Press in Philadelphia, Mr. R. M. Harbin, M.D., has made a persevering effort to use his medical knowledge for the advancement of the Kingdom. His subject is the relation between disease and sin, a subject that stands greatly in need of capable and unhysterical handling. Perhaps Dr. Harbin is just a trifle too anxious to be edifying, but certainly he has no bias in favour of the indifference of sin, and that is great gain. He believes in the possibility of recovery from sin as from a disease, by slow stages of self-denial chiefly. He believes further that certain spiritual faculties may be wholly lost through sin, as certain physical faculties may be wholly lost through disease. But then he believes that the faculties which remain may be cultivated to an exceptional degree of perfection. In the Forty-third Report of the Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, Dr. Howe states that Julia Brace, a blind and deaf mute, could instantly recognize persons she had met before as soon as she caught the odour from their glove or hand. She was employed to sort out the clothing of each of the pupils after it came from the wash.

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Dr. Campbell Morgan has begun his Analysis of the Bible, after three preliminary volumes, with *The Gospel according to John* (Hodder & Stoughton; 3s. 6d.). And first there is a scheme of contents, the whole of the contents of the Gospel being set forth in five parallel columns. It is a courageous effort, and it has cost the author thought. The inevitable criticism is that John himself was not half so ingenious as Dr. Campbell Morgan. But even if the criticism is just, it does not make the book less valuable if we keep our eyes open. Dr. Campbell Morgan finds Love, Life, Light expounded in great recurring spaces throughout the Gospel, and all in order, like a treatise in Systematic Theology. It is well worth our while to consider whether that is so.

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The Jewish Publication Society of America is working upon a new translation of the Old Testament into English, part of which has already been published. It has also undertaken a series of commentaries to be written by Jewish scholars. The enterprise is admirable. One only wonders that Jewish scholarship has not done more for the interpretation of the Old Testament.

The first volume of the Commentary has been written by Mr. Max L. Margolis, Ph.D. The book is *Micah*. Mr. Margolis is quite well

acquainted with the criticism of the last forty years (to go back no further than Ewald), but his attitude is fairly conservative. He is reluctant to separate any of the prophecies from Micah's authorship. Even Mic $2^{12.\ 13}$ he retains by accepting Ibn Ezra's suggestion of placing the verses within quotation marks as a sample of the optimistic sermons of the false prophets. In the commentary he uses more liberty. The translation followed is the new Jewish one, though not uniformly. Mic $6^{8}$ reads—

> It hath been declared unto thee, O man, what is good:
> And what doth the Lord require of thee,
> But to execute justice, and to love kindness,
> And to walk humbly with thy God?

There is a good note on the word 'remnant,' with a reference to the liturgy of the Synagogue, in which the Jews designate themselves as the remnant, and pray to God not to suffer them to perish.

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The National Council of Free Churches did a courageous thing in determining to include a volume on *Conversion* in their 'Christian Faith and Doctrine' series (Law; 2s. 6d. net). For conversion is not now regarded as a scientific fact, or its title as a scientific term. They did a yet more courageous thing in entrusting the volume to Dr. Newton H. Marshall. For Dr. Marshall is the latest product of all the sciences, physical, sociological, psychical.

What is the result? The result is a volume in which conversion is confirmed as a fact, a fact of New Testament times and a fact in the life of to-day. Dr. Marshall takes all the sciences with him. Of the science of psychology he makes even liberal use, openly acknowledging his obligations to Professor Starbuck and Professor James. But conversion is a fact. And it is an experience which every man must pass through in order to reach the glory of his manhood. Dr. Marshall is not troubled with niceties of theological distinction. He knows what men have written about the difference between conversion and regeneration, and he does not deny the difference. But he says that conversion and regeneration make but one reality, a reality which is indivisible except by logical abstraction. And the full title of his book is *Conversion or the New Birth.*

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We must always be careful not to criticise a book by its relation to our own opinion. Professor Francis J. Hall, D.D., of the Western Theological Seminary in Chicago, has written a book on *The Being and Attributes of God* (Longmans; 6s. net). Its doctrine of God is not in every respect our doctrine. What of that? We shall learn the more from it. It is the book of a student, the book of a thinker, the book of a believer. There is not a loose sentence in it, and there is no trivial rhetoric. It is, above all, the book of a student. Professor Hall's knowledge of the subject is an amazement. While other men are circling about Calvin or Arminius, Simeon or Newman, like children in a merry-go-round, and never getting away, this man has studied every article in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and opened his mind to the revelation that is there sent to him, believing that he is bound in his doctrine of God to account for all that God tells him of Himself through the Ainus and the Apaches, as well as through the children of Israel. And this larger study has not only enlarged his circle of belief; it has altered the position of its centre. Its centre now is not Calvinism or Newmanism. It is not even the Christ of these men. It is that larger, fuller Christ, who was, and is, and is to be.

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Canon Robinson of Ripon has written an able and candid book on the Resurrection of our Lord —*Studies in the Resurrection of Christ* (Longmans; 3s. 6d. net). He knows the difficulties. He has written 'from the standpoint of one to whom the difficulties involved in the belief in the Resurrection of Christ are very real, and to whom they would appear insuperable if the evidence which is available in its support were put forward in order to prove the resurrection of any ordinary man.' That sentence exposes the heart of the volume. As for the resurrection body, Canon Robinson holds that while the Resurrection was an objective reality, the body in which Christ rose was not a material, but a spiritual body.

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'"In the name of the holy Trinity, Father, and Sonn, and Holy Ghost, I Raynold Peacock, bishopp of Chycester unworthy, of mine own pure and free will, without any man's cohertion or dread, confess and acknowledge, that I here before time presuming of mine own natural witt, and preferring the judgment of naturall reason before the New and Old Testaments, and the authority and determination of our moder holy church, have holden, felyd,

written, and taught otherwise, then the holy Romane and universal church teacheth, preacheth, and observeth. . . . And on this to declaration of my commission, and repentance, I here openly assent, that my said books, works, and writings, for consideration and cause above rehearsed, be deputed unto the fire, and openly be burnt, into the example and terror of all other." In the words of this recantation the career of the only great English theologian of the fifteenth century ended.'

And so begins the account of the life of Reginald Pecock, which Professor J. L. Morison contributes to his edition of *Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith* (Maclehose; 5s. net). The introduction is also an essay on 'The Development of Fifteenth Century Opinion,' and valuable enough to be referred to henceforth by students of that period of English History. The Book of Faith itself is also chiefly of historical interest, not of quite so much account theologically now. It has been edited with much loving care from the manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

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Under the editorship of the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D., F.R.S.E., Messrs. Methuen have undertaken the publication of a series of handbooks of English Church History (2s. 6d. net each). Two volumes are issued; (1) *The Foundations of the English Church*, by J. H. Maude, M.A.; (2) *The Saxon Church and the Norman Conquest*, by C. T. Cruttwell, M.A. The series challenges no comparison with Macmillan's handsome set. The volumes are smaller, cheaper, more popular. But it looks as if each volume were to be put into hands that are just as scholarly. These two volumes leave nothing to be desired in that way. And we notice that a subsequent volume is to be written by Dr. Alfred Plummer. We congratulate Mr. Burn upon the idea and the successful realization of it.

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Mr. Murray has published *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1908 (2s. 6d. net). This is the third year of issue. The volume contains eighteen papers ranging from 'Classical Work in Schools,' by the editor (Dr. W. H. D. Rouse), to 'The New Testament,' by Professor Peake. The 'Greek Mythology and Religion' is done by Dr. Farnell, and the 'Roman Religion and Mythology' by Mr. Warde Fowler. Dr. Hunt contributes the article on the Papyri, and Dr. Moulton the article on Hellenistic Greek.

Horatius Bonar was born in Edinburgh on the 19th day of December 1808. On the 21st day of January 1909, a great public meeting was held in the Grange Church of his native city. Lord Ardwall was in the chair. Speeches were delivered by the Bishop of Durham, Lord Polwarth, Lord Guthrie, Dr. Alexander Whyte, and others. And then, on the Sunday following, sermons were preached in the same church by Dr. Robertson Nicoll and Dr. George Wilson. And now all these speeches and sermons have been brought together in a volume, entitled *Memories of Dr. Horatius Bonar*, which has been published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier (2s. 6d. net). For, at the end of a century, we have begun to realize how great a man Horatius Bonar was.

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For the knowledge of Christ is it better to trust to the historical Gospels or to our own imagination? It is better, says Franz Hartmann, M.D., to trust to our own imagination. For 'We can have no self-knowledge about persons that existed before we were born; but we may at any time and in every place realize the presence of the true Saviour, the eternal living Christ within ourselves.' Moreover, 'While there seems to be a vein of truth in regard to actual historical occurrences underlying the Gospel accounts, the great bulk of the latter is in contradiction to common sense, and merely a repetition of different allegories, such as we may find in the ancient books of the Egyptians, Persians, and Brahmins.' Accordingly Mr. Hartmann has written *The Life of Jehoshua, the Prophet of Nazareth* (Kegan Paul; 7s. 6d.); and Mr. Hartmann's Jehoshua is not the Jesus of the Evangelists.

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From the Pilgrim Press come *Silas Marner* and *Scenes of Clerical Life* in one handsome volume, with illustrations by Watson Charlton (2s. 6d. net).

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The History of Civilization is of more importance than the History of Politics. Professor Seignobos of the University of Paris is its historian. He has written its history in three volumes — Ancient, Mediæval, Modern. Mr. Fisher Unwin has had them all translated; the last, under the title of *History of Contemporary Civilization* (5s. net), being just out. The facts which the volume contains may all be had for the gathering. But to gather them all one might have to read half the

volumes which are named in the bibliographies at the end. And then they would have to be arranged and set forth with the simplicity and grace of French writing before their significance could make its impression. All the trouble is saved by the reading of this convenient volume.

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Mr. Fisher Unwin has issued a new impression of *Coillard of the Zambesi* (6s.), which is the history of the lives of François and Christina Coillard of the Paris Missionary Society, in South and Central Africa, 1858–1904, written by C. W. Mackintosh. It is itself a continued illustration of the text 'In perils oft,' and of the text 'Cast down, but not dismayed.' But it contains also some particular illustrations of texts, two of which are worth referring to.

King Mosilikatse, like King Saul, could not endure to hear greater praise-words than his own. When the preacher dwelt upon the royal glories of our Saviour, he would give the signals to his chiefs to rise and drown the praises of Christ in his own. The National Assemblies always opened with a hymn of praise to the king, chanted by all present, like a cathedral chorus, and followed by a presentation of cattle as offerings to him.

Again, this is the idea of the future life among the Zambesians: 'The dead go to Nyambé, taking the name of *ifu*, *i.e.* the manes or ancestral spirits. They are judged *beforehand* by Nyambé. The moment any one [*i.e.* any arrival in the spirit-world] is announced to him, Nyambé gives his orders. If the person is worthy, the servants of Nyambé point out to him a little path, very narrow, which leads to himself. Here the new arrival will possess vast herds and whole tribes of slaves—their ideal of happiness. If, on the contrary, it is one unworthy of Nyambé's favours, a broad and much-beaten road is pointed out to him, which gradually effaces itself more and more, and ends in a frightful desert, where the poor wretch wanders till he dies of hunger and thirst.'

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Mr. Hugh MacColl has written a book on *Man's Origin, Destiny, and Duty* (Williams & Norgate; 4s. 6d. net). He is most interested in man's duty, and not in what it is, so much as in why he should do it. Why should a man do his duty? First, says Mr. MacColl, because just as there are animals below man who have not the faculties to enable them to know of his existence, so there are beings above man of whose lives *he* knows nothing for the same reason. Second, these higher beings have their virtues and vices, but they are gradually eliminating the vices and strengthening the virtues. Third, just as man acquires mastery over the animals below him, so these beings acquire mastery over him. Fourth, as man will be held responsible for his treatment of the lower animals, so these beings will be held responsible for their treatment of him. Fifth, and last, the whole universe is controlled either by *One* Supreme Being, or else by two or more Supreme Beings whose thoughts and actions are always so close in unison that they may virtually be regarded as *One*. 'On these reasonable assumptions,' says Mr. MacColl, 'a workable system of ethics may be erected.' Mr. MacColl has also republished two articles which he contributed to the *Hibbert Journal*. They are characteristic.

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Mr. J. Allanson Picton, M.A., has written a history of the Bible in the Church. He calls it *Man and the Bible* (Williams & Norgate; 6s. net). Now Mr. Allanson Picton is no bibliolater. We shall prove it by a single quotation. It is a footnote to p. 199. 'I must reiterate that the Fourth Gospel does not count, being a very late first-century or early second-century romance.' He is no bibliolater; and yet his history of the treatment which the Bible received throughout the ages of Christianity, and most of all where Christianity has been most an official and ecclesiastical Christianity, is one long exclamation of amazement and regret.

He writes the history of the Bible backwards. Beginning with the present day, he works his way back through the centuries, till he comes to St. Paul and the primitive Christians. Then he gives three separate chapters which cut across the whole space of the Christian centuries, one on the Bible and Religion, one on the Bible and Morals, and one on the Bible and Social Evolution.

In the chapter on the Bible and Morals he offers a fine free testimony to the supremacy of conscience. Here, as a thinker, he seems to be most at home. Here at any rate his heart is most entirely with him. He places the Early Christian martyrs as far above the Roman heroes like Scaevola and Regulus as true self-sacrifice is above pride. Even Socrates is surpassed in nobility, although in his cheerful indifference to everything but truth he stands alone

in his death through all the pagan world. The Christian martyr is nobler in that his death was voluntary. He could easily have escaped it if conscience had allowed.

Mr. Allanson Picton is no bibliolater, we have said. He thinks, indeed, that the influence of bibliolatry has been overstated in our day. The great demand now as always is not for less use of the Bible or less reverence, but more and fuller.

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Professor B. W. Bacon of Yale is one of our foremost New Testament scholars. His mind is at once reverent and unfettered, a profitable combination. And he spares no pains. At the Yale University Press he has published *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, which is 'A Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Sources and Structure of the Gospel according to Mark, with Expository Notes upon the Text, for English Readers.' The criticism, which occupies an introduction of forty pages, must be mastered first. For the expository notes rest upon it at every step. 'After seventy years of fervent debate,' two things are settled: (1) that Mark is the literary groundwork of Matthew and Luke; (2) that Matthew and Luke have independently used Mark and another evangelical writing, principally made up of the teaching of Jesus, this writing being called Q. To these Dr. Bacon adds that Mark is not simply the preaching of Peter, but is certainly influenced by the Pauline Epistles, and has also made use of Q.

Dr. Bacon is acquainted with the very latest work done on the New Testament. Thus we observe that he is aware of the warning to keep the use of the papyri within bounds — a warning already uttered by so distinguished a papyrist as Dr. Moulton. If the language of the New Testament is the language of the common people, it is something more. And that something is the mind of Christ.

# The Virgin Birth.

By the Rev. J. S. Cooper, M.A., Liverpool.

Do we view the doctrine of the Virgin Birth from the standpoint of the author of St. Luke's Gospel? The doctrine is regarded to-day, in many quarters, as a proof of the Divinity of our Lord. Surely in Apostolic times it was regarded as a proof of the humanity of our Lord. The particular question was as to whether Christ had come in the flesh. The Christian experience of Him and of the Holy Spirit was vivid enough—so vivid that it seemed hardly credible that the origin of all these Divine impulses was once in a carpenter's shop at Nazareth. And so it was necessary to prove the human motherhood of Jesus. The First Epistle of John emphasizes all this. The Epistle begins by declaring that Christ is no phantom. He is 'that which we have seen, which we have looked right into, which our hands have handled.' In 1 Jn $4^{2.3}$ and $5^{20.21}$ all this is emphasized. And the Epistle ends with a warning against 'idols'—that is, mere appearances lacking substantial reality.

The world has always had a gospel—even a gospel about heaven. Christianity gave this gospel a foundation on the earth. It did not content itself with speculating about immortality; it revealed an immortal being, one whose immortality was shown openly and incontestably by resurrection from the dead, one who could not be holden of death.

Thus the labour expended on discovering the mother of our Lord and perpetuating her reality had as its object the certifying of hopes that had previously had no secure foundation in the only realm where human knowledge can substantiate itself.

Again, it is a remarkable fact that the Acts of the Apostles contains nothing directly concerning the Virgin birth, though the book is acknowledged as due to the author of the Third Gospel and written to the same destination. But in the view that the author of St. Luke's Gospel was to emphasize the human reality of our Lord by the stories of the birth, we find the point of view prominent enough in the Acts. In $2^{22}$ He is 'a man approved of God'; in $3^{13.26}$ $4^{27}$ He is 'the Servant' of God; in $3^{22}$ He is 'a prophet from among your brethren, like unto Moses' (see J. Weiss's article

on 'Acts' in *Dictionary of Christ*, p. 27). And all this, not to obscure the Divinity—that is taken for granted right through the book—but to show that the Divine things for man have their foundation in human things; that the Messiah is Jesus of Nazareth, and the Son of God Jesus the Crucified.

The doctrine of the Resurrection is an example of this. We do not recognize as we should that the Pharisees and the Apostles taught the same doctrine—the doctrine of the Resurrection (note Ac $23^{6\cdot8}$). It is one more instance of the truth that Christ came not to create hopes, but to fulfil hopes. The hope of immortality was there. How it was to be realized was a mere speculation. It was Christ who brought immortality to light. It was He who abolished death. It was His work which for the first time gave substance to the hope. And so we find (Ac $4^{2}$) they proclaimed 'in Jesus' the resurrection from the dead. The difference between the Pharisee and the Christian Apostle was a difference as to how the resurrection was to come about; or rather, perhaps, we should say the Pharisee contented himself with a speculative philosophy on the subject; the Apostles explained a ground for the hope. It was a question of the 'Way' to the Father. St. Paul and St. Peter were for this new and living way. Paul bore his chain for the hope of Israel. 'The Acts of the Apostles,' says J. Weiss, 'might have this motto prefixed, "In none other is there salvation, and neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved."'

This is all accounted for by the mental attitude of the people of New Testament times. They were matter-of-fact rather than speculative. Theory possessed a purely academic interest. The crowds, for example, that followed our Lord were unsophisticated. A logical proof, however convincing, would not have satisfied them. They knew better than to trust the skill of argument in matters that really concerned their welfare. And humanity is again and again returning to this point. When the world grows tired of its philosophies and religions it turns to simplicity. And Christianity won, not because it could prove the necessity for belief in the immortality of the soul, but because it was able to point to one who, flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone, had died and risen from the dead and who lived in the heavens dispensing the marvellous graces to His followers.

# Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Volume I.

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By the Rev. James Donald, M.A., D.D., Keithhall, Aberdeenshire.

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| $13^{18}$ | $579^{a}$, $580^{a}$ |
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# Contributions and Comments.

## Note on Jeremiah xvii. 11.

THE general intention of this verse is obvious. The prophet is insisting on the insecurity of ill-gotten gains. He enforces his point by a metaphorical allusion to some actual or supposed habit of the partridge with regard to young which it has stolen, and which will desert their foster-parent.

But there is beyond this some uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the first half of the verse. The translation of the A.V., 'As the partridge sitteth *on eggs*, and hatcheth them not,' appears pointless, as it furnishes no analogy to the instability of ill-gotten wealth. The A.V. marg. and R.V. translates: 'As the partridge that gathereth *young* which she hath not brought forth.' But the R.V. marg. has, 'sitteth on *eggs* which she hath not laid.' With this a very large number of commentators agree (*e.g. Speaker's Commentary*, Keil, Dr. Driver, Dr. Post, article 'Partridge' in *H.D.B.*). It is, however, pretty obvious that the word *yāladh*, 'to bring forth,' applies equally well both to laying and hatching, and the word *dāghar*—if it means, as Keil maintains, *fovet*—would be equally applicable to sitting on eggs or keeping young ones warm and rearing them. It is not, however, my intention to discuss further the question of translation, but to point out that modern commentators have gone astray in supposing that the allusion is to a supposed habit of the partridge, not supported by natural history, but grounded on the fact that the partridge lays an abnormal number of eggs. It has been supposed that the partridge, in addition to its own eggs, robs other nests. It is, of course, true, or probably true, that young ones not laid or not hatched (according to the interpretation of the clause) by the partridge do not in reality desert their foster-mother, and that this may very probably be grounded on popular belief; though even this supposition is only founded on a reasonable conjecture. But the habit itself of the partridge is

not a popular belief, but a well-ascertained fact, and Jeremiah is proved to be a better ornithologist than his modern interpreters. This is true, curiously enough, whichever interpretation is adopted, and it appears a special characteristic of the partridge.

As bearing on the interpretation of R.V. margin, I may perhaps be allowed to give my own experience. In the year 1906 I found in a covert what was probably a pheasant's nest with about seven pheasant's eggs in it, and a large number of partridge's eggs all cold. I went again a few days after, hoping to see a bird sitting on the nest, but found the eggs destroyed, probably by a weasel. I made, however, inquiries, and was informed that such occurrences are fairly common, and that the sitting bird is usually, if not always, the partridge. Whether in such cases the partridge turns out the pheasant, or the pheasant deserts when finding her nest disturbed, or the partridge only lays in already deserted pheasants' nests, I have not been able to ascertain. The laying of eggs in other birds' nests is not a very uncommon practice among several birds; but in such cases it is the earliest layer which sits.

The habit of the partridge which the other interpretation supposes is even more common, or at any rate better known. The following statement was communicated to me by Mr. Riley Fortune, F.L.S., of Harrogate, a well-known ornithologist. 'On the estate of the Earl of Harewood at Plompton . . . they hatched with the pheasants one or two broods of both French (*i.e.* red-leg) and ordinary English partridges. The nests had been cut out when grass cutting at hay-making time, and the eggs taken and hatched out under a fowl. When the birds were hatched, they were taken out into the rearing fields with the pheasants. . . . The hen is put under a coop and her brood of young pheasants or partridges with her; and although the hen is confined, the young birds can run in and out of the coop. In every case were the young partridges enticed away by old partridges; birds, I should say, whose eggs had been taken or destroyed, and who, therefore, had no brood of their own. The maternal instinct was strongly developed, and they enticed away and adopted the young ones from the coop. In some cases they probably had the most right to them.'

Evidence to precisely the same effect had been given to me by another friend, a country squire, who had for years spent much of his time in studying birds and their habits. He told me that this maternal propensity on the part of the partridge was sometimes a great practical difficulty, as she would try to adopt far more than she could properly manage. It was so well known to keepers that they often let loose a young brood, knowing that they would very soon be found by a foster-mother.

F. H. Woods.

## The New Hebrew Bible of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The connexion in which my name is mentioned in the article under the above title written for the issue of April by my friend Professor Eb. Nestle (see p. 314, l. 1), and in the *Times* for 27th January, by the B.F.B.S., compels me to give here the simple facts.

As early as the summer of 1906, Dr. Chr. D. Ginsburg asked my assistance in the printing of a new edition of the Hebrew Bible. In compliance with his request, I gave a good many suggestions, *e.g.* to omit the numberless and useless Raphe-lines. I also compared the whole text of the printed Hebrew Bible with the first massoretical edition of Jakob ben Chayyim (Venice, 1524–1525) and, in many places, with the Mantua Bible (commentary of Shelomo Norzi) and the Halle Bible, adding not a few remarks of my own. This annotated copy I made the property of the B.F.B.S. And I was willing also to read a revise.

Notwithstanding my having asked for it, I did not receive Dr. Ginsburg's manuscript. Therefore, in the month of July 1907, I found myself obliged to write to Mr. Morrison, the Director (B.F.B.S.), and I quote here the substance of my second letter to him:

> I understand from your letter that the Rev. Mr. Sharp does not see that it is necessary for me to have Dr. Ginsburg's manuscript, and that Dr. Ginsburg says it is not necessary. Hence I shall 'compare Dr. Ginsburg's corrected proofs with the revised proofs,' and notice the faults which I may happen to find while reading the text of the proofs. With . . .

Of course I did more than I was expected to do by the Rev. Mr. Sharp and Dr. Ginsburg. In almost every sheet I corrected some mistakes overlooked by the first two readers, and I often called the editor's attention to doubtful points.

But I have no responsibility either for the correctness of the text or for the *apparatus criticus*, as my views about the arrangement of the latter have not been attended to. I agree with Professor Nestle that, considering the amount of labour and money expended, the results might have been greater. (By way of parenthesis, I wish to say that the bad misprint *zilne*, Gn $50^{7}$ [not $49^{7}$, as Professor Nestle gives], has crept into the text since I revised it.)

As to the Rev. E. W. Bullinger's letter (*Times*, 30th January), all I shall say here is that whilst Dr. Ginsburg was communicating with me I was confident that he was quite entitled, both legally and morally, to offer the manuscript of his new edition of the Hebrew Bible to the B.F.B.S.

HERMANN L. STRACK.

*Berlin.*

## The Last Supper not a Passover Meal.

IN THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for April, Dr. Milligan draws attention to this question, and to the bearing on it of notes in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1908, by Professor Burkitt and Mr. Brooke, and October 1908, by Mr. Box. May I refer your readers to my *St. Matthew*, pp. 269–274, for an endeavour to show that the Last Supper was a meal eaten on Thursday, Nisan 12, two days before the Passover on Saturday, Nisan 14, and that St. Mark has misrepresented his sources when he identifies the Last Supper with the Passover. With regard to the point made by Mr. Box and Professor Burkitt that Lk $22^{15.16}$ imply an unfulfilled desire, it is indeed *possible* that the words bore this meaning in St. Luke's source, but St. Luke himself must surely have understood them to refer to the meal at which they were uttered. For in $22^{7}$ he has: 'And there came the day of unleavened bread, on which it was necessary to sacrifice the passover'; and in $22^{13}$, 'and they made ready the passover.' In these clauses he follows Mark with his erroneous [?] identification of the Last Supper with the Passover. But, in view of these clauses, it is hardly possible that so careful a writer as St. Luke should immediately have added v.[15] if he had not supposed that it could be interpreted to refer to the Passover meal which, according to vv.[7.13], our Lord was then eating.

If this is so, we have on one side St. John and the source of St. Mark, and possibly the source of Lk $22^{15}$, whilst on the other stand St. Mark himself followed by the editor of the First Gospel and by St. Luke. WILLOUGHBY C. ALLEN.

*Egerton Hall, Manchester.*

## A Man under Authority.

IN reference to your notes on Canon Carnegie's interpretation of the faith of the centurion, may I point out that he is not the first to offer this suggestion. In my *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, pp. 192–193, I have said: 'The centurion confesses himself a man *under* as well as *in* authority. He ascribes to Jesus an authority over disease, but does not he also suggest that even He is under authority, and can exercise it only as He submits to it? While He can command disease, and it will obey Him, yet He Himself is under a command to do the work among Jews, being Himself a Jew. Any favour He may show a Gentile is admitted to be exceptional, and it is shown how it need not involve any setting aside of the necessary restrictions of His ministry. . . . What Jesus so warmly praised was such insight into the conditions and limitations under which He had to do His work.'

May I add that this is only one of many interpretations, different from those generally current, to which I have been led on an independent study of the Gospels for the purpose which the book is intended to serve? ALFRED E. GARVIE.

*New College, London.*

## The Ears of Corn.

MR. BÜCHLER'S suggested explanation of Mt $12^{6}$ may possibly be true as a fact, but it overlooks an important element in the complaint of the Pharisees. There was a double offence in the case. The ears were plucked and eaten on what Luke calls τῷ σαββάτῳ δυετεροπρώτῳ, that is, the Sabbath falling

in the Passover week. The act was therefore a transgression not only of the Sabbath law, but of the law of first-fruits. Next day the first ripe ears were to be cut and presented in the temple. The corn was therefore at the moment 'taboo.' This explains the apparently irrelevant citation of David's eating of the shewbread, also 'taboo.' 'A greater than the temple is here' seems to imply that the corn had been waved in His presence—the first-fruits divinely dedicated by their service of Him.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

*Aberdeen.*

## The Name of God in Genesis.

### I.

I SHOULD be glad if any of your readers could throw light on a question that appears to be of considerable importance to the critical view of the Hexateuch.

Since the days of Astruc, Ex $6^3$, taken in conjunction with the variations of the Divine appellations in Genesis, has been regarded as affording a clue to the documents of the Pentateuch,—most recently in Dr. Hastings' *New Bible Dictionary*, *e.g.* p. 288*b*. I find, however, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January 1909, an article by Mr. H. M. Wiener, which adduces evidence to show (1) that the versions do not always support the Massoretic Text in this matter, (2) that the versional variants rest on divergent Hebrew texts and are not due to avoidance of Jahveh by the translators, and (3) that the variants are, in some cases at any rate, demonstrably superior to the readings of the Massoretic Text.

I have failed to find any consideration of these points in the ordinary critical books, and I should therefore be obliged if any of your readers could refer me to a book or article in which these matters are dealt with from the standpoint of those who accept the critical division based on Ex $6^3$.

A. P. COX.

*Christ Church Vicarage, Cheltenham.*

### II.

Mr. Cox's question touches on a point of considerable, though not of vital, importance in its bearing on the criticism of the Hexateuch. I do not happen to know of any work which deals exhaustively with the subject from the critical standpoint. I can only try to indicate generally what I imagine to be the view taken by adherents of the prevalent documentary hypothesis, with regard to the matter under discussion.

1. The existence of the variants is undeniable. It is on the Book of Genesis that the battle of the documents is mainly fought; and in Genesis the Samaritan version differs from the Jewish in (I think) eight cases, and the LXX in 49—about one-sixth of the whole. The other versions do not count for much, being all more or less influenced by the LXX, except Aquila and the Targums, all of which are admittedly founded on the Massoretic Text, while the latter consistently ignore the distinction between *Yahwe* and *Elohim*. These facts were not discovered by Mr. H. M. Wiener, but are the common property of scholars, whether scholars have always given due weight to them or not. It does not on the face of it look as if very much capital could be made of so limited a divergence.

2. It is a fact, however, that the analysis of the Hexateuch has been conducted on the basis of the M.T., and on the assumption that it is more reliable than the LXX. Is that assumption justified? No critic maintains that the M.T. is infallible, or that the LXX is not frequently right when it differs from it. But when it comes to a question of bare fidelity in the transmission of the Divine names, probably no critic would hesitate to say that the presumption is in favour of the M.T. For one thing, it is, in the overwhelming majority of cases, supported by the Samaritan. For another, it is reasonable to expect that Jewish scribes, to whom Elohim was an apellative and Yahwe a proper name, should observe the distinction more carefully than the Greek copyists, to whom the difference between 'God' and 'the Lord' meant no more than it does to a modern Englishman. It is significant in this connexion that where M.T. and LXX differ, the cases where 'God' is used for Yahwe show an immense preponderance over those where 'Lord' is used for Elohim, the preference for the common word being as marked as it is intelligible.

3. The alternation in the Divine names, though it furnished the first clue to the separation of sources, is now but one element (and in the opinion of many critics a very subordinate element) in the analysis of the Hexateuch. The documentary theory does not rest on the isolated fact, yet here we read Yahwe and there Elohim,

with no assignable reason for the difference except change of authorship; it rests on the observation that this distinction is associated with a number of other characteristic differences in language, style, point of view, religious tendency, and so on; it is confirmed by the evidence of duplicate narratives, and by the literary consecutiveness of passages assigned to one source. It is not easy to believe that the clue which led to the discovery of so many affinities, connexions, and diversities was altogether fallacious; but even if it were proved to be so, it would not be the first time that a wrong clue has led to true results. The discovery of America is none the less a solid achievement because Columbus sailed for India. The critical theory is a hypothesis, whose justification lies in its capacity to co-ordinate all the phenomena of a very intricate problem. Whether the hypothesis is sound or the reverse is not now the question; but it is clear that it is not invalidated by the demonstration that a few of the facts which it set out to explain are less certain than was imagined. And that is all that Mr. Wiener's arguments can ever accomplish.

JOHN SKINNER.

*Westminster College, Cambridge.*

## Emmaus.

DR. BOEHMER is writing for the *Reformirte Kirchen-Zeitung* a series of papers, 'Aus dem heiligen Lande,' which are most valuable and suggestive. I read them with great interest, and hope he will give us yet several other results of his stay of some months in the Holy Land. But, concerning the article he wrote on 'Emmaus' in the January number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, I must confess that he seems to have insufficiently grasped the difficulties of the question. I am especially struck by the fact that he does not mention at all that, on the testimony of Josephus (*B.J.* VII. vi. 6), Vespasian established a colony of 800 Roman veterans, and gave them lands, at a place called Emmaus, at a distance from Jerusalem of 60 furlongs (or, according to another lesson, 30 furlongs). This fact shows that the Maccabæan Emmaus is not the only one which has to be taken into consideration, and that the scholars who favour Ḳoloniyeh have a stronger support for their opinion than the motive Dr. Boehmer ascribes to them.

I do not myself claim as a certainty, or even as a strong probability, that Ḳoloniyeh is St. Luke's Emmaus. I had the opportunity of considering the whole subject in my article 'Emmaus,' in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, and my conclusion was, and is still, that we have 'to declare the problem unsolved and incapable of solution under the present conditions and with the data which we possess.' I gave there also a list of the very abundant literature on Emmaus. With the only exception of two or three Italian books, which I was unable to procure, I may say that I have perused or consulted all that has been published on the question; and I had also formerly visited the different localities which are proposed as representing the Emmaus of St. Luke. Dr. Boehmer seems to me to undervalue the importance of the argument of textual criticism, showing that the original reading of Luke $24^{13}$ is '60 furlongs,' and not '160' (cf. Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1896, pp. 87–92). Several authors, especially Schiffers, have advocated the view that the words, 'It is drawing towards evening, and the day is already on the decline,' mean simply that midday is past, just as Dr. Boehmer suggests, 'according to the modern usage of natives of Palestine.' However, the whole of the narrative becomes somewhat enigmatic when one tries to imagine the disciples travelling twice seven hours on that day; their meeting with Jesus and their arrival in Jerusalem at a time when the apostles are still assembled are certainly difficult to realize on that supposition. I do not know whether Dr. Boehmer knows a curious little pamphlet, published at Stettin, 1905, by Aimée Duc, *Die Emmaus-Frage* (*Auch eine Kritik der reinen Vernunft*). The author (a man or a woman?) seems to be a German, although wearing a French name or pseudonym, and has lived in Jerusalem. The booklet is not scientific, but nevertheless it is very instructive, and shows the influence which rivalities of different monastic orders may have on the position and the solution of problems which ought to be high above that sort of considerations. Of course Dr. Boehmer, who is a Protestant pastor and a thorough scholar, is entirely foreign to such motives; but the atmosphere of Jerusalem is saturated with them, and perhaps it is not useless to advise travellers to be cautious.

LUCIEN GAUTIER.

*Geneva.*

## Luke xxiv. 34 f.

In vol. xvii. 191 of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, K. Lake pointed out (not for the first time, as he believed; see *Resch, Agrapha* (1889), p. 425) that Origen's identification of the unnamed disciple who accompanied Cleopas, with 'Peter' presupposes the reading λέγοντες for λέγοντας in v.[34], which is actually preserved by Codex D and recommended by Wellhausen.

The same identification is attested to in the Commentary to Isaiah, ascribed to Basilius (ed. Garnerius, i. p. 516): τοιούτῳ πυρὶ Κλεόπα καὶ Σίμωνος ἐκαίετο ἡ καρδία, ὅτε διήνοιγεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Κύριος τὰς γραφάς.

*Quem locum forte primus observo*, says J. S. Semler, in his appendix to J. J. Wetstenii, *Prolegomena in N.T.* (Halae, 1754, p. 614). Semler explains this identification in another way than Lake, namely, by a confusion of Ἀμαων with Σιμων. This is probably wrong, but attention may be called to the passage, as Plummer in his Commentary does not even mention the reading λέγοντες.

But did Origen think of Peter, as Lake and Resch suppose? Origen says always (at least five times, not only twice as Plummer says; see the passages quoted by Resch) Σίμων, and he may have thought of the son of Kleophas, the second bishop of Jerusalem (Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, Eusebius, *H.E.*, 3, 32, i.).

*Maulbronn.* EB. NESTLE.

## Luke xi. 27.

PLUMMER quotes from Edersheim (*L. and T.*, ii. p. 201) a Rabbinical passage: 'Blessed is the hour in which the Messiah was created; blessed the womb whence He issued; blessed the generation that sees Him; blessed the eye that is worthy to behold Him.'

Much nearer is the saying quoted by Dalman in his *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (§ 57, various phrases):

תתברכן דדיא דהכין אוניקו
ומעיא דהכין אפיקו

'blessed the breasts which gave suckle to such a one, and the womb that such a one brought forth.' This saying (from BerR. 98), with its rhyme or assonance between *'ōnīq* and *'appīq*, reminds of the assonance between *ragged* and *'arged* ('weeping' and 'dancing,' Lk 7[32]) if retranslated into Aramaic.

*Maulbronn.* EB. NESTLE.

## The Origin of the Term 'Synoptic.'

In a collection of photographs of MSS of the N.T., formerly in the possession of Dean Burgon, and now in the library of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Halifax, there is the first page of a minuscule MS. of St. Luke, dated 1107, with the following for the first words of the title:

ЄUCUNΘΩ҂ITON

If this contraction may by possibility be deciphered as

εὐαγγέλιον συνθεώμενον τρίτον

we have a most interesting anticipation, by six or seven centuries, of the use of the term 'Synoptic.'

*Halifax.* HENRY T. HOOPER.

## The Hour of the Crucifixion.

MRS. GIBSON'S interesting note in the January number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES has not provoked any comment in the February issue. May I therefore be allowed to point out that her alternative reading in Jn 19[14] was already known to Dr. Hort, and rejected by him? He, as well as Mrs. Gibson, mentions Eusebius's statement in his letter to Marinus, and gives the authorities which read τρίτη instead of ἕκτη; they include א[c] and D[sup.] For ἕκτη are אAB, etc. See his note on p. 90 of the 'Notes on Select Readings,' Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament*, vol. ii.

*West Hatch.* G. E. FFRENCH.

## Daniel ix. 26.
וְאֵין לוֹ

THIS verse reads: 'And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, ואין לו.' The last two Heb. words yield no sense in their present context. The rendering 'but not for himself' (A.V.) is inadmissible, for אין contains by implication the substantive verb, which demands a subject. Various exegetes have sought to explain the sentence by supplying 'anything' as subject, so that the meaning would be 'and shall have nothing' (so R.V.). But this is equally in-

admissible, for in the passage before us, unlike Ex $22^2$, the notion of the subject in question is not suggested by the context. The author, it is held, intended to signify that the 'anointed one' had no *legitimate successor*; but it is plain that this idea could not have been suggested in more obscure terms. Hence it has been proposed to emend the text, which may have been more or less seriously exposed to corruption.

The LXX render καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. May they not have read וְאֵינֶנּוּ? The statement would thus be a pleonastic repetition of what is contained in the preceding clause. It is at least more probable that the LXX rendering embodies an attempt to interpret the enigmatic words of our text. Moreover, ויאננו could hardly have been corrupted to ואין לו. It follows that Theodotion's rendering, καὶ κρίμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, supplies no solid historical basis for the restoration of the original text. It represents once more simply a conjecture to escape a difficulty, and the same is the case with the paraphrase of the Vulgate: *et non erit ejus populus qui eum negaturus est.* Nevertheless, Theodotion offers a solution which has attracted more exegetes than one. Leaving out of account the condition of the text which Theodotion had before him, is it not a plausible hypothesis that the original text was ואין דין לו or, still better, ואין אָוֶן לו? It would readily occur that דין or, above all, און should be omitted by haplography after ואין? No doubt. But in the rapid description contained in the verses before us, one does not look for such a comment by the author. Moreover, the emphasis is not upon the injustice of the attack which proved fatal to the 'anointed one,' but upon the attack itself and the destruction of the 'anointed one,' which was its consequence.

Still more decidedly must we reject the proposal to restore the word עֵזֶר after ואין, yielding the sense 'and shall have no *helper*.' A comparison with Dn $11^{45}$ lends no support to this emendation. The *punishment* of Antiochus Epiphanes *is to consist* partly in the abandonment in which he will be left, but the privation of help would have been a trifling detail, and unnecessary to mention in the sentence before us which announces the destruction of the 'anointed one.'

For a considerable time I have been accustomed to read the difficult words of Dn $9^{26}$ in a sense averse to the explanations just mentioned. Perhaps habit blinds me to objections which others may better appreciate. Be that as it may, I have decided, not without hesitation, to submit my interpretation to the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. In place of וְאֵין לוֹ, I propose to read וְאֵין לֵוִי. The omission of the י between the ו of לו and the initial ו of the following והעיר is, *per se*, readily explainable. Moreover, the sense appears to me to suit the context. After the murder of Onias III. the high priesthood was usurped by Menelaus, *who did not belong to the Levitical order.* Was it not this circumstance that was in the mind of our author, leading him to say: 'And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, *and Levi is no more*'?

*Louvain.* A. VAN HOONACKER.

# Entre Nous.

**Three Students' Books.**

Messrs. T. & T. Clark have published this month three volumes of the first importance for students of theology. One is an *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, by Professor Geden of Richmond College (8s. 6d. net). The second is on *The Christian Doctrine of God* (10s. 6d.). It is a volume of the 'International Theological Library.' It is written by Professor W. N. Clarke, who is apparently the most popular of all American theological writers at the present day. His *Outline of Christian Theology* has reached its fifteenth edition.

There is no time to review these books this month. Students will scarcely think it necessary to wait for reviews of them. Professor Geden is a darker horse than Professor Clarke; but he has a good record, and there is little doubt that an Introduction to the Old Testament covering all the departments of Introduction by so practised and conscientious a hand will be widely welcomed. Its place has been vacant for some time.

But the third is the book with originality.

There was in the University of Aberdeen, a good many years ago, a student of the name of Robert Scott, who, as the saying is, carried everything before him. The highest expectations were formed

by class-mates and professors of the work he would do in the world. He has done good work. But he has done it in Bombay, as a Professor in the College there. He has given himself to the laborious task of commending Western culture to Eastern minds. And he has commended it. But he has also given himself to the work of bringing Christ, who came from the East, back to the East again. He has done good work. But few of his class-mates or professors have known it.

They will know now. They will know that what they believed to be in the man was in him. The book he has written is called *The Pauline Epistles: A Critical Study* (6s. net). It is the second volume of that series, entitled 'The Literature of the New Testament,' of which Professor E. F. Scott's volume on *The Fourth Gospel* was the first. Professor E. F. Scott was held to be advanced. Professor Robert Scott will be held to be advanced also. For he takes the Pauline Epistles and assigns them to their authors. Not to St. Paul? Yes, but partly also to Silas, to Luke, to Timothy.

At first it is mere chaos and provocation. But the first impression passes away. The impression that succeeds is admiration for the man's mastery of his subject; and next, astonishment that so new a situation can be made so probable, and that without loss of interest or edification.

**Italy.**

Here are a few books on Italy, good for the student or the traveller.

1. Macmillan's Guide. The title is *Guide to Italy and Sicily* (10s. net). It covers the whole peninsula. It contains nineteen maps and thirty-six plans. We set Macmillan before Baedeker, because we have no intention of writing a book about Italy, or even a series of articles in the local newspaper. We simply want information, reliable information, on every possible matter of doubt. Our experience is that the hotel prices in Macmillan are marked too low. But we soon cease to trouble the guide book about hotel prices.

2. A Word Book, lest the right word escapes one at the moment or the right turn of a sentence. Riccardo's *English and Italian Dialogues* will do. The phrases are plentiful, and they are the phrases we shall require. Besides, there is a modest Grammar at the end. Hachette is the publisher (1s. 6d.).

3. For the journey there is nothing that will be more easily read or give one a more self-respecting sense of knowing something about the country, than Helen Zimmern's *Italy of the Italians* (Pitman; 6s. net). It is the Italy we shall see, not Dante's, or even John Ruskin's. And it is every side of the Italy of to-day, its literature and its science, as well as its trade and its games. The illustrations are plentiful and lifelike.

4. But we must get an introduction to the Painters. One of the easiest is Mr. Henry Attwell's *Italian Masters* (Sampson Low; 3s. 6d.). Mr. Attwell takes us up just when we have left school, and carries us first to the National Gallery. When we have learned all that he can teach us about the Italian painters there, we are ready to go to Italy.

5. Then we should get Berenson's volume on the *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (Putnam; 6s. net). It contains a complete, accurate, and accessible catalogue; and the catalogue is done in two parts, one part following the name of the painter, the other the name of the place. That is the second half of the book. The first half is an historical essay, capable, even masterly, bringing facts into their place in tendencies and development, and bringing the reader into the way of knowing something about Italian painting which will remain with him.

6. Then take the volume in Sir E. J. Poynter's 'Illustrated Art Handbooks.' It is the work of Sir Edward Poynter himself in co-operation with Mr. Percy R. Head. Its title is *Classic and Italian Painting* (S.P.C.K.; 3s. 6d.). In this book the whole ground is covered. And the illustrations are well chosen and plentiful. The volume is bound in leather for wear.

7. After the Paintings take the Churches and Cathedrals. It may not be the scientific order, but it is the path of least resistance. The most satisfactory book is *The Cathedrals and Churches of Modern Italy*, by Mr. T. Francis Bumpus (Werner Laurie). It gives a full enough description of all the great ecclesiastical buildings of the North, and it contains eighty-one illustrations, nine of which are in colour. It is a big book to find room for, but it is not heavy to carry about.

8. Now for a City. And in spite of all the guides and travelling agents, let it be neither Florence nor Venice, but Rome. For a book has

just been published on that part of Rome which at the present moment is the most interesting part. It contains the very latest exploration. It is written by the hand of a master. And it is illustrated, we had almost said lavishly; but that would imply waste, and there is not a useless engraving in it. The book we mean is *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, by Professor Frothingham. It is the latest issue of Macmillan's 'Handbooks of Archæology and Antiquities' (10s. 6d.).

**Nothing More.**

Simon of Cyrene bore
The cross of Jesus; nothing more.
His name is never heard again,
Nor honoured by historic pen;
Nor on the pedestal of fame
His image courts the loud acclaim.
Simon of Cyrene bore
The cross of Jesus; nothing more.

And yet, when all our work is done,
And golden beams the western sun
Upon a life of wealth and fame,—
A thousand echoes ring the name,—
Perhaps our hearts will humbly pray:
'Good Master, let the record say,
Upon the page divine, "He bore
The cross of Jesus"; nothing more.'

ARTHUR B. RHINOW.

**A Preacher's Authority.**

Is it not an old-fashioned way of speaking? No, a preacher may have authority still. Not because he is a man in authority. That is the old-fashioned way. But because he is a man under authority.

That is also an old-fashioned way, the oldest way of all, the way of Amos and Jeremiah. They were not men in authority; but they were men under authority, saying what they said, because the word of the Lord was a fire in their bones, and doing what they did because they could do no other.

Now, to be under authority is simply, as we have seen, to say always, 'Not my will, but Thine be done.' Professor A. S. Hoyt of Auburn Theological Seminary has published a book on *The Preacher* (Macmillan; 6s. 6d. net). It is a thoroughly modern book. It discusses everything —the preacher's person, the preacher's message, and the preacher's method; and all with much wealth of illustration and much wisdom of words. It discusses the authority of the preacher. 'An old Scotch minister,' says Dr. Hoyt, 'touched the heart of the matter, when he said in a charge to a young man: "The great purpose for which a minister is settled in a parish is not to cultivate scholarship, or to visit the people during the week, or even to preach to them on Sunday; but it is to live among them as a good man, whose mere presence is a demonstration that cannot be gainsaid, that there is a life possible on earth which is fed from no earthly source, and that the things spoken of in church on Sundays are realities."'

**And ran.**

'Aristotle said that "the magnificent man" never runs; but, says Jesus, when the prodigal son was yet a great way off "his father saw him, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him." This contrast measures the distance between Jesus' idea of God and some theologies which their creators have called Christian.'[1]

**Children.**

This is going to be *The Century of the Child.* So says Mrs. Ellen Key, who writes a book about it and gives her book that title (Putnam). And the first thing that the child is to insist upon in the new century is the right to choose its own parents. That is to say, the right to ask the State to see to it that its parents are physically fit and of sufficient age to marry. 'The conditions of a strong, well-nourished offspring require the postponement of the marriage age for women. In northern countries it should be established, if not by law at least by custom, at about twenty years. Then the young woman can have behind her some years of careless youthful joy, an undisturbed self-development, and will also have reached the physical development necessary for motherhood.'

Mrs. Key believes that women can be made almost anything that the State pleases. Burne-Jones created the new English type of woman. English girls looked at his pictures and adapted themselves to the quiet distinguished style. They cut their clothes in the fashion of the master's pictures. And becoming mothers they passed on the type to their children, who developed it yet more strikingly. Mrs. Key has a chapter on Education. She does not believe in punishment. 'Children who strike back when they are punished have the most promising characters of all.' She

[1] T. R. Glover, in *The British Friend*, Jan. 1909, p. 5.

does not believe in telling a child to beg pardon, or to adopt any other attitude at command. 'A small child once had been rude to his elder brother and was placed upon a chair to repent his fault. After a time the mother asked if he was sorry. "Yes," he answered with emphasis. But there was a mutinous sparkle in his eyes. "Sorry for what?" she asked. "Sorry that I did not call him a liar besides."'

**Abba.**

'"In His will is our peace," wrote the great Christian poet of the Middle Ages. "Doing the will we find rest," said a humble Christian of the second century, whose very name is lost. They both learnt the thought from Jesus, who set it in the prayer, beginning with *Abba*, which He taught His disciples; and who prayed it Himself in the garden with the same word *Abba* in His heart.'[1]

**Books Wanted and Offered.**

Books wanted to buy, and books offered for sale, will be inserted free, but the Editor will exercise his judgment as to their insertion. A stamp for re-posting must be sent with every offer to buy or sell. All correspondence must be direct to the Editor's address, St. Cyrus, Montrose, Scotland, not to the publishing offices. It must be understood if no reply is received that a previous offer has been accepted.

BOOKS OFFERED.

Swete's St. Mark, 2nd ed., as new, 9s. 6d.
Latimer's Sermons, 1607, calf, in excellent condition.
God's Witness to His Word, by H. D. Brown, 2s.
Gibbon's Rome, 'World's Classics,' 7 vols., 3s. 6d.
Mahaffy's Empire of the Ptolemies, 1895, published 12s. 6d., uncut 4s. 6d.
Mozley's Bampton Lectures on Miracles, 3rd ed., 2s. 6d.
Leviticus and Numbers, by Genung, and Jeremiah, by Brown, in American Com. on O.T., 2s. each.
Tales of Troy and Greece, by Andrew Lang, new, 4s. 6d. net for 2s. 6d.
Venture of Rational Faith, by Margaret Benson, 1908, (pub. 6s. net), 2s. 6d.
Hugh Macmillan's Spring of the Day, 1907, new, 2s.
Moulton's Grammar of New Testament Greek, 2nd ed., 4s. 6d.
Hort's Apocalypse of St. John, 1908, 3s.

BOOKS WANTED.

Watson's Lectures on 1 John.
Matthew's Bible.
Taverner's Bible.
Concordance to Spenser's Poems.
Hume's Philosophical Works.
Fraser's Edition of Berkeley.
Plummer's Bede.
Hodgkin's Italy and her Invaders, vols. 7 and 8.
Cults of the Greek States. By Farnell.
Herbert Spencer's Works.
T. H. Green's Philosophical Works.

[1] T. R. Glover, *ibid.* p. 6.

**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by Miss Smart, Poona, India, to whom a copy of Thomson's *The Bible of Nature* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for June must be received by the 1st of May. The text is Rev $1^{17.\ 18}$.

The Great Text for July is Rev $2^{7}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God.' A copy of Adeney's *Greek and Eastern Churches* or of Rutherfurd's *Epistles to Colossæ and Laodiceæ* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for August is Rev $2^{10}$—'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.' A copy of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* or any volume of the 'Scholar as Preacher' Series will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for September is Rev $2^{17}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.' A copy of Dr. Robert Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* or of Dr. W. G. Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for October is Rev $3^{20}$—'Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Oswald Dykes's *Christian Minister* will be sent for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

Some years ago Professor Harnack suggested that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by a woman. Or, if not by a woman alone, by a man and a woman together. He suggested that it was written by Priscilla and Aquila—with a distinct preference for Priscilla as the predominant partner.

If the suggestion had been made by a smaller man than Professor Harnack it is just possible that we should have heard little about it. Nevertheless, it was not because Professor Harnack made it, but because of the reasons which could be produced in support of it, that the suggestion met with favour from scholars like Dr. Moulton, Dr. Peake, and Dr. Rendel Harris.

For in the opinion of Dr. Rendel Harris it is 'an entirely reasonable hypothesis and capable of strong support.' In his new book, *Side-lights on New Testament Research* (Kingsgate Press; 6s.), he gives a complete chapter to the discussion of the hypothesis. The proof is in the Epistle itself. Dr. Rendel Harris finds enough—enough both for and against the hypothesis—in the eleventh chapter alone.

The eleventh chapter is familiarly known as the Roll-call of Faith. It contains an enumeration, and some estimation, of the heroes of Hebrew history. And among the heroes there are some heroines. Dr. Rendel Harris asks us to turn our attention to the heroines.

Two of them are mentioned by name, Sarah and Rahab. Is this not something of a surprise? 'The mention of Sarah,' says Professor Harnack, 'is an astonishment to the expositor.' 'It certainly does astonish one,' agrees Dr. Rendel Harris, 'to find Sarah claimed as a great believer, when the Old Testament lays such emphasis on her incredulity of the Divine promises.'

But if Sarah is a surprise, what shall be said of Rahab? There was a time when the modern conscience sought relief for its trouble about Rahab in a mistranslation. 'Innkeeper' some influential expositor suggested, in place of 'harlot,' and the Christian conscience leaped to the suggestion. Now, when we know that innkeeper will not do, we prefer to pass over Rahab in silence. But the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews does not pass her over in silence. He (or she) singles her out. Of two women who are named in the Roll-call of Faith, Rahab the harlot is one.

Dr. Rendel Harris thinks that Rahab may have been named, because at the time of the writing of the New Testament Epistles it was a question much debated whether Rahab was saved by faith

or by works. Perhaps the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews wished to take a side in that dispute. James says works. The author of Hebrews says faith. However that may be, there she is. In the list of heroes there are two heroines, Sarah is one, Rahab is the other. It seems to Dr. Rendel Harris that the writer goes out of his (or her) way to bring these two women in.

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And what then? Then the author would be guilty of feminization. For the mention of two women? Not that only. But for the mention of two women who had to be drawn forward and have the glory of great faith thrust upon them. And for other less obvious references to women, which Dr. Rendel Harris proceeds to point out.

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First of all, there is the curious statement that 'women received their dead raised to life again.' What women were these? Dr. Rendel Harris says they can only be the Shunamite and the Woman of Sarepta. But why should they be credited with exceptional faith? And why should no mention be made of the great prophets by whom these miracles were wrought? It is suggested, both by Professor Harnack and by Dr. Rendel Harris, that the omission of the prophets and the mention of the women is due to feminization. The writer has gone out of the way to mention these women because she was herself a woman.

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But if the author was so anxious to introduce women into her Roll-call, surely she was ill-acquainted with Hebrew literature. What has become of Esther, and of Judith, and of Susanna? Yet it cannot be ignorance that has omitted these and others who might have been named. For Barak finds a place in the list, while both Deborah and Jael are passed over in silence. Feminization? Is there not some danger that the argument for feminization is to become an argument for defeminization, an argument not for the mention of women, but for their omission?

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Now Dr. Rendel Harris has been much addicted of late to what we may be allowed to call Geminization. That is to say, to the discovery of Gemini or Twins all over the world. His detective experiences there stand him in good stead here. Therefore it is that just when the case for Priscilla seems to be breaking down he comes to the aid of the argument (with the help of Clement of Rome), and, as he says, shows that it is 'an entirely reasonable hypothesis and capable of strong support.'

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With the help of Clement of Rome. For Clement of Rome was a close student of the Epistle to the Hebrews like Dr. Rendel Harris, and like him spent some time in identifying the persons referred to in the eleventh chapter. Well, in one place Clement says, 'Many women being strengthened by the grace of God have performed many manly deeds,' and proceeds to refer to Judith. His language is full of recollection of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Dr. Rendel Harris makes the likeness more striking by the use of parallel columns, in this way:

| Clement. | Hebrews. |
|---|---|
| Many women were made strong by the grace of God; | Out of weakness were made strong: |
| performed many manly deeds; | waxed valiant in fight; |
| Judith went forth to the camp of the aliens. | turned back camps of the aliens. |

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It seems, then, that in Clement's judgment the persons who were made strong and waxed valiant in fight were women. To make them so demands a slight alteration of our present text of Hebrews. But if the name of the author of Hebrews was suppressed in Rome, as Professor Harnack thinks, it is not unlikely that the text would be tampered with also. And the change is very slight. It simply means that the word 'women' should stand higher up in the sentence in v.[35] than it does at present. It is true that the adjective for 'strong' is in the masculine, but so it seems to have been in Clement's text, who explains it by saying that 'weak women became strong (men) in fight.'

In this way Dr. Rendel Harris recovers Judith. He recovers Esther also, though with more difficulty and less assurance. He does enough, in short, to restore the argument for feminization, and to show that in the Epistle to the Hebrews there is undoubtedly a desire to refer to as many women as possible among those who in Hebrew story were conspicuous for the exercise of faith.

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And there is another argument. Dr. Rendel Harris observes the place that is given in the eleventh chapter to what he calls 'the grace of detachment.' The faith of Abraham was the faith of an exile. By faith Joseph, dying in a strange land, gave commandment concerning his bones. By faith Moses forsook Egypt and became a stranger in Midian. Now is there any one we know of who knew the grace that is given to those who are exiles? The answer is Priscilla and Aquila. For them the decree of Claudius meant flight from Rome, as for Moses the threatened wrath of the king meant flight from Egypt. Dr. Rendel Harris thinks that the peculiar atmosphere of the alien, which hangs over the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, is a testimony in favour of joint authorship by Priscilla and Aquila.

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On behalf of the dual authorship there is the transition from 'we' to 'I,' a transition which is found not only in the eleventh chapter but throughout the Epistle. Altogether the case may be admitted to be a strong one. It might even be felt to be irresistible if it were not that in order to make it out certain liberties have to be taken with the text. One of these has been noticed already. There is another, and it is more hazardous.

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In moving from 'we' to 'I,' the author, in v.[32] of the eleventh chapter, says, 'The time would fail me to tell.' The Greek is a participle. And the participle is in the *masculine* (ἐκλείψει με γὰρ διηγοῦμενον). That is the real rock in the track, says Dr. Rendel Harris. He is not prepared to alter the text to suit the theory. And at present he sees no other means of removing that rock out of the way.

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The method of communicating knowledge to the world by lectures seems to be growing in popularity. In place of enumerating the new magazines started in a year, we now enumerate the new lectureships founded. And the lectureships have an advantage over the magazines. They do not depend for their continued existence upon a fickle public. Men may come and magazines may go; but the income from a Trust goes on for ever.

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At the moment of writing, the latest lectureship that we hear of is the Schweich. The Schweich Lectureship was founded in 1907 in memory of the late Mr. Leopold Schweich of Paris. The income of the Trust, consisting of £10,000, has been handed over to the British Academy. The Trust Fund is to be devoted 'to the furtherance of research in the archæology, art, history, languages, and literature of Ancient Civilization with reference to Biblical Study'; and a portion of the annual income of the Trust has been appropriated to providing 'not less than three lectures to be delivered annually on some subject coming within the scope of the objects which the Trust is intended to promote.'

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It is evident that the British Academy is allowed some latitude in the choice of lecturer. The first lecturer chosen was Professor Driver. And Professor Driver has delivered three lectures which are easily within the scope of the lectureship. They are lectures which will immediately bring this Foundation under the notice of students of the Bible in every land. They have been published for the British Academy by Mr. Henry Frowde at the Oxford University Press. The title of the volume is *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (3s. net).

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The price of the volume makes it manifest that

the Schweich Trust has made provision, not only for the engagement of a lecturer, but also for the publication of the lectures. For this is a handsome octavo volume, filled with illustrations, most of them printed on plate paper. It contains a short masterly account of the work that has been done by exploration for the illustration of the Old Testament during the past century. It contains also a more detailed and not less masterly description of Canaan, as it has been made known to us through inscriptions and excavation. And the illustrations which it contains are not those scenes and figures which have been made so familiar to us by their repetition in every popular Aid to Bible Study of the last five-and-twenty years. They are reproductions of the most recent discoveries of Mr. Macalister, Professor Sellin, and other explorers. Let us see what Professor Driver has to say about one of Mr. Macalister's discoveries.

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Mr. Macalister's discoveries have been made at Gezer. And it is at Gezer that that discovery was first made which has touched the popular imagination more actively than all the other results of recent exploration, the discovery of a whole cemetery of new-born infants.

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The infants were all newly born. None of them were probably more than a week old. They were placed separately in large earthenware jars. And either inside the jar, or near it on the outside, two or three smaller vessels were found, generally a bowl and a jug, intended no doubt to supply the food which the infant might need in the other world. The jars lay in a stratum of earth, beneath the High Place at Gezer. An infant cemetery was also found by Professor Sellin at Ta'anach, but the infants were not all newly born. Some of them were as old as five years.

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It has been suggested by the discoverers that these infants were the first-born of their mothers, and that they were sacrificed to some deity. Professor Driver casts no discredit upon the suggestion. He is not sure, it is true, that the Ta'anach infants were sacrificed. Professor Sellin himself suggested that these were children who had died too young to be buried in the family sepulchres. But there is no doubt that the custom of sacrificing children, in order to appease the anger of the god, or obtain his help in times of national danger or calamity, existed among the Phœnicians and the Carthaginians. Hard pressed by the invading Israelites, Mesha, King of Moab, sacrificed his eldest son to Chemosh. And the practice is found even among the Israelites themselves under degenerate kings like Ahaz and Manasseh. In a well-known passage ($6^7$) Micah the prophet represents an Israelite as asking—

> Shall I give my first-born for my transgression,
> The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

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The question then arises, Did this gruesome custom ever belong to the legitimate worship of Jehovah? With our present documentary evidence it is impossible to say yes. The books of the Old Testament before us belong to a higher level of civilization. But it is impossible to say no. For we cannot tell what editing may have done to these books. It was certainly the custom to regard the first-born of men, not less than the first-born of animals and the first-fruits of the field, as sacred to the national deity. But at least by the time that the Old Testament documents came into their present form, the first-born of men were redeemed at a money valuation, and only the first-born of clean animals, such as the ox and the sheep, were actually offered in sacrifice to Jehovah.

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At Gezer the infants were found buried under the High Place. Again, at Ta'anach they were found buried about a rock-altar. At Megiddo also, four jars with bones were found which undoubtedly belong to the period of Israelite occupation. The jars were found buried beneath a corner of the temple. All this seems to point

to sacrifice of some kind. But even if we are compelled to admit the probability of the sacrifice of infants in Israel, it does not follow that these victims were offered in ordinary sacrifice to Jehovah. It is quite as likely that they are examples of what is called the Foundation Sacrifice.

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For it has been a custom in many parts of the world to offer sacrifices when the foundation of a new building was being laid, and to deposit the sacrifice under the building. Traces of the custom have been found in India, in New Zealand, in China and Japan, in Mexico, in Germany and Denmark, and in our own country. There are stories that tell how workmen were unable to complete a building—a church, a castle, a bridge, or even a private house—without the sacrifice of a human being. And a child was taken, or even an adult, and either sacrificed before burial or buried alive. Professor Driver tells the story of the workmen at Scutari who could not make the fortifications stand until they seized a girl who brought them their dinner and immured her. And he recalls the legend of St. Columba. St. Columba was unable to build a cathedral on the island of Iona till he could secure its stability by a human sacrifice. So he took his companion Oran and buried him alive in the foundations, after which he had no further trouble.

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Is there evidence for the Foundation Sacrifice in Israel? One example is quoted. After Jericho had been destroyed by the Israelites, Joshua uttered a curse upon any one who should essay to rebuild it: 'With the loss of his first-born shall he lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up the gates thereof' (Jos $6^{26}$). The curse is said to have fallen upon Hiel the Bethelite. In the days of Ahab 'did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho; he laid the foundation thereof with the loss of Abiram his first-born; and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son Segub' (1 K $16^{34}$). The old explanation is that the judgment of God came upon Hiel according to the word of the Lord by Joshua, and that it came in the form of some accident which befell his sons while the work of rebuilding was in progress. The new explanation is that Hiel, unconscious of Joshua's ban, took his own sons and laid them in sacrifice beneath the foundations to secure the goodwill of God and the stability of the city walls.

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It is right to add that these Foundation Sacrifices, the meaning and the fact of them, have recently been questioned. They have been questioned by Professor J. G. Frazer. Dr. Driver states Professor Frazer's view in a footnote. The victims, says Professor Frazer, were buried under the threshold of the house, not to secure the stability of the building, or even the prosperity of its inmates, but in order that the souls of those that were buried might be reborn into the family. He believes that the infants whose bones have been found at Gezer had not been sacrificed at all, but had died a natural death, and had been buried by their parents under the sanctuary in the hope that the Divine power dwelling in the sanctuary might cause them to live, to enter their mother's womb again and be once more born as her children. The belief is widespread. Is it possible that such a belief was at the back of the mind of Nicodemus when he put his question to our Lord, How can a man be born again when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?

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Dr. F. C. Conybeare, late Fellow and Prælector of University College, Oxford, and Fellow of the British Academy, has written a book on Christ and the Gospels, which he has called by the name of *Myth, Magic, and Morals*. He has published it through the Rationalist Press Association (Watts; 4s. 6d. net).

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This is the first time that the Rationalist Press Association has published a book by Dr. Conybeare, or by any scholar of his standing. Hitherto

their highest reach has been a book by Mr. J. M. Robertson or a translation of Haeckel—something well weighted with hatred of Christianity, but not weighed down with theological scholarship. Dr. Conybeare is a scholar. Behind this book, he tells us, 'lie twenty years of close study of the Christian literature and rituals of the first five centuries.' Dr. Conybeare is a scholar, and he would call himself a Christian. It does not mean that the Rationalist Press Association has changed its attitude to Christianity. It means that the Association is quite content with Dr. Conybeare's Christianity and Dr. Conybeare's Christ.

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Dr. Conybeare calls his book *Myth, Magic, and Morals*. The title is entirely after the mind of the members of the Rationalist Press Association. But Dr. Conybeare does not write for the members of the Rationalist Press Association. He writes for Christians. Then why choose such a title for his book? Can it do otherwise than wound and shock Christian sentiment? Dr. Conybeare is alive to the possibility. He hears his readers ask these very questions. What is his answer? It is not that a myth when found in the Gospels is better than any other myth. It is not that magic when applied to the casting out of devils by Christ is more religious than the magic exercised by a Bantu medicine-man. His only answer is an appeal to his Christian reader to be patient and hear him out. And to make his request the more palatable he asserts that 'most Christians can allege no better reason for holding the faith they profess than they can for the colour of their hair being what it is.'

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Let us therefore be patient and hear him out. He finds that the New Testament is occupied with two distinct persons, one fictitious and the other real. The real person he calls Jesus, and the fictitious Christ. Of the real Jesus we know so little that he is not surprised at those who entirely deny His existence. But he does not himself deny His existence. He believes that it is still possible to ascertain a few facts regarding His actual life. 'I think we may take it as true,' he says, 'that sometime about the beginning of our era there was born in Nazareth, of parents whose names were Joseph and Mary, a child who was duly circumcised and named Jesus.' In course of time He was baptized. He came to John to be baptized by him in Jordan. Dr. Conybeare does not take this fact from the Gospels. The Gospel account of the baptism is fictitious. He takes it from the tradition of the Church. There are difficulties about it. For one thing, Dr. Conybeare believes that the interval of time separating John from Jesus was far greater than is usually supposed. Still, there are early representations on stone or in ivory of Jesus's baptism. And Dr. Conybeare is inclined to accept it.

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Dr. Conybeare is not tedious over the life of the real Jesus. There are just two more facts which he thinks credible. One is that He was a successful exorcist. The other is that before the end of His life He had the belief thrust upon Him by His enthusiastic followers that He was the Messiah, and then began to say that He would return after death and inaugurate a reign of God upon earth.

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Before going further, let us mention one or two trifling difficulties that occur to us. Why did the disciples of Jesus recognize Him to be the Messiah before He recognized Himself? It could not be that they were clearer sighted. Dr. Conybeare would not hear of such a thing. For he has an extremely poor opinion of the disciples, one and all, while he has quite a good opinion of Jesus. Nor could it be that Jesus was too honest to adopt the rôle of Messiah until the disciples thrust it upon Him. For when He did accept it, He assumed the much mightier rôle of one who would return after His death and set up a kingdom of God upon the earth.

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Another difficulty is about this return after death. Dr. Conybeare seems to have forgotten himself a little here. In a much later page of his

book he says that even at the Last Supper Jesus did not foresee His death. He intended to establish the kingdom of God upon the earth. But He did not intend to die first. So much was this the case that when He did die His disciples were completely taken by surprise. He had never foreseen or foretold that He would die before He established the kingdom. They were therefore driven, 'when the blow fell,' 'either to resign their hope and abandon the movement for which they had given up all, or to modify the Messianic scheme and make room in it for the crucifixion and death of their Messiah.'

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But it is time to leave the real Jesus. Let us come to the fictitious Christ.

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Now when we come to the fictitious Christ our first question is, Who invented Him? It is the first question, and it may easily be the last. For here Dr. Conybeare has no surprises for us. The Christ of the Gospels and of Christianity was invented by Saul of Tarsus.

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And as the creator is always greater than that which he has created, we must come to the conclusion that Saul of Tarsus was greater than the Christ of the Gospels and of Christianity. Dr. Conybeare has no hesitation in saying so. 'Jesus,' he says, 'had no message except for His own countrymen, nor ever dreamed of any but Jews sharing in the heavenly kingdom, whose near approach He proclaimed.' But Paul was an idealist. And his idealism 'launched him in the way of a larger and more liberal teaching.' Yet Dr. Conybeare is careful to be just to Jesus. If Paul had 'a soul above taboos,' so really had Jesus. And if only His horizon had not been confined to Galilee, He 'might equally have cast off the slough of Jewish ceremonialism, and have opened his Messianic kingdom to all who had become monotheists.'

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How, then, did this man Paul succeed in being so great? The explanation is very simple. He was an epileptic. And being an epileptic he was a visionary. For with epilepsy there often goes that temperament which sees visions and dreams dreams. He 'perpetually saw Christ and conversed with Him in visions.' Of course the visions were not worth anything. Often as Paul spoke of his revelations, often as he 'sneered at the exclusive pretensions of the twelve apostles and fell back upon his own visions,' he really 'evolved the Christ of the Gospels out of his own ecstatic consciousness.'

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Dr. Conybeare, we have said, has no surprises here. Paul and the disciples of Jesus were from first to last in irreconcilable antagonism. They scoffed at his revelations, and he sneered at their pretensions. They went so far as to identify him with the Antichrist. He turned his back upon them and relied upon his visions and revelations. And in the end he beat them. He beat them so completely that if it had not been for the Christ of Paul's creation, Jesus would have remained a mere human Messiah of the Jews, and 'Christianity would have fallen still-born on the world and have vanished as it began — an obscure sect of messianically-minded Galileans.'

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He was a great man. Amazingly great. We mean Saul of Tarsus. And when he said, 'To me to live is Christ,' or when he said, 'Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me,' we see that he must have been a man of extraordinary range of imagination. For the Christ of whom he said these things was evolved out of his own ecstatic consciousness. Dr. Conybeare tells us so.

# The Site of the Sacrifice of Isaac.

By the Rev. P. A. Gordon Clark, Perth.

Abraham proposed sacrificing his son somewhere in a district described as 'the land of the Moriah' (הָאֶרֶץ הַמֹּרִיָּה, Gn 22[2]), and in Isaac's stead he offered a ram at a place in that district which he named Jahveh-jireh (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה, Gn 22[14]). The ordinary name of the place—if it had one—is not given; the new name Jahveh-jireh never again occurs in Scripture; was not, so far as we know, used by Abraham's descendants; and has not been discovered as now or formerly belonging to any spot. As it affords us so little help in determining the locality, we may leave it for the present and turn to the name of the district. 'The Moriah' as the designation of a district occurs but this once, and any other reference to it has perished. This has led scholars to try and find in it a more familiar name slightly altered. The Peshito reads האמורי, meaning 'of the Amorites';[1] an impossible reading. 'Get thee into the land of . . .' clearly indicates a definite direction in which Abraham was to travel. The Amorites at this time were scattered through Palestine,[2] and so, whether Abraham was in Philistia (Gn 21[34]) or in the neighbourhood of Beer-sheba (Gn 22[19]), the words 'get thee into the land of the Amorites' would afford no definite idea of direction, and would thus be meaningless. Cheyne[3] proposes to read מִצְרַיִם (which he would identify with Musr or Musri יִרְחְמַאֵל); a not very helpful suggestion. Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister[4] proposes to read מִדְיָן or הַמִּדְיָנִים 'Midian' or 'the Midianites,' but is so little pleased with his own suggestion that he says 'the difficulty can be avoided only by invoking the usual *Deus ex machina*, the hypothesis of an interpolated gloss.' This is indeed the solution of Professor G. A. Smith, who says[5]: 'There is every reason to believe that Moriah is not the original reading, but a gloss of late origin and inserted in order to give the Temple at Jerusalem the credit of the Patriarchal narrative.' Unwilling to accept this view, except in the last resort, we ask, Does the name itself help to indicate the district? Here we must be careful to avoid what may be termed fanciful derivations. One of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets gives the name of the local Baal of Jerusalem at that time as Marru; and Sayce[6] thinks 'it possible that the name of the God may throw light on that of Moriah, the mountain on which the sanctuary was erected.' We will see, in a little, how unlikely, if not impossible, this is. The exact meaning of הַמֹּרִיָּה is admittedly obscure. It has generally been taken as a contraction for מְרָאִיָּה or מוֹאִיָּה, meaning 'shown of Jah,' or 'vision of Jah,' but Driver[7] says 'it is at least certain that it does not mean' either of these. The obscurity may be seen, and yet the general meaning inferred, from the translation of the Septuagint, *εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν*. Evidently the translators inferred that the district was conspicuous because of its height, and took הַמֹּרִיָּה to mean 'seen' because of height. This indicates that in the name there is a reference to something or some one seen or appearing there. The article shows that הַמֹּרִיָּה was originally a descriptive name. If, as Professor Smith believes, the word is corrupt, it is impossible to determine its exact meaning, but evidently the word indicates something appearing, and the words 'the land of the appearing' may bring us as near the meaning as possible. We will see how well such a meaning fits in with the narrative.

Before the sacrifice Abraham was camping 'in the land of the Philistines' (Gn 21[34]), and after it 'he went to Beer-sheba; and dwelt at Beer-sheba' (Gn 22[19]). The sacrifice evidently took place when Abraham was wandering either in the Negeb, or the Philistine country, more probably the latter. If the limits of Philistia were in his day similar to those in the age of Joshua (Jos 13[2]), then the western boundary was the sea from the brook of

[1] This is the reading adopted by Fripp, *The Composition of the Book of Genesis*, pp. 60, 63.

[2] I hope to prove this in another paper dealing with the Amorites in Palestine. The expression 'land of the Amorites' occurs nowhere else in Scripture except in Jos 24[15], where it is used for the whole of Palestine.

[3] *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. 'Moriah.'

[4] The Expository Times, xv. p. 141.

[5] *H.G.H.L.*, p. 334, n. 2; *Jerusalem*, i. p. 267.

[6] *Records of the Past*, new series, iv. p. vi.

[7] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. p. 437.

Egypt—the Wady-el-Arish—to Ekron; the northern ran by Ekron; the eastern, passing Bethshemesh (1 S 6[9]), became less exact as it struck southwards, while the southern boundary ran by the Wady-el-Arish. From some place in this southern region, this confusion of desert and pasture-land, Abraham started to go into the region in which he was to offer the sacrifice. Where exactly was this district? Note, to begin with, its extent. That is indicated by the fact that after journeying through it for three days, Abraham could only discern the place of sacrifice afar off, so far off that he had to allay the fears of his two retainers by assuring them that from this land he would ultimately return. The rate of travel would be about thirty miles per day, for the Patriarch was not on pleasure but on serious business bent.[1] From any place in Philistia, if he travelled westward, by the second or third day the sea would arrest his progress. If he journeyed towards the rising sun, he must have penetrated far into the Arabian desert, and we cannot think of any spot[2] in that wilderness at which Jahveh would desire, or Abraham wish, sacrifice to be offered. It is still more abundantly clear that Abraham did not travel north. If, as has been suggested, his camp was at Beer-sheba, three days would have taken him past Jerusalem, past Gerizim, and near the plain of Esdraelon.[3] From it the prominent places seen afar off would be some of the Lebanons, and why Abraham should journey thither it is impossible even to imagine.

But that he did not go north is made quite clear by statements in the narrative. In Palestine trees were numerous[4] and wood abundant. Abraham carried wood with him, a precaution which indicates that the offering was to be made in a place where it was practically certain that it would be impossible to sacrifice, because in it no wood could be got. This was the nature of the district, for 'the thicket' בַּסְּבַךְ (v.[13]) was an outstanding feature in its dreary waste. Abraham also burdened himself with fire, a further proof that the place of sacrifice was an unpeopled solitude where fire could not be obtained. That such was the character of the district is clear from these additional particulars. There were in it no flocks, and therefore it was impossible for a person wishing to sacrifice to purchase even a single lamb, so that to take thither wood and fire and to omit to take a lamb seemed to Isaac an absurd proceeding. In this no man's land a ram was a straggler, which so little belonged to any one that it could be appropriated by him who caught it. It was a place also which had no altar, for Abraham had to build one, and this indicates a place which he had never previously visited. Further, this desert district was distinguished by mountains rising on its further edge, on one of which (but which one Abraham did not know) the sacrifice was to be made. Though the word הַר may mean 'hill'[5] as well as 'mountain,' still the narrative leaves the impression on the mind that the district was noted for its mountains as distinct from mere hills. The sacrifice had to be offered on a mountain. The reason for this is clear. The Semites in their earliest home conceived of their gods as dwelling on, and being worshipped at, mountains. In the Babylonian plain they found no such place for worship. But just as the so-called 'Hanging-gardens' were erected to represent a mountain land, so to imitate the mountain peaks, the proper place for sacrifice, they reared ziḳḳurates, tower-temples, on the top of which, reached by a winding way representative of a mountain road, was the shrine in which the god resided.[6] In this connexion the names of many of the temples are significant: Marduk's temple in Babylon was E-sagila, 'the lofty house'; that of Bel at Nippur was E-kur, 'the mountain house'; and Ishtar's sanctuary at Erech was E-anna, 'the house of the sky' or 'the lofty house.'[7] Abraham naturally thought of Jahveh as having his seat on a mountain, and there sacrifice must be offered to him. Notice, further, that Abraham took

[1] A friend, who has recently made the journey from Sinai to Jerusalem, writes: 'If a Bedouin were in a hurry he would certainly go not less than thirty miles on foot, on a donkey very much the same, whether he has a little luggage or not.' Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii. p. 289, writes: 'Jidda, more than 400 miles, were for Khalaf and his Bedouin no more than twelve swift camel journeys.'

[2] Though I do not discuss, I do not overlook the claims of Petra; nor of Sinai, if that mountain be situated, as Sayce would have us believe, 'on the borders of Seir and Paran towards Teman and the southern part of Edom' (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, xiv. p. 330. (See also Schmidt, *The Hibbert Journal*, vi. p. 338.)

[3] Fripp, *The Composition of the Book of Genesis*, p. 50.

[4] Trees are mentioned in Gn 12[6] 18[1. 4] 21[33] 23[17] 35[4. 8].

[5] See art. 'Mount' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. p. 451.

[6] Herodotus, i. p. 181.

[7] See *The Evolution of the Aryan*, by Rudolph von Ihering, p. 124; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v. p. 577. The Hebrew בָּמָה means both 'high and sanctuary.'

with him as an escort two of his young men, whom he left behind on the third day. Palestine was at that time a country with a large population and numerous cities, and through it, a few years afterwards, Jacob passed in safety. In such a country two men would be of no use as a protection, but in the desert they would be of immense service to one who, like Abraham, was in friendly relations with the tribes, but subject to attack from small irresponsible wandering parties. When the limit of the pasture land was reached they too could be dispensed with, and the Patriarch could penetrate the desert practically alone. All these things indicate that Abraham travelled not north, but south towards the desert, at the extremity of which were ranges of mountains.

Yet places in Palestine have actually been suggested. Sentiment favours Jerusalem.[1] Further on we will see the mistake through which a tradition to that effect originated, but it is clear that the capital of the Jebusites could not have been the place; for, as we know, it was sacred to El Elyon (Gn $14^{18}$), and sacrifice to Jahveh could not be offered at the shrine of another god. A Samaritan tradition names Gerizim as the spot, and Stanley with gracious perversity supports a tradition which being late is valueless, with arguments which being fanciful are worthless.[2] The Samaritan Pentateuch reads המוראה, which has been taken as referring to Moreh,[3] a sacred place near to Shechem (Gn $12^{6}$). More could indeed be said for this site than for either of the former places, for it was at Shechem Abraham entered the territory of Jahveh, there He, the God of the land appeared to him, and there the Patriarch reared his first altar to the deity who was the proprietor of the land. But the fact that an altar to Jahveh was there would have prevented him rearing another. Had the spot selected been any of these, had it been in any district in Palestine, through which Abraham had travelled, it could have been named. But the locality was so far distant and so utterly unknown to Abraham, that the particular mountain could only be indicated after he had gone three days' journey towards it. Further, the district was so destitute of any well-known or recognizable feature, as a city or river, by reference to which the exact spot could be described and found, that this had to be 'shown' to Abraham. We may feel sure, then, that the Patriarch sought the place of sacrifice in the south

The narrative leaves us in little doubt as to the spot. We must guard ourselves from reading into the narrative a haste which is only seen towards the climax of this great act of faith. A Bedouin is never in a hurry except when dire necessity forces. Further, a nomad like Abraham rarely if ever travels alone, not the man but the camp moves. When, no doubt after serious and prolonged thought, a period of proving and trying (Gn $22^{1}$), Abraham determined to offer his great sacrifice in the far south, he would choose for the journey thither the right time immediately after the season of rain, when the wadies would afford the largest amount of nourishment for his flocks. Moving from some spot in the Philistine territory he would work his way further and further up the Wady-el-Arish. Sustenance would be found as far as the Wady Garaiyeh.[4] At that point, the tribe would, in ordinary circumstances, return northward by the Wady Lussan, where Palmer[5] found 'considerable signs of former cultivation, admirably constructed dams, and cultivated patches of ground'; and from that to move onwards to 'Ain Moilahhi, which if we accept Rowland's identification is the fountain Beer-lahai-roi,[6] and finally, fifty miles further north, reach Beer-sheba. Here then, if Abraham was to penetrate further south, he must leave his tribe to return by the route indicated, and proceed practically alone. Selecting two young retainers, who, if purchased in the Negeb, may not have been unacquainted with the desert, loading his ass with wood and provisions, and taking the fire and knife, probably of flint, used

[1] Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 61, though not approving, voices the feeling when he says 'naturally one would incline to suppose that the act of Abraham giving his well-beloved son ought to be placed at Jerusalem.' The 'typical' aspect of the question, as stated, *e.g.*, by Mr. Birch (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, Quarterly Statement for 1907, p. 74), is one that has no real bearing on the question.

[2] See *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 251; *Palestine Exploration Fund*, Quarterly Statement for 1880, p. 103.

[3] Moreh most probably is not a place at all, the true rendering of the phrase being 'the terebinth of the Director' (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. p. 436; J. G. Fraser, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, in Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor).

[4] On the route indicated, see the passages in *The Desert of the Exodus*, by the late E. H. Palmer; and on the conditions of travel in the desert, Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*. For the fertility of the Wady-el-Arish, see Schmidt in *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. vi. p. 334.

[5] *Desert of the Exodus*, ii. p. 347.

[6] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. p. 264.

for sacrifice, Abraham and his son started. The first day would bring them to Cala'at Nakhl. The second and third day would see them safe through the Wilderness of the Wanderings, and at the famous Pass of Jebel Emreikneh, from which he could see rising far to the south the heights of Sinai. All use for guards had now ceased, so here at the pass the two youths were left, and Abraham and his son pressed on to Sinai. It would take time to reach the sacred mountain to prepare for and carry out the sacrifice. When that was over, father and son returned to the pass, and with the young men pushed on till they overtook the tribe on its way to Beersheba.

The reasons which led Abraham to sacrifice to Jahveh at Sinai were dictated by the religious conceptions of his age. A great god, like Jahveh, had his seat, his land, and his worshippers.[1] His seat, generally speaking, was the spot where his worship originated or was centralized, where he resided, and where his worshippers could depend with certainty on meeting with him.[2] His land was the territory in which he was the supreme god, and in which his worshippers dwelt. Though the people living in a land must, it was felt, worship the god of the land,[3] yet, when by emigration or conquest the worshippers of a god possessed or largely possessed a land, it was legitimate to introduce the worship of that deity.[4]

How, when, where, and among what people Jahveh's worship originated are all things hidden from us by the mists of ages, and the same veil obscures the origin of the connexion between Jahveh and Palestine. If we endeavour to answer the questions such problems suggest, our starting-point must be within the historic period. In Abraham's time, and we may presume considerably before it, Jahveh was worshipped in Babylonia.[5] His worshippers there looked on Palestine as his land, so unquestionably his, that he could and would give it to his followers.[6] At the time of the Exodus, and we may presume long before that period, Jahveh's seat was Sinai.[7] But Sinai is the Mountain of Sin, the moon god. How then, we ask, did it come to pass that Jahveh was worshipped in Babylonia, possessed Palestine, and had as his seat a mountain in the peninsula of Sinai named after another god? The discovery of the history of eras unknown to us would alone satisfactorily explain these strange facts. But we can conceive the course of history to be something like this. From the earliest times Sinai was a sacred place and the home of the gods.[8] Amid the deities dwelling on it two attained eminence; Sin, the moon god, important to a people who like the Bedouin of the desert travel generally at night, and Jahveh whose voice was heard in the thunder, and whose power and beneficence were seen in the storm and the rain. At first Sin was the more important of these deities, and gave his name to the mountain. The salubrity of the desert made it a cradle, as its sterility prevented it becoming a home for an increasing population, and so from the desert swarms pushed out to more fertile lands. A considerable section of the nomads, who regarded Sin[9] as their special deity, moved in a far distant period into Babylonia.[10] Their departure made the worshippers of Jahveh supreme, and thus Sinai, though retaining its name,[11] became recognized as his seat[12] and the

[1] An earlier phase of this relationship is thus described: 'The god has a district or beat to which his wanderings are usually confined, and within it again he has his lair or camping-place' (*Religion of the Semites*, W. R. Smith, p. 111).

[2] Job $23^3$

[3] Ru $1^{16}$, 1 S $26^{19}$.

[4] 2 K $17^{24}$.

[5] Gn $12^1$.

[6] Gn $12^7$.

[7] See such passages as Ex $3^2$.

[8] It is called 'the mountain of the gods,' Ex $3^1$ $4^{27}$ $18^5$ $24^{13}$, 1 K $19^8$. On the ancient sanctity of Sinai, see *The Religion of the Semites*, by W. Robertson Smith, p. 111; *Egypt Exploration Fund*, Archæological Report, 1904–5, p. 11; paper by the present writer in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, vol. xvii. p. 382; and *Researches in Sinai*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie.

[9] Sin is a nomadic deity. 'In a general way it may be said that the moon cult is co-existent with the nomadic grade of culture' (Jastrow, jun., in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv. p. 541). An ancient legend ascribes the invention of bricks, and consequently the construction of cities, jointly to Sin and Ninib (Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 753).

[10] That Sin was not one of the older gods of Babylonia is clear from two things. His place is after the triad of the great gods Anu, Bel, and Ea, and after Ishtar. Jastrow, jun., in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv. p. 541; *Babylonian Religion*, L. W. King, pp. 14, 17. Again in Ur and Harran Sin was looked upon as Creator and Ruler, but outside these he was simply the moon god (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 655).

[11] As Zion did when Jahveh's seat was removed thither.

[12] See such passages as Ex $3^{12}$ $19^3$, Nu $10^{33}$, Dt $33^2$, Jg $5^5$, Ps $68^{8.17}$. At a later period, when Jahveh was thought of as dwelling in the skies, the spot on which he descended when he visited the earth was Sinai (Neh $9^{13}$). As Zion rose in importance it was called 'the mountain of Jahveh's house' (Is $2^2$, Mic $4^1$), and even 'Jahveh's mountain' (Is $2^3$, Mic $4^2$, Is $30^{29}$, Zec $8^3$).

sanctuary for his worshippers. At a subsequent period, how long after we do not know, some Jahveh worshippers passed northwards through the Negeb into Palestine, largely possessed it, and established in it the worship of Jahveh.

Thus that narrow strip, stretching from Sinai to the Lebanon, protected on either side by a desert of sea and a desert of sand, became Jehovah's land. Afterwards Amorites[1] from the East invaded Palestine, bringing with them their own foreign gods, whose worship supplanted that of Jahveh. In some such way we can understand how Sinai became Jehovah's seat, and Palestine Jahveh's land.[2] Another and presumably a smaller migration of Jahveh worshippers took place to Babylonia. These settled at Harran and Ur. Though in these cities there must have been a tendency towards the syncretism of the cults of Sin and Jahveh, yet the devotees of Jahveh and their descendants maintained the traditional worship of their god and the conception that Palestine was his land. Abraham, a native of Ur, grew up a monolatrist, that is a polytheist who specially revered one god, Jahveh. Circumstances turned his thoughts, and finally his steps towards Jahveh's land. He realized that Jahveh wished, and wished through him, to regain possession of his inheritance, by establishing him and his descendants as his worshippers in it, and that he so strongly desired this that he laid it upon him as a duty to go forth and possess it. Abraham journeyed to the Far West, through Harran the sister city of Ur, and entered Jahveh's land at Shechem.[3] There he took possession of the land for Jahveh by building an altar to him, and there Jahveh appeared to him and again promised to give him the land. Abraham passed through the land going on towards the Negeb.[4] His duty as a loyal Jahvehist was undoubtedly to pass on to Jahveh's seat at Sinai,[5] and therefore to sacrifice to him. But the dread of the desert, Oriental procrastination, the wrong satisfaction that comes from a duty almost accomplished, and which can at any time be fulfilled, conspired to keep him from discharging this necessary task. It is noticeable that he is always hovering on the border of the desert,[6] and that his wanderings—except when driven by famine into Egypt—are all practically confined to the Negeb. Indeed, on one occasion he actually penetrated as far south as Kadesh.[7] Gradually the guilt of such delay, and the necessity for a special sacrifice pressed in on his conscience, and finally he determined to pass south and at Jahveh's seat sacrifice to Jahveh his choicest gift, his only son. But where exactly was Jahveh's seat? While the long absence of his ancestors from Sinai made Abraham ignorant of its exact position, he had, as his stay in the Negeb indicates, a knowledge of the locality in which it lay. The district was sacred owing to the appearances of Jahveh in it, and its name would in all probability be indicative of this. הַמֹּרִיָּה has some such meaning as we have already seen. Abraham therefore journeyed south into 'the land of the appearing,' and in that district the exact spot was shown him. There, in that to him thrice holy place, Jahveh revealed his character as a god who wished not 'man to give his first-born for his transgression, the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul,'[8] a first step to the higher teaching that he 'delighted not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats,'[9] leading up to the highest thought that the sacrifice the Father desires is the surrender of the will and the heart.

The knowledge of the true site enables us to see how mistakes about it arose, and to see that they are mistakes. We are not told that either Abraham or his immediate descendants ever revisited the spot; previous and later theophanies providing many sacred places in Palestine itself, where sacrifice to Jahveh could be offered.[10] Such theophanies extending the range of Jahveh's appearings caused the title 'land of the appearing' to become inappropriate, while the long residence of the Israelites near Sinai made them accurately acquainted with Jahveh's seat. Further, the gradual ceasing of all such appearances caused the idea of sacredness to be associated not with a district which must have included all Palestine, but with the one mountain

[1] I hope to prove this in the paper mentioned on p. 1.

[2] I have dealt at much greater length with the problem of Jahveh and his land in a paper which I hope soon to publish.

[3] Gn $12^6$. [4] Gn $12^9$.

[5] As did Elijah (1 K 19).

[6] The places mentioned in J as the Negeb, Gn $13^1$, Bethel $13^3$, Hebron $13^{18}$, Mamre $13^{18}$, Beer-lahai-roi $24^{62}$; those mentioned in E as Negeb, $20^1$, the neighbourhood of Sodom $19^{28}$, Kadesh $20^1$, Shur $20^1$, Gerar $20^1$, Beersheba $21^{14.\ 32.\ 33}$ $22^{19}$, Philistia $21^{34}$; and those mentioned in P, Hebron $23^2$, Mamre $14^{13}$, Salem $14^{17}$, are all in the south.

[7] Gn $21^1$. [8] Mic $6^7$. [9] Is $1^{11}$.

[10] Gn $12^7$ 15. $17^1$ $18^1$ $21^{33}$ $26^{2.\ 34}$ $28^{13}$ $35^3$.

Sinai. Hence 'the land of the appearing' dropped out of use. It lingered only in the traditions of the past, and in the literature connected with the sacrifice of Isaac. As the descendants of Abraham became consolidated into a nation which looked on Jerusalem as its chief city, there grew up in the minds of the Hebrews the idea that the national deity should have his residence in the city of the nation, and some of the sacredness connected with distant Sinai began to be transferred to the new centre of the nation's life. During the visitation of plague, David saw[1] the messenger of Jahveh by the threshing-floor of a Jebusite, Araunah. Such an appearance caused the hill to become sacred, and to get a name indicative of such an appearing; hence it was called הַהַר הַמּוֹרִיָּה 'the hill of the appearance.'[2] As Jahveh became more and more associated with Jerusalem and the Temple, he was the more completely disassociated from Sinai. The similarity of the names led to an identification of the places in the popular mind, and so a tradition arose that the intended sacrifice of Isaac was on the Temple mount.[3] Josephus repeats this tradition. He says[4] the place of Abraham's sacrifice 'was that mountain upon which king David afterwards built the Temple,' and of the ground bought from Araunah,[5] 'at that very place' Abraham offered up Isaac. There can be no doubt that the tradition is incorrect. The appearance on any occasion of any god—much more of Jahveh, on such an occasion as the sacrifice of Isaac—would make the place of such appearing sacred, and to a large extent public property. The site of the future Temple was a threshing-floor without any altar or sanctuary, and was the property of a private individual who was not a Hebrew but a Jebusite. Jahveh's Temple in Jerusalem was designedly placed on virgin soil, and for the best of reasons, for such disassociation of his worship from all local cults and traditional ritual gave it an environment most helpful to a purely ethical development. Josephus clearly repeats a late and inaccurate tradition.

Abraham called the name of the spot יְהוָה יִרְאֶה, Jahveh-jireh,[6] 'Jahveh sees' or 'Jahveh sees to,' that is, 'provides.' A proverb[6] subsequently arose 'In the mount of Jahveh he shall be seen' or 'it shall be provided.' But the true reading text is evidently preserved in the Septuagint, ἐν τῷ ὄρει Κύριος ὤφθη, 'in the mountain Jahveh was seen.' Such a memorable occurrence as the presence and subsequent sacrifice of a ram instead of Isaac would naturally give rise to such a proverb. The remarks on page 12 indicate the process by which the reference in the proverb would be transferred from Sinai to the Temple at Jerusalem.

The fixing of the site of this memorable occurrence raises many interesting questions, but it makes somewhat clearer one step in the wondrous history of the evolution of the worship of Israel's God.

[1] 2 S $24^{17}$. [2] 2 Ch $3^{1}$.

[3] Fripp, *The Composition of the Book of Genesis*, holds that Gn 22 is to be assigned to the compiler of the Priestly History Book, 'that he was a Judean,' and that the reading in v.[2] is an attempt to transplant Abraham's deed of faith from some northern shrine to Jerusalem.

[4] *Ant.* i. 13. 2. [5] *Ant.* vii. 13. 4.

[6] Gn $22^{14}$.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF REVELATION.

### Revelation i. 17, 18.

**'And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying, Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the Living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of Hades.'—R.V.**

### The Situation.

John was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. That is to say, because he had been preaching the gospel. It reminds us of another John, John Bunyan, who found himself in Bedford Jail for the very same

reason, and who also was ordered to write. He was in the Spirit, on the Lord's day. Being there on account of his testimony to Jesus he would think of Him every day; but on the Lord's day he would think especially of His resurrection from the dead. From that he would pass in thought to the day of Pentecost, when on the next great Lord's day after the resurrection the Spirit was given. He found himself in the Spirit, lifted by the Spirit's fulness into the prophetic state beyond the usual range of his faculties. Whereupon he both heard and saw what the ordinary eye hath not seen nor the ordinary ear heard. He heard the voice of the glorified Jesus commanding him to write. He saw the glorified Jesus Himself.

### The Language.

*And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as one dead.* The language is Biblical, and so is the experience. The glory he had seen was the glory of God; and no man can see God and live (Ex $33^{20}$). Isaiah had had a similar experience ($6^{5}$); and Ezekiel ($1^{28}$); and Daniel ($8^{17}$ $10^{9.11}$).

*And he laid his right hand upon me.* It was the same right hand as he had just seen holding seven stars, sustaining the universe. But it was also the same right hand that had been laid upon him with the gentle touch of Jesus upon the Mount of Transfiguration (Mt $17^{7}$). He had seen it last uplifted in blessing at the Ascension (Lk $24^{50}$); and the memory of that uplifted hand enabled John to identify the hand of the vision with the hand of the Transfiguration.

*Fear not.* Another recollection of the Transfiguration. A recollection also of an earlier scene. Once Simon Peter had fallen down as John did now; he had fallen down at Jesus' knees even in the days of His humiliation, saying, 'Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.' And Jesus had said, 'Fear not.' It is an attitude in which every man must be seen sooner or later. Will Jesus always say, 'Fear not'?

*I am the first and the last.* Three times in Isaiah the words are applied to Jehovah ($41^{4}$ $44^{6}$ $48^{12}$). Three times in the Apocalypse they are applied to Jesus (Rev $1^{17}$ $2^{8}$ $22^{13}$). It is another form of the designation, 'The same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' He is there before anything came into being; He will be there after everything has fulfilled its being.

*And the Living one.* Not simply 'he that liveth' (A.V.), but he that hath life in himself. 'For as the Father hath life in himself, even so gave he to the Son also to have life in himself' (Jn $5^{26}$).

*And I was dead.* Literally (as RVm) 'I became dead.' This, in spite of being the Living one; or, rather, because He is the Living one. It is because He has life in Himself that He had power to lay down His life.

*And behold, I am alive for evermore.* Not simply living. It is not a repetition of 'I am the Living one.' The same person who was dead is now alive. And yet it is not simply I became alive, but I am and continue to be alive, alive for evermore.

*And I have the keys of death and of Hades.* Death and Hades are brought together again at $6^{8}$, where they are two persons; and at $20^{13.14}$, where they are two places. Are they persons or places here? They seem to be both, or now one and now the other. Places need keys to open them; but the mind is its own place, and in itself can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven. Hades, however, is not Gehenna here. It is that state or place which we enter after death.

### The Sermon.

The subject is the glorified Jesus. There are three parts of it: (1) the glorified Jesus as seen by John; (2) the glorified Jesus as described by Himself; (3) the glorified Jesus saying, 'Fear not.'

I. The Glorified Jesus as seen by John. The actual vision is no part of the text, only the effect of it. 1. But the effect of it shows that Jesus in glory is not quite the same as Jesus on earth. We understand that He has a body as He had on earth, but it is a glorified body, the sight of which threw John to the ground in fear. He had had no fear when he lay on His breast at supper. The only occasion on which John had come near to his present experience was also at the sight of His glorified body, His body glorified on the Mount of Transfiguration, in anticipation of the glory that awaited Him. John's fear was greater now, for no doubt the present glory excelled the former. So it is a mistake for us to wish we had lain on His breast as John did. It is a mistake perhaps to make the children sing—

I wish that His hands had been placed on my head.

For it is not the Jesus who lived that we have now to do with; but the Jesus who lives. And it might be well if we remembered more than we do St. Paul's brave words: 'Even though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him so no more.'

'Back to Christ' is back to the historical Christ certainly. Yet, after granting that, I think our position may be something like that of Old Mortality in Sir Walter Scott's novel. You recollect how that curious character was to be found on lonely moors in Scotland, seeking the neglected graves of the Covenanters, rubbing the moss from the tombstones, and with chisel and mallet reinscribing their names—a quaint, pious task. But when it was done Old Mortality had not made the bones stir beneath the sod, and he had not brought back the spirit of Scotland's heroes to their native land. It is possible for us to be carefully studying the story of Jesus, and yet to be doing little more than reinscribing the legend of a dead Christ.[1]

2. Though Jesus in glory is not the same as Jesus on earth, yet it is the same Jesus. 'I was dead'—that single sentence is identification enough. But it is not given for the sole purpose of identification. 'I was dead' is the worth of Christ to John; it is the application of the worth of Christ. 'Blessed words,' says Vaughan (*Lectures on the Revelation*, p. 12): 'I once tasted death for every man; once hung upon the cross, bearing the sin of the world; once cried in the extremity of anguish, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? once bowed the dying head, and said, It is finished; once filled a mortal tomb, and descended, like the spirits of the faithful, into the Hades of the departed.' It is a Saviour we need, and a Christ without the Cross is not a Saviour for us.

St. Martin was one day praying in his cell, when suddenly it was filled with a glorious light, in the centre of which stood a figure of serene and joyous aspect clothed in royal array, with a jewelled crown upon his head, and gold embroidered shoes upon his feet. Martin at first was half-blinded by the sight, and for a time no word was spoken. Then his visitant said, 'Recognize, Martin, him whom thou beholdest. I am Christ. As I am about to descend to the earth it is my pleasure to manifest myself to thee beforehand.' When Martin made no reply, he continued, 'Why dost thou hesitate to believe, when thou seest? I am Christ.' Thereupon Martin, as by a sudden inspiration, answered, 'The Lord Jesus did not foretell that He would come arrayed in purple and crowned with gold. I will not believe that Christ has come unless I see Him in the dress and shape in which He suffered, unless I see Him bear before my eyes the marks of the Cross.' Forthwith, so the story ends, the apparition vanished, and Martin knew that he had been tempted by the Evil One.[2]

3. Did John at once identify the glorified Christ with the Christ of the Cross? Probably not. But even if he had done so, he would still have fallen at His feet as one dead. The memory of his once familiarity would only have intensified his awe and reverence now. 'If the sinner's insight into Christ,' says Bishop Moule (*The Secret of the Presence*, p. 130), 'is at all spiritually true, he falls at His feet as dead. In His light we see light; but we see darkness too; we see self, we see the foulness and the guilt of sin, and the awful rightfullness which utters over it the sentence of a final exile into the outer night.'

Liddon (*Easter in St. Paul's*, p. 323), and afterwards the Rev. G. H. Morrison (*Flood-Tide*, p. 103), make the words the text of a Sermon on Reverence. Both deplore the absence of reverence, as every man deplores it in his own day. 'Ah, Rogers,' said Dr. Dale of Birmingham to his old friend,—'ah, Rogers, no one fears God now.' Liddon makes 'three observations' on the subject. (1) Reverence is a test, a measure of faith; (2) Reverence begins from within; (3) Reverence, the deepest, the truest, is perfectly compatible with love. He says it is always so in the kingdom of souls: we begin with awe, we end with love.

II. The Glorified Jesus as described by Himself.

Take the items separately, noticing as we go that, in the words of the Scotch woman, 'It *sets* Him well to commend Himself'; noticing too the identification—I am meek and lowly in heart: I am the first and the last.

1. *I am the first and the last.* John saw Him with seven stars in His right hand. This is what the seven stars meant. He is creator and preserver and bountiful benefactor. As St. Paul has it, He is the firstborn of all creation, for in Him were all things created. As a later preacher puts it (Maclaren, *Creed and Conduct*, p. 109): 'The hands that were nailed to the cross hold the helm of the universe.' The cattle upon a thousand hills are His—for does not John deliberately identify Him with Jehovah? And then, If ye are Christ's, all things are yours.

2. *The Living one.* When the ruler came running, and said, 'Good Master!' Jesus stopped him, 'Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God.' Now He calls Himself the Living one. Shall we stop Him? The word

[1] W. F. Adeney, in *The Christian World Pulpit*, lxvi. p. 8.

[2] B. F. Westcott, *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*, p. 70.

belongs to God alone. 'The Living God is among you,' says Joshua ($3^{10}$); 'My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God,' says the Psalmist ($42^{2}$); and again, 'My heart and my flesh cry out unto the living God' ($84^{2}$); 'Ye are the sons of the living God,' says Hosea ($1^{10}$). It is a swift identification. But again it is not given solely for the sake of identification, 'As the Father hath life in himself, even so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself'; and then, 'I am come that they may have life, and may have it abundantly.'

'Tis life, of which our nerves are scant,
Oh life, not death, for which we pant,
More life, and fuller, that I want.

Now the Living one cannot die as we do. No man can take His life from Him. If He lays it down of Himself, He lays it down to take it again. It is not possible that He should be holden of death. 'I am the Living one,' He says, introducing the following words, 'I became dead,' and showing that while death has no dominion over Him, He died in order that it might have no more dominion over us.

3. *I was dead.* It is an event, an event in time. 'The first and the last' is timeless; 'The Living one' is timeless. 'I was dead' occurred in time, identifying the historical Jesus; linking the Lamb on the throne to the Lamb that was slain.

4. *And behold I am alive for evermore.* Is there not a link missing? He does not say that He rose again from the dead. Did He rise again? Certainly. But the important thing is not that He rose again from the dead; it is that He is alive. The Resurrection from the dead is the theme of Apostolic preaching. But that is not because it was wonderful. It was wonderful that Lazarus rose from the dead. It was because the resurrection from the dead was necessary in order that Christ might be alive, alive now, alive for evermore. The link is not forgotten. It is understood. It is unnecessary to mention it. He was dead—that is the one fact of significance in history. He is alive—that is the one fact of eternity. And it is much better to worry less over the proofs of the resurrection and to rest more in the abundant evidence of the life for evermore.

How Dr. Dale of Birmingham came to write *The Living Christ* was in this way. He was writing an Easter sermon, and when half-way through, the thought of the risen Lord broke in upon him as it had never done before. 'Christ is alive,' I said to myself; 'alive! and then I paused;—alive! and then I paused again; alive! Can that really be true? living as really as I myself am? I got up and walked about repeating "Christ is living!" "Christ is living!" At first it seemed strange and hardly true, but at last it came upon me as a burst of sudden glory; yes, Christ is living. It was to me a new discovery. I thought that all along I had believed it; but not until that moment did I feel sure about it. I then said, "My people shall know it; I shall preach about it again and again until they believe it as I do now."'[1]

5. *And I have the keys of death and of Hades.* So that He opens and no man shuts, and shuts and no man opens. There are the two gates: death on this side, Hades on the other. He is here with us as the darkness comes down upon us, inviting us to put our hand in His, that the darkness may become light. And He is there before us when we reach the other side, the first face we see. Hades is not Gehenna. Punishment is not in all the Seer's thoughts. Said a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* just after the Revised Version of the New Testament appeared, July 1881: '"I have the keys of death and of Hades" is more majestic and accurate than the old rendering which invested the Lord of Life with the functions of the keeper of the dread prison-house in the apprehension of the unlearned.' 'It were intolerable,' says John Howe, 'that He should be represented as only gaoler of devils and their companions.'

I had the privilege of being once shown over one of the largest safe deposits of London. The conductor, who had a large number of keys with which he opened the gates of the corridors, led me to a specially constructed safe and informed me that it contained priceless jewels to the value of many million pounds. I inquired who kept the keys of this safe. His answer was, 'He who owns the jewels keeps the keys.'[2]

Death and darkness get you packing,
Nothing now to man is lacking;
All your triumphs now are ended,
And what Adam marred is mended;
Graves are beds now for the weary,
Death a nap to wake more merry.[3]

But what do the keys signify? They are the emblem of authority. They express the judgeship of Jesus. When He was under authority on earth, He could say, 'Go,' and 'Come,' and His orders were obeyed. He is in authority now, in the full enjoyment and exercise of it, and He can say to this one, 'Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh.' Hear Him say, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father.'

[1] *Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham*, p. 642.
[2] Rev. Hugh Jones, Llanelly.
[3] Henry Vaughan, 'An Easter Hymn.'

We read how in the dark Italian ages wicked men, wishing to get rid of inconvenient persons, compassed their death in a most treacherous fashion. They contrived that their unsuspecting victims should use for some household purpose a key ingeniously made, with a small sharp point in the handle, tipped with a deadly poison, which, when pressed, would inflict an imperceptible but fatal wound. And so, the key by which Christ opened the door of death had in its handle the sharp sting of the curse, and all its virulent poison passed into the mortal wound, and exhausted itself there, and so the key is now harmless to every one who uses it in His name. It is a golden key to us, opening a gate of pearl; for we have the advantage of Christ's experience and the benefit of His triumph. The oil of His grace makes it turn easily in the lock; and it will seem, in the company of the Lord of life and immortality, passing in with Him through the shadow of death into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, as if there were no resistance at all—as if the iron door had opened to us of its own accord. Death in such a case has for us only shot the bolt outside the lock, so that it cannot catch, and it gives way when we touch it.[1]

III. The Glorified Jesus saying, 'Fear not.'

1. Thomas Davies (*Sermons and Expositions*) suggests that now He says 'Fear not' (1) to those who are overwhelmed with a sense of guilt; (2) to those who feel their imperfection in the face of His example; (3) to those who are providentially tried; and (4) to those who are afraid to launch away. 'The traveller over the ocean,' says Bishop Moule, 'asked to embark upon a raft may reasonably falter. Invited to step upon the giant structure of a steamship, to enter some *Lucania* or *Campania*, he trusts wholly, so far as human warrants of safety can possibly go; but he forgets his reliance, in the vast reason for it, and he addresses himself to the business of his voyage.'

When I was young, it happened that at Eisleben, on Corpus-Christi day, I was walking with the procession, in my priest's robes, when suddenly the sight of the holy sacrament, which was carried by Doctor Staupitz, so terrified me (thinking in my blindness that it was Jesus Christ Himself the vicar-general was carrying, that Jesus Christ was there in person before me), that a cold sweat covered my body, and I believed myself dying of terror. The procession finished, I confessed to Doctor Staupitz, and related to him what had happened to me. He replied, '*Your thoughts are not of Christ; Christ never alarms; He comforts.*' These words filled me with joy, and were a great consolation to me."[2]

2. Dr. Iverach (*The Other Side of Greatness*, p. 136) sums up the matter in three heads. (1) 'Fear not to live; I am the Living One.' 2. 'Fear not to die; I was dead.' 3. 'Fear not what comes after death; I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and Hades.'

In 664 an attempt was made to settle the long-standing controversy between Rome and the British churches by a conference at Whitby. The method of observing Easter was the test question, but the vital point was the right of Rome to demand obedience. The Church of Columba was represented by his successor Colman, the Papacy by Wilfrid. King Oswy of Deira was president of the assembly. Wilfrid challenged the claims of Columba: 'However holy he may have been, were the keys of the kingdom of heaven entrusted to him as they were to Peter?' Colman could not say they were. Then the king declared, 'I cannot contradict the door-keeper, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, there should be no one to open to me.' It is the wise policy to be on good terms with the door-keeper, but the fact which dispels our fear is that it is Christ, not Peter, who holds the keys, and we hear the voice of the ever-living crucified one saying, 'Fear not, I have the keys of death and of Hades.'

(1) Fear not to live. In youth, in manhood, in age, every new step has its new dangers, needs new resolution. 'Fear not; I am with you alway, I am the Living one.' (2) Fear not to die. Through fear of death men are all their lifetime subject to bondage. It is an experience that is ever strange, no one returns to tell what it is to die. 'Fear not; I was dead, and I am alive for evermore.'

'Fear not.' True, we can never be wholly reconciled to death. Darwin used to go into the London Zoological Gardens, and, standing by the glass case containing the cobra di capello, put his forehead against the glass while the cobra struck out at him. The glass was between them. Darwin's mind was perfectly convinced as to the inability of the snake to harm him, yet whenever the venomous thing struck out the scientist dodged. Time after time he tried it, his will and reason keeping him there, his instinct making him shrink. The instinct was stronger than will and reason. And it is much like this with the Christian's attitude toward death: he knows that its sting cannot harm him, but an instinct within causes him to shrink whenever he comes into contact with the ghastly thing, and this instinct will not be altogether denied whatever the Christian reason may say. But in this shrinking is no terror or despair.[3]

(3) Fear not what comes after death. We must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat; but it is the judgment-seat of Christ. Who then can condemn us? 'There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.'

> The Saviour dy'd, but rose again
> Triumphant from the grave;
> And pleads our cause at God's right hand,
> Omnipotent to save.

[1] H. Macmillan, *The Mystery of Grace*, p. 301.

[2] See Michelet, *The Life of Luther*.

[3] W. L. Watkinson, *Studies in Christian Character, Work, and Experience*, p. 97.

# The Hebrew Prophets.

By the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., late Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford.

The Revisers of the Old Testament in the English Version were confronted by different problems from those which had to be faced by the Revisers of the New. The latter had to deal with a number of grave questions arising out of the many variations which are found in ancient copies of the Greek Text. In adopting readings, which often differ essentially from those that underlie the words of the Authorized Version, they necessarily made many notable changes in the familiar English: these were increased by strenuous efforts to attain accuracy and secure uniformity of rendering. It was inevitable that their work should produce a storm of criticism. Many writers, amongst whom the author of *The Revision Revised* was pre-eminent, brought the controversy in its facts and issues to the understanding of all who love the English Bible, whether scholars or not. The revision of the Old Testament provoked no such opposition as that which the revision of the New had to encounter. It was published later, by which time the English mind had become a little more accustomed to interference with its 'Saxon Bible.' The changes are not so numerous, although many are noticeable; and the result is a translation which is far more reminiscent of the familiar language of the old book. There has therefore not been the demand for explanations of the work of the Old Testament Revisers which arose in the circumstances of the publication of the Revised New Testament. Yet, in some respects, the need is greater; for, in comparison with those who read Greek, the number is small of those who can judge at first hand of the work of the Old Testament Revision Committee. The book which we are about to review is the attempt by two scholars to supply a real want. It addresses the reader who is sufficiently educated to be able to take an intelligent interest in the literary and historical questions connected with the authorship and purpose of the books of the Old Testament, but it does not assume acquaintance with any of the learned languages, or the possession of special technical knowledge. The annotations are, for the most part, brief; but are very pertinent and illustrative comments. Other renderings are sometimes suggested, in addition to those in the Revisers' margins; and sometimes we are informed that the Hebrew is very obscure; and this, not seldom, because of the state of the present Hebrew text.

The Revisers of the Old Testament followed a different plan in dealing with the original text from that which was adopted by the Revisers of the New. This is the principal cause of the marked difference to be found between the two Versions which they respectively issued. During the three centuries which have elapsed since the publication of the Authorized Version there has been a great accession of materials for the criticism of the Greek Textus Receptus. No evidence of like character and amount is available for correction or alteration of the Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible, and there are no signs that it ever will be. The Hebrew original depends on much the same diplomatic support as in the days of James I. Dr. Cheyne has courageously attempted to supply the lack of external evidence by probing the Hebrew, and its Septuagintal representative, with the result that he has rewritten the Bible in many places. We are eagerly waiting to see whether his successor, Professor Cooke, will continue and complete a work so radical in character and startling in results. Nothing of this nature was attempted by the Revisers of the Old Testament; and, as they did not depart from the Received Text, their translation is free from those omissions of verses and changes of rendering which so deeply impressed the readers of the Revised New Testament a quarter of a century ago. Many to whom the revision of the New Testament has never been acceptable, have learned to value the revision of the Old; and such will find very great help from the work which has been auspiciously commenced by Mr. Woods and Mr. Powell in the initial volume lying before us.

This volume[1] contains Amos, Hosea, Is 1–39, and Micah. Deutero-Isaiah will be included in a later volume. As the editors consider that

[1] *The Hebrew Prophets for English Readers.* Edited by F. H. Woods, B.D., and Francis E. Powell, M.A. Clarendon Press. Vol. i. 2s. 6d. net.

other parts of the canonical Isaiah are the compositions of later writers, it might have been more logical to have relegated these also to their places towards the end of the Canon; but these portions are not so completely separated from the rest, as are chapters 40–66, and dislocation would have had practical inconvenience. The comfort and advantage of the reader are consistently aimed at throughout the work.

The editors deal with the writings of the Prophets on what are known as critical principles. The common antithesis between 'tradition' and 'criticism' sometimes veils contempt, and always suggests an absence of judgment in the generations in which the traditions arose. As we now know that the literature of the Hebrews contained works of which some are no longer extant, and others were never included in the Canon, it is impossible to deny that a certain discretion, more or less reasonable, must have been exercised by the Jews as to what should be rejected, what religiously preserved. But modern criticism feels that its tools are strong and delicate enough to effect a successful dissection of the Canon; that it can reject parts, and relabel the remainder, though it cannot recover what the scribes of Maccabean days did not think worthy of special protection. Scholars, to whom criticism of the Bible is a familiar literary exercise which they can pursue without casting a shadow on their own belief in the divine origin of the Scriptures, do not always realize the effect produced on the minds of those whom our editors describe in their Preface as 'intelligent, but not necessarily highly-educated people.' Such are apt to wonder whether the character of their Bible has not been changed, when large portions are declared not to be the writings of the Prophets, to whom the men of ancient days assigned them; and when prophecies are post-dated, and brought near to the courts, which formerly they were supposed to predict. We think that the volume before us, and expect that those which are to follow, will remove some unfounded anticipations. Here the 'intelligent' reader will discover that, after all, it does not signify as much as, perhaps, he supposed, whether there were many Isaiahs, or only one. The pieces collected under one name conspire in conveying a united and consistent message. But we also think that the same 'intelligent' reader will ask for a little further explanation. We fully recognize that necessities of space have curtailed argument; but note *A*, p. 59, affords a hope. We venture to ask that some reasons may be given in later volumes, not only with respect to the famous twenty-seven chapters, but also about other portions of prophetic writings. Why are some redated and renamed? Is it because of the historical background? or of the ethical teaching? or for linguistic reasons? or because the use of a proper name demands, in common sense, the reduction of the interval between prediction and fulfilment? The editors may not have space for discussion, but the 'intelligent' reader will like to have a sight of the critical tools at work.

The question asked on p. xxvi, Were the New Testament writers right in claiming events as fulfilments of prophecies? shows how marked is the effect produced by the use of those critical tools. A generation ago Catholics and Protestants alike regarded the New Testament writers as our guides to the exegesis of the Old. Something, we grant, 'depends upon what we understand by "fulfilments" and "definite prophecies"'; but the final answer comes out of our 'presuppositions,' to borrow a thought from Dr. Illingworth. If we presuppose in the Bible only a difference from other sacred books in degree, but not in kind, then it would be vain to expect in an Isaiah or a Nahum a gift of prescience essentially greater than that which was possessed by a certain statesman, who recognized (what we are beginning now to realize), that the United States may hereafter become the dominant world power. But though we may begin by interpreting the Bible as any other book, we cannot, in reason, refuse to recognize its unique character, evidenced in its history; the cohesion of its parts; the power of its teaching; and what Professor Butcher (quoted p. xvi, n.) calls its 'capacity of eternal self-adjustment.' We return to our study of the Bible with the presupposition that we shall find more here than in any other book. We expect superhuman elements, as the fitting environment of words and deeds, which transcend the immediate occasion. It would be interesting to know, though it is impossible to determine, to what extent the future was patent to the spiritual vision of those prophetic men of Old Testament days; men of saintly mind, and living very near to God. We recognize with the writers (p. xxvii) that the Prophets were not passive musical instruments. Their sound expressed their personal sentiments, with all the

necessary human limitations. But in music no tone is single; the note echoes off in by-tones, which in some conditions are distinctly audible to the practised ear. Within the melody of the Prophet's utterance for the men of his own time, there lurk the tones of a deeper, more Divine significance. Perhaps to Hosea and his audience ($6^2$) the 'two days' and 'the third' meant no more than 'very soon,' as the editors explain them. But the Christian catches a note of the 'third day' of complete victory. It may be that Micah in the famous passage ($5^{2-6}$) intended no greater event than the birth of a saviour of society in David's town; but what he delivered, became an anticipatory word picture of the world's Saviour; who was born in the very town Micah named, who has extended the spiritual realm of Israel over the earth, and is conquering Assyria, type of the world in opposition to God. In this connexion we remark that we feel no hesitation in here adopting the typical interpretation, which, in reference to Edom, is suggested as an alternative in notes on Is $34^5$ (cf. $63^1$). Of various national adversaries, the Prophets take now one, now another, as types of the world in conflict with the theocracy.

If we understand aright the first paragraph of section vi. (p. xxvi), the writers regard allegory as a method of interpretation, by which the Christian may read gospel meanings into Old Testament sentences. We prefer to regard allegory as a style by the use of which a deeper meaning is enclosed in the more obvious. It is a feature of Holy Writ, and part of its unique character, that there is a remarkable coherence between the teachings of the many authors of the 'Divine Library.' One writer interprets another; the later elucidate the earlier, and show that inspired utterances constantly contained more than the speakers, as far as we know, intended to express. This seems to be recognized by the editors in the second paragraph of section vi. (p. xxvii). Certainly, to deny such fulness of meaning is to ignore a feature of the problem, which it is the task of Biblical exegesis to solve.

The work of the editors in their arrangement of the text, and the headings of the subjects, is excellent, and will assist the reader in taking an intelligent interest in the words of the Prophets. We particularly commend the section (pp. xviii–xxiv) on the Poetical Features of the Prophetical Books; for the style of Hebrew poetry is little known outside the limited circle of Hebraists. We can readily believe that 'considerable self-restraint' had to be exercised in selecting the annotations. We do not deny that in some cases our choice of what to say, what to pass over, would have been different; but perhaps the editors have made a better choice than we should, of what would best serve the interests of those for whom they have written. We are not sure, however, that all those would know the classical meaning of *nudus*; yet no explanation is given of Mic $1^8$, and the note about the prophet's official dress on Is $20^2$ does not quite answer the reader's inquiry. Do not 'the years of an hireling' (Is $16^{14}$) mean simply 'three full years'; it being necessary to define, because of the reckoning by which a portion of a period was taken for the whole? Compare the curious addition in 2 S $21^1$, lest the reader should think only one year, with a week or so on either side, was meant. Without disputing the broad statement in the note on Is $7^{14}$, we ask, What can *'almah* mean in Song $6^8$, if not *virgin*? Only so is the classification maintained. In any case, superhuman prescience is required to announce the sex of an unborn child. It may be replied that the announcement is not a prophecy, but only a hopeful anticipation. We forbear to add other criticisms, such as inevitably occur in reviewing annotations on various passages, full of difficulty, and the subjects of controversy; rather we desire to express our hearty approval of the volume before us, and to thank the editors for this helpful addition to the books now available for an intelligent study of the Hebrew Prophets.

# Recent Foreign Theology.

## Compendium of Church History.

It will be sufficient to chronicle the appearance of the first part of the second volume of Heussi's *Compendium of Church History*.[1] He has published the first part now, instead of waiting until he has the concluding part ready. It covers a good deal of ground, and he contrives to set forth in a very brief space the main elements of fact and principle in the epochs with which he deals. Some parts strike us as of unusual excellence. It is only possible, however, to note the sustained excellence of the book. It ought to facilitate study, as it places before the student a view of the successive movements in Church history, and relates these sufficiently to the general movements of the time.

A book[2] which is in the sixth edition, and that within a few years, may be said to have found its place in the literature of its subject, and to have passed beyond the bounds of criticism. It is not necessary here to characterize the work of Dr. Kaftan, or to feature its value, either in apologetic or in dogmatic. His works have a high place in the thought of his time, and exert a great influence on the religious thought and life of his generation. We may not agree with him, but whether we agree or not, we cannot read any of his works without interest and admiration. In this new edition his dogmatic goes forth on a new lease of life, and will find many readers in our own land and elsewhere. It deserves and will repay intense and prolonged study.

In the Introduction to this part of his work[3] the author sums up the results of the investigation contained in the first part. He briefly recapitulates these results, and he then asks, Has the Canon of the New Testament still a history after, in the fifth century, a certain definite judgment regarding it had been arrived at? The whole treatise may be described as an answer to the question. In a series of chapters he describes the question of the Canon as it was regarded in the Catholic Church, and then in the Evangelical Churches. Of quite special interest are the sections on Erasmus, and on the Tridentine Council. Those sections which set forth the views on the Canon in the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches are well done, and of quite special interest is the section which deals with the influence of Erasmus upon the Lutheran Theology. But the fact is that the book as a whole is of great merit, and usefully fills what might almost be described as a blank in our theological literature.

James Iverach.

*Aberdeen.*

[1] *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte.* Von Karl Heussi, Dr. Phil. Zweite Hälfte. Erste Abteilung, Hohes Mittelalter, Spätes Mittelalter, Reformation, Gegenreformation. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).

[2] *Gründriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften Dogmatik.* Von Dr. J. Kaftan, Professor der Theologie in Berlin. Fünfte und Sechste verbesserte Auflage. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). M.9.

[3] *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons.* Von Lic. theol. Dr. Phil. Johannes Leopoldt, Privatdozent an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Zweiter Teil, Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. M.2.40.

## Handbook to the New Testament.[4]

In a former reference to this important enterprise we noticed the issue of some of the parts which had then appeared. We record now the progress of the undertaking. As is known already, the Handbuch has three main parts; the first is to deal scientifically with the linguistic and historical materials which are necessary for a right understanding of the Scriptures of the N.T. One part is to deal with the language of the N.T., and it has not yet appeared. But the part which sets forth the Hellenistic-Roman Culture has been in the hands of the reader, and is recognized to be of the highest value. It is from the pen of Professor Wendland of Breslau, who has promised the third part of this part, Die Urchristlichen Litterformen, to which we look forward with great expectation, and wait with impatience. The second division of the Handbuch deals with the scientific exegesis of the N.T., and is to gather together and utilize for the purpose of exegesis all the results of recent investigation. Special

[4] *Handbuch Zum neuen Testament.* In Verbindung mit H. Gressmann, E. Klostermann, F. Niedergall, L. Radermacher, P. Wendland. Herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).

stress is laid on the help towards the exegesis of the N.T. from the result of research into the language of the time of the origin of the N.T. Papyri, Inscriptions, and so on have appeared, and are used in these volumes. We have before us the Commentary on the Gospel according to Mark, which we have already noticed, and the Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans and to the Corinthians by Dr. Lietzmann, and we ask, How does the work compare with the high ideal of a scientific commentary set forth in the pro spectus of the Handbuch? We have read with care the work of Dr. Lietzmann, and we say that it is of the highest value. It is careful, scholarly, and while he speaks with due brevity, he omits nothing relevant. He makes full use of the helps from the papyri, and his work is helpful in every way to the student. He never neglects those sections where difficulties meet the student. We hope that the other parts will rise to the high standard set by these Lieferungen, which are numbered as 1, 5, and 11 of the third volume of the Handbuch.

The fifth volume of the Handbuch which is devoted to the practical exposition of the N.T. has made some progress. There lie before us Lieferungen 7, Practische Auslegung zu Markus 8, Matthäus, an die Corinther 1, Practische Auslegung Lukas, die Apostelgeschichte, and some time ago the Universal Introduction, along with the practical commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, was published. The practical commentary assumes what has been done in the exegetical commentaries, and gives itself exclusively to those aspects of Scripture which deserves the name of practical. These commentaries ought to be of great value to the preacher and the teacher. Both in what is said in them, and in what may be inferred from them, liberal applications lie. It ought to be said that these practical expositions are from the pen of Lic. F. Niedergall, Privatdozent in Heidelberg.

We are glad to note the progress of this stately Handbuch. It represents the latest achievement of scientific work in Germany. It gathers up into itself the labour of generations, and places its readers abreast of the latest phase of research. We look forward with expectation and desire to the further progress of the work.

JAMES IVERACH.

*Aberdeen.*

## A Spiritual Faith.[1]

THE two topics announced in the title lie at the very heart of true religion. To understand the nature and relations of faith in Scripture and the assurance of salvation is to know the secret of the Christian life. It is not a little refreshing to find these questions discussed with such insight and fervour as this pamphlet displays. The spiritual root of all religion, the direct dealing of the soul with the Divine Spirit, the immediacy of the believer's fellowship with God, are enforced with a directness and earnestness which take us back to Luther. It seems strange at first sight that the writer reverses the order of topics in the title, discussing the assurance of salvation first, as if this could exist apart from Scripture guidance. This is not the author's meaning, for afterwards he explicitly attributes the first impulse to the spiritual life to Scripture. Even if the impulse comes in the first instance from the preacher or teacher, it springs in the last resort from Scripture. We understand the faith in Scripture which is said to have its root in assurance of salvation to be the full, instructed faith of the believer. 'We believe in Scripture in and with the assurance of salvation. Otherwise not and by no means, if at least by faith in Scripture is meant the full-grown, evangelical Christian faith.' While asserting the high place and worth both of Scripture and the Church as means and instruments of spiritual life, no higher significance is given to them; but this is great enough. The real agent in salvation is the living Spirit of God. No other cause would be adequate to produce such effects. This face to face contact of the soul with God is not only a great Reformation principle, it is an equally certain Scriptural principle. We are no more to be deterred from asserting this truth by possible abuses than the Reformers or Apostles were deterred. 'No fear of the excesses, of which fanatics and enthusiasts are guilty, should lead us to weaken the significance of faith. We ought not on this account to cease to speak thankfully and clearly of our personal possession of the Spirit of God, of our personal, believing possession of Jesus Christ.' 'Quench not the Spirit.' A very timely caution is given at the outset of the

[1] *Schriftglaube und Heilsgewissheit.* Von D. Erich Schaeder, Kiel. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. M. 1.20.

pamphlet against the narrow, egoistic meaning often given to the idea of assurance of salvation. The assurance is defined first of all as 'that assurance of forgiveness, of peace with God which we have in and by faith.' God must ever be kept first. The direst effect of sin is the separation and antagonism which it has introduced between man and God, and salvation means nothing but the restoration of the lost fellowship. 'We know of no assurance of salvation or of faith in which the living God is forgotten or put in the background.' Any other notion of salvation is essentially selfish. Even Jesus Christ in His work as Saviour appears only as Mediator and Reconciler, 'certainly the Mediator who historically and for ever Himself belongs to God.' 'Assurance of salvation is the believing experience of the most direct contact with God.' The chief work of the Spirit also consists in making God and spiritual realities present to us. The letter of Scripture, apostolic men and teaching cannot enable us to realize this Divine nearness. Only the Spirit in Scripture and inspired men can do so. 'Why does the man who is sure of his salvation believe in Holy Scripture? Because in it and through it he finds the God on whom he hangs by faith and with whom he is in communion. This human word or testimony brings God near to us; by this word God speaks to us, the God on whom our faith rests and by whom it lives. We must declare with all plainness: To us Christians the central thought in Holy Scripture is God.' The latter half of the work is devoted to the question which stands first in the title—the Scripture. The interblending of the human and the Divine in Scripture, and the impossibility of separating the two elements, are forcibly expounded. Formerly the author had spoken as if our immediate fellowship with God in Christ had almost rendered us independent of Scripture. Now justice is done to the other side. Then we were said to be raised 'above Scripture.' Now Scripture is 'the organ which God's living Spirit uses to bring us to conscious saving faith in God in Christ, and in this way to fellowship with God through Christ.' The analogy between Scripture and the constitution of Christ's person is referred to. The appearance of the work in Germany is an encouraging sign of the times.

J. S. Banks.

*Leeds.*

## Les Apocryphes de l'Ancient Testament.[1]

This is the title of a series of volumes of which Professor Martin of the Catholic Institute of Paris is the general editor. The series does not comprise the books of the Apocrypha as we know them in the English Bible; for those books, with the exception of the Greek Esdras, the Latin Esdras, and the Prayer of Manasseh, are canonical—not 'apocryphal'—in the judgment of the Roman Church. But the purpose of the series is to deal mainly with what are called the pseudepigraphic (or better, pseudepigraphal) books of the Old Testament. Professor Martin opened the series in 1906 with *Le Livre d'Hénoch*, and now the Abbé Nau contributes the second volume, treating of the history and wisdom of Aḥikar the Assyrian, the son of Anael, and nephew of Tobit.

It may be of interest to give a list of the other volumes which are in preparation: *Les Livres sibyllins*, by Professor Boxler; *Les Apocalypses de Baruch* (one in Syriac and one in Greek), and *l'Assomption de Moïse*, by Dr. Cersoy; *le Testament de Nephtali* (Hebrew), by Professor Touzard; *les Testaments des XII. Patriarches* (Greek), *les Psaumes de Salamon*, *la Prière de Manassé*, and *la Lettre d'Aristée*, by Dr. Viteau; *le Livre des Jubilés* or *Petite Genèse*, by the Abbé Martin; *l'Ascension d'Isaïe*, by Professor Tisserant; *la Vie d'Adam et d'Ève*, by Dr. Nau; and *III.–IV. Esdras* and *III.–IV. Macchabées*, by Dr. Labourt. Most of these scholars are connected with the Catholic Institute of Paris, and, judging from the first two volumes issued, the series is likely to prove a very helpful one to those students who are interested in the pseudepigrapha of the inter-Testamental period. Unfortunately, such students are not numerous among us, despite the encouragement given to this fascinating study by the English works of Dr. Charles. It may therefore suffice here to sum up very briefly the contents of Professor Nau's book on Achiacharus.

First of all must be mentioned the excellent translation—a French translation based on the Syriac versions, with the principal variant readings in the Arabic, Armenian, Greek, neo-Syriac, Slavonic, and Roumanian versions. But the Introduc-

[1] Vol. ii.: *Histoire et Sagesse d'Aḥikar l'Assyrien.* Par François Nau. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1909. 5 fr.

tion is equally good. It begins with a short analysis of *Aḥikar*, followed by a summary of its teaching on such subjects as God, eschatology, and morals, and by some details of the geography, history, and proper names of the book. Then there is an account of *Aḥikar* in modern literature; in Democritus, Menander, and ancient Greek literature; its influence on the books of Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and Daniel; *Aḥikar* and the New Testament, and the Talmud, and its parallels with passages in Eastern literature. The various versions and the original text are next discussed; and the relation of *Aḥikar* to the Fabulists—Babrus, Loqman, and Æsop—forms a very interesting chapter. The editor concludes his exhaustive Introduction with a full bibliography of the whole subject, and an explanation of the scope of his own work, which needs no apology.

The Abbé Nau is indeed to be congratulated on his edition of *Aḥikar*, and we hope that its sale will encourage Professor Martin and his colleagues to persevere in their bold and valuable undertaking and to see it through. HERBERT PENTIN.

*Milton Abbey.*

# In the Study.

## BEHIND AND BEFORE.

THERE is some instruction to be found in the occasional way in which these two words occur together.

I. *The strategy of war.*—1. The Israelites under Joshua had just begun the conquest of Canaan when they met with a serious reverse at Ai. It was the reward of iniquity. But even when the camp was purged of the unclean thing, they could not march against Ai with the sure confidence of their first attack. For if they had regained confidence in God, they had lost confidence in themselves, a frequent result of sin. So they set an ambush behind the city, while the main body attacked in front (Jos $8^{4.\ 5.\ 14}$). This ambush gave an argument long afterwards for identifying the site of Ai. 'We can see,' says Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 167), 'where in the Wady Harith, between Bethel and Ai, Joshua could have placed his ambush to the west, or "behind" Ai, unobserved by the defenders of either place.' 2. A precisely similar stratagem was employed by the Israelites against the Benjamites (Jg $20^{40\text{-}42}$). It is so similar as to suggest imitation (cf. especially Jg $20^{37\text{ff.}}$ with Jos $8^{19\text{ff.}}$). But doublets, says Moore (*Judges*, p. 435), 'are not necessarily evidence of literary dependence. The phraseology is throughout different, and the narrative does not bear the stamp of a copy.' 3. After David had been anointed king over Israel, the Philistines, alarmed at his growing power, came up and plundered the valley of Rephaim. David went out against them, and smote them at Baal-perazim. They came up again, probably in greater force. David was instructed to attack them in the rear, and a signal was given: 'When thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees, then thou shalt bestir thyself.' David was behind the Philistines, and the Lord was before David: 'Then shall the Lord go out before thee to smite the host of the Philistines' ($5^{24}$). The victory was complete. 4. At a time of great stress later in the life of David, the king sent Joab against the combined forces of the Ammonites and the Syrians. The Syrians succeeded in getting to the rear of the army of the Israelites, and Joab found that 'the battle was set against him before and behind' (2 S $10^{9}$, 1 Ch $19^{10}$). He himself wheeled round with a picked force and met the Syrians; the rest of the army, under Abishai his brother, being left to face the Ammonites. A first principle in all successful warfare is to face the enemy. But Joab adopted a second good principle in this battle. He said to Abishai 'If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me; but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will help thee' (1 Ch $19^{12}$). Joab is altogether at his best here. He uses every faculty that God has endowed him with: first, the best means he can devise of meeting the foe; next, mutual help; then, hearty encouragement, 'Be of good courage, and let us play the men'; finally, he leaves the issue in God's hands, 'And the Lord do that which seemeth

him good.' 5. The last instance of the stratagem of 'behind and before' was also unsuccessful. Jeroboam, king of Israel, at war with Abijah, king of Judah, 'caused an ambushment to come about behind,' while he kept his main army in front. 'And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind them' (2 Ch $13^{13.\ 14}$). Yet Jeroboam was defeated. The measures adopted by Abijah and his army were these: (1) they cried unto the Lord; (2) the priest sounded with the trumpets; (3) the men of Judah gave a shout.

II. *Well-doing or ill-doing.*—The secret and success of the life of the righteous is that he sets the Lord always before him (Ps $19^{8}$). The explanation of the wickedness of wicked men is that they have not set God before them (Ps $54^{3}$). And thus a man's failure in life is due to the fact that he has 'cast God behind his back,' as the Prophets emphatically express it. So Abijah told Jeroboam, the first king of Israel (1 K $14^{9}$). And the Levites in the days of Nehemiah found the simple and sufficient explanation of all the evil that had befallen the nation of Israel in the fact that they had cast God's law behind their back (Neh $9^{26}$).

III. *The attempt to make an atonement for sin.*—When Jacob returned from Padanaram he was afraid to meet his brother Esau, because he had done him wrong. So he 'took of that which he had with him a present for Esau his brother' (Gn $32^{13}$), and sent it before him with instructions to the servants to say, 'Behold, thy servant Jacob is behind us.' 'For,' he added, 'I will appease him with the present that goeth before me, and afterwards I will see his face; peradventure he will accept me' ($32^{20}$). His literal words are, 'I will atone his face with the present that goeth before me.' When the wrong was between man and man, the usual way of 'covering' the wrong was the offer of a gift. And some think that sacrifice to God had its origin in this custom, the sacrifice being a gift to God to 'cover' His eyes. But as an unjust judge might accept a gift to blind his eyes to the wrong, so the Israelites were warned against such a mode of thought in regard to God: 'The Lord your God, he is God of gods, and Lord of lords, which regardeth not persons nor taketh a bribe' (Dt $10^{17}$).[1]

[1] See A. B. Davidson in *Expositor*, v. x. 95.

IV. *God's intimate knowledge.*—When the Seer of the Apocalypse found himself in the presence of the throne of God in heaven, he observed 'in the midst of the throne and round about the throne, four living creatures full of eyes before and behind' (Rev $4^{6}$). The imagery is a recollection of the vision of Ezekiel (Ezk $1^{18}$ $10^{12}$), by whom the 'living creatures' are identified with the Cherubim; and that they have eyes before and behind, as well as around and within, this symbolism, says Swete, 'sets forth the ceaseless vigilance of Nature, or rather of the immanent Power which works under visible forms.' From the scrutiny of these eyes there is no escape. 'Thou hast beset me behind and before,' says the Psalmist (Ps $139^{5}$). The man is a fool who thinks that he can cover God's eyes with a gift or bring even the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul (Mic $6^{7}$).

V. *The goodness and severity of God.*—'And the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them' (Ex $14^{19}$). This was for 'goodness' to the Israelites, and 'severity' to the Egyptians. For when it had removed, the cloud became darkness to the Egyptians, and light to the Israelites, so that the former could not come near the latter till they had time to cross the sea. The Egyptians then pursued them into the midst of the divided waters and were drowned.

The 'severity' of God in judgment is declared by the prophet Joel in a highly impressive manner. Using a recent visit of locusts as illustration, he says, 'the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness; yea, and none hath escaped them.'

VI. *The goodness of God in Christ.*—In that most touching incident in Christ's healing activity, the cure of the woman with the issue of blood, the circumstance that affects us most is that the woman came *behind* Him and that He was not satisfied until He had brought her *before* Him (Mk $5^{27.\ 33}$). For bodily healing was not half the blessing He was ready to give her. She would have snatched that and been thankful. But when she saw His face, she went away with a joy in her heart which no affection of the body, not even Death itself, would ever quench. She then made the discovery of Tarshish, the Arab physician,

that the 'all-powerful is the all-loving too' (Browning's *Epistle of Tarshish*).

VII. *The way in which the Christian race is to be run.*—It is 'forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before' (Ph $3^{13}$).

## EAR.

### As an obsolete word in the Bible.

It is possible that as preachers we do not always recognize how difficult it is for the pew to follow us, simply because of the language we use. Our reading is perhaps too narrow, but our language is certainly too Biblical. It is not too Biblical, perhaps, for the very few who read the Bible daily, and have come, like ourselves, to think in Biblical language. But for the great majority the words which we use, and which we love the more that they are old-fashioned or even obsolete, are simply unintelligible. The word *ear* in the modern English language has two meanings. It is used for the organ of hearing and for the heads or spikes of corn. In the language of the Authorized Version of the Bible it has three meanings. Besides being used for the organ of hearing and the heads of grain, it is a verb which means 'to plough.' It is possible that ordinary readers are unfamiliar with ears as applied to the spikes of corn; it is almost certain that when they read in Gn $45^{6}$, 'There shall neither be earing nor harvest,' they do not know what 'earing' means. Yet it is so manifest to the preacher that he rarely thinks of explaining it.

The word is Teutonic. It is not derived from the Gr. ἀρόω or the Lat. *aro*, but it is of common Aryan stock with these words. In the *Pilgr. Perf.* of 1526, p. 23, the processes that the ground passes through in spring are described in this way: 'After that he tempereth it with dong, than eareth it, soweth it, and haroweth it.' Davies[1] notices that that which is 'eared' is still called earth, and land fitted for ploughing is styled arable. For arable is not directly taken from the Lat. *arabilis*; earable was already an English word before the Lat. *arabilis* came to modify its spelling. 'If thou be an husbandman,' says Tindale, 'ear and sow, and husband thy ground, and let God alone for the rest,'[2] which is the very point of that beautiful parable peculiar to St. Mark in which we are told, 'For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself.' Sir John Mandeville observed in his travels that 'in the land of Palestine and in the land of Egypt, they eat but little or none of flesh of veal or of beef, but it be so old, that he may no more travel for old; for it is forbidden, and for because they have but few of them; therefore they nourish them for to ere their lands.'[3]

Wyclif uses the word frequently. Good examples are Ex $34^{21}$. 'Sixe daies thou schalt worche, the seuenthe day thou schalt ceesse to ere and repe'; and 1 Co $9^{10}$, 'He that erith, owith to ere in hope, and he that threischith, in hope to take fruytis.' In the A.V. the examples of *ear* are 1 S $8^{12}$, 'And will set them to ear (Heb. *ḥārash*, R.V. 'plow') his ground, and to reap his harvest'; Is $30^{24}$, 'The young asses that ear (Heb. *'ābad*, R.V. 'till') the ground, shall eat clean provender.' Of *eared* there is one example, Dt $21^{4}$, 'A rough valley, which is neither eared (Heb. *'ābad*, R.V. 'plowed'), nor sown.' And of *earing* two, Gn $45^{6}$, 'There shall neither be earing nor harvest'; Ex $34^{21}$, 'In earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest' (both Heb. *ḥārīsh*, R.V. 'plowing').

That even an educated reader may mistake the word is shown by the blunder of Dr. Taylor, one of the editors of Chapman's *Homer*. The word occurs in *Iliads*, xviii. 492:

To these the fi'ry Artizan did add a new-ear'd field,
Large and thrice plough'd, the soil being soft, and of a wealthy yield.

The editor's note is: '*Covered with corn just ripened into ears.* The epithet is very picturesque and expressive.'

## A LODGE IN THE WILDERNESS.

*The Nation*, March 13, 1909.

Out in the empty desert all alone,
Blown by the winds and lapped by waves of grass,
There stands beneath the unseeing skies a stone,
Where nevermore the foot of man shall pass.
Set up to mark the grave of one that died
Long years ago, whereon may be descried
In signs to all but human eyes unknown:
*Faithful is God, for He remembereth;*
*The Lord is mighty, and forgetteth none.*

Here come the deer, because the grass is sweet;
The wounded bird, because the shadow thrown
Shelters its aching body from the heat;
And here a thousand flying seeds are blown,

[1] *Bible English*, p. 238. [2] *Expositions*, p. 101. [3] *Travels*, p. 48.

And after growth and blossom, here they die,
Even as he whose bones beneath them lie.
Of men to read the writing comes not one:
*Faithful is God, for He remembereth;*
*The Lord is mighty, and forgetteth none.*

The busy hands that did this carving make,
The eyes that wept, the voices that made moan,
Long respite from their grief and labours take;
Their tears are dry, their lamentation done.
The stars, like jewels on a banner spread,
Are borne to other battles overhead.
Still cries the grave, taunting oblivion:
*Faithful is God, for He remembereth;*
*The Lord is mighty, and forgetteth none.*

LUCY LYTTELTON.

# The Pilgrim's Progress.

BY THE REV. JOHN KELMAN, M.A., D.D., EDINBURGH.

## Atheist.

'YONDER is a man with his back towards Zion, and he is coming to meet us.' For any sensitive spirit the combination is of tragic significance. It is one thing to know that there are atheists in the world, and men with their backs towards all that we hope and believe in. It is another thing to confront one such man. Something notable will come of such an encounter.

In the distance he is sure to be 'going softly,' and we are somewhat surprised to find on meeting him that this is an atheist of the blatant sort, loud and rude and roaring. We are relieved as well as surprised. Noisy atheism is a much less dangerous matter than atheism that 'goes softly.'

We have abundant means of knowing what John Bunyan meant by Atheist. There was No Truth in the *Holy War*, tearing down the image of Shaddai and the laws of that king, and setting up the horned image of Diabolus in its place. In the same book there was Atheism himself, who haunts 'Villain's Lane,' and 'Drunkard's Row, just at Rascal Lane's End,' and who 'goes softly' when occasion serves, but in these places speaks out his atheistic ideas boldly. There was Mr. Badman, who was an Atheist, 'if such a thing as an Atheist could be.' These bitter passages have life behind them, and we know from other sources whom he was thinking of. In *Grace Abounding* we read of those Ranters who formed such a wild background to the Puritan faith and morals—filthy men, who 'would also deny that there was a God,' etc. Perhaps the most interesting figure we know of as a prototype for Mr. Atheist is Antilegon in *The Plain Man's Pathway*, that book which did so much for Bunyan. Antilegon is one of those who 'gad about to sermons and get no good; full of malice and ready to do an ill turn to their neighbours; much occupied with their dress; holding that lust is natural and excusable in youth and covetousness in later years; defending drunkenness and lying and idleness and swearing ('if we do no worse than that!'): professing dangerous views as to Election and Eternal Punishment; irritated by a man of tender conscience who is afraid of punishment after death, and offering him a list of books to chase away his forebodings, among which are *Helen of Rumming* and *Beves of Hampton*. From the opening of his talk, on the subject of the price of a cow, to its last sentence, proposing to go home because evening is drawing on, he stands for a full length portrait of the man of the world.

All these instances show how thoroughly, for Bunyan, character and opinions are bound up together. Many things go towards the making of an atheist. Dr. Whyte's list of questions about his past experience is full of suggestion. Atheist's own confession that he had found the way tedious is very near the root of the matter. But the tediousness of any journey depends upon the heart of the traveller quite as much as upon the character of the way. Christ's command, 'Have salt in yourselves,' doubtless has many meanings, but among them there is certainly this, that it is every man's duty to lead an interesting life. For the interest or dulness of life are matters far more within a man's own option than is usually supposed. It depends largely upon our strenuousness whether the life we lead is interesting or not, and it is possible to force an interest in the dullest

commonplace by accepting it as a challenge and pitting our imagination and our will against the monotony. Anything which we set ourselves to overcome immediately gains interest from the sense of antagonism, the ring of challenge scattering the sense of drudgery and putting colour into the greyest mile of the journey. A nobler cause of Atheism is that 'pestilence that walketh in darkness,' unsanctified sorrow and affliction. Readers of Wolfram will remember Parzival's words in 'Trevrezent':—

'A man's heart is mine, and sore wounded, it acheth and acheth still,
Yet once it was glad and joyous, and free from all thought of ill.
. . . And I do well to lay it on Him, the burden of this my shame,
Who can help if He will, nor withholdeth the aid that man fain would claim.
But *me* alone, hath He helped not, whate'er men of Him may speak,
But ever He turneth from me, and His wrath on my head doth wreak.'

Yet of this there is no sign in Bunyan's Atheist. He is of the cruder sort, whose atheism is obviously the result of his own behaviour. Bacon, in his profound essay on this subject, says: 'It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion. . . . The contemplative atheist is rare . . . the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end.' 'I did believe it when I denied it,' says Francis Spira, in a passage well known to Bunyan, 'but now I neither believe that, nor the doctrine of the Roman Church; I believe nothing, I have no faith, no trust, no hope.'

## Atheist's Self-Justification.

His one argument is that for twenty years he had sought the Celestial City and had never yet seen it. Atheist is in more meanings than one 'a man of sense.' He has no poetry in him, no imagination, and his atheism is the final doom of crude common sense. He has never, like Richter, 'heard the shriek of a fatherless world,' nor seen the horror of the black eye-socket, empty, bottomless in place of the Father's eye. That was how the Universe looked to Richter when he heard in his dream the voice that told him there was no God. But this man has not soul enough to feel the frightful loneliness of the silence of a Godless universe. He has not imagination enough to go mad for want of a God.

It is a characteristic touch of genius which puts into his mouth the words, 'There is not such a place as you dream of in all this world.' The answer is obvious, 'But there is in the world to come.'

'I looked beyond the world for truth and beauty,
Sought, found, and did my duty.'

Even on his own low ground of argument it might have been replied to him that seeing is no test of reality. Had he ever seen either his own backbone or his brain? Yet in his self-confidence there is a profound belief in the reality of both these unseen things! Blessed are those who have intellect enough to believe further than they can see! But had he been inclined to take higher ground, and to climb the Delectable Mountains, he would have seen the city as Christian and Hopeful had done. The spiritual man is not moved by the argument of the unspiritual that he has not seen that in which the spiritual man believes. There are things that cannot be seen but on the heights, and he who refuses to climb above the levels of sense and common sense has never been in a position either to affirm or to deny. This is the inevitable dogmatism of faith, but it is a dogmatism justified by real experience, and if the denier has not had that experience, so much the worse for him, but none the worse for the argument.

Finally, even a man of common sense would have seen if he had gone on. Imagination and spirituality are not possible to all in the same manner as they are to some. But faithfulness and constancy are possible to all. Even the most unimaginative pilgrim, if he will endure to the end, will see the Celestial City when he shall have reached the further bank of the River. How much of America did Columbus see till the final day arrived? Whether a man shall see heaven or not may depend upon how long he shall go on looking for it. 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

## The Dogmatism of Atheist.

The loud laughter and the over-confident assertion tell rather of a man assured than in

suspense of judgment. The credulity of unbelief is one of the most amazing phenomena of human nature. It has perhaps never been more strikingly exposed than Bishop Earle's portrait of 'A Sceptic in Religion' (quoted, Kerr Bain, i. 70): 'A man guiltier of credulity than he is taken to be; for it is out of his belief of everything that he fully believes nothing. . . . He finds reason for all opinions, truth in none; indeed, the least reason perplexes him, and the best will not satisfy him. . . . In short, his whole life is a question, and his salvation a greater, which death only concludes, and then he is resolved.' Such a man, in whom the habit of doubt has come to be a chronic and deepening paralysis of the very faculty and power to believe, has to justify so unnatural and inhuman a state of intellect by loud assertion, drowning the crying voices of the heart by the loudness of his laughter. But such Atheism as this is no longer a negative but a positive affair. It has foreclosed the question, and is dogmatizing on the other side. It may use a word like Agnosticism, which professes to be a humble and indeed confessional word, declaring mere ignorance. But by Agnosticism it means not that we know nothing, but that nothing *can* be known. Here is a scepticism far beyond that of Hume and Huxley —at least beyond what they put forward as their ground of uncertainty, the lack of evidence. Here is negative certainty and dogmatic denial.

And the ground of it, according to Bunyan, is in the will rather than the intellect. It is that atheism to which the author of *Natural Religion* devotes one of his most striking and far-reaching chapters. 'There is an atheism,' says he, 'which is a mere speculative crotchet, and there is an atheism which is a great moral disease. . . . The purest form of such real atheism might be called by the general name of *wilfulness*.' It is that state of mind and will in which a man sets himself up against the universe, and deliberately chooses his own will against the general law. This is that fool who hath said in his heart "No God!"—he has said that in his heart, because his heart first said it to him. In a word, like Turnaway and so many other pilgrims whom John Bunyan holds in utter contempt, this man's back is to Mount Zion—the worst thing that can be said of any man.

Thus there is no quarrel with reason in John Bunyan. The spurious Part III. of the *Pilgrim's Progress* introduces this, in its passages introducing Human Reason and Natural Speculations—a recurring habit of thought which has found curious revival in that outburst of attack on Reason in the later nineteenth century, which recalls the writings of Newman, A. J. Balfour, Kidd, and others. Such attacks are founded on a confusion of Reason with Reasoning—a very different thing. It is true that God and the truths of religion are beyond the reach of reasoning in the syllogistic sense. Yet they are given in Reason, and without them the conception of a Reasonable Universe falls to pieces. It is our trust in the Reasonableness of things which is the very essence of our faith. It is true that Bunyan does not feel himself called upon to discuss such questions in the abstract. But it is very striking to notice how his unerring instinct for truth keeps him from the mistakes into which his plagiarist falls when dealing with such characters as this.

### Atheist's Reception by the Pilgrims.

When Atheist said that they were to have nothing but trouble for their pains, Christian mistook his meaning. It never occurred to him at that time to think of any one denying the reality of the world to come. Its powers had been felt too gloriously and too painfully in his soul of late. But his recent shame had not worn off his conscience, and there was a readiness to fear which is exceedingly true to life. So he, who is just recovering from the strokes of the angel, at once thinks that this man must be meaning to foretell of his rejection. There are two kinds of doubt. One, regarding one's own condition in relation to the acknowledged facts of religion; the other, regarding the accuracy and credibility of these so-called facts. Christian, for a moment, mistakes the latter for the former.

Then, as if to cover his error, and to draw off attention from his having exposed his conscience to such a man as Atheist, he nimbly turns to Hopeful with his question, by way of testing Hopeful's faith. This superiority of attitude in Christian strikes us as odd in one whose back is still raw with the strokes of well-deserved punishment. It is frequently the most disagreeable thing about him. He cannot bear to be in the wrong even in trifles, and he often makes himself unconsciously a foil to the sweet simplicity

and humility of Hopeful, who thinks less of himself and his dignity than Christian does. It is by such small characteristics, persistent and recurring, that a character in fiction gains individuality and consistency. In nothing does Bunyan show his mastery in his art more finely than in this. His men are not symbols, but live men, living out each his own life with its qualities and their defects.

Hopeful's eager remonstrance is characteristic of the guileless and eager heart he is. His last words, free from all thought of resentment, from all hint of criticism of his brother, are the summing up of this pilgrim's spirit—'Now do I rejoice in hope of the glory of God.' Such 'glad hearts without reproach or blot' are immune to the infection of atheism. He needs no arguments, for his spirit 'burns straight flame.'

Yet he uses arguments, and they are sound. The first is experience. They had seen the gate of the city from the Delectable Mountains. Let them trust their experience and walk by faith. What we have seen we have seen, and

> Tasks in hours of insight willed
> Must be through hours of gloom fulfilled.

There is a story of an old woman dying in a cottage in the Scottish lowlands, who quoted to a friend the psalm:

> I shall not die, but live, and shall
> The works of God discover.

A foolish and irreligious nurse who was attending upon her replied, 'Na, na, ye're deein', Katie.' The dying woman turned to her friend and said, 'She kens naething aboot it.'

Hopeful's other argument concerns the character of Atheist. 'Let us take heed to ourselves now, lest he should prove a flatterer also. . . .' 'Take heed, he is one of the Flatterers: remember what it hath cost us once already for hearkening to such kind of fellows.' There is much shrewdness here, and a wiser insight into character than Hopeful usually gets credit for. There was little apparent flattery in the 'very great laughter' with which Atheist had greeted them, or in his explanation of it—'I laugh to see what ignorant persons you are.' Yet the quick intelligence of Hopeful discovered the subtle appeal that lay beneath the rudeness. The strongest weapon of Atheism is its flattery of man's pride of intellect, and the sense of superiority which it claims over those that believe. It may be safely said that if there were no pride of intellect there would be little Atheism.

### The Departure.

He goes back laughing, but he goes alone. George Macdonald has somewhere said that the sight of a man's back is one of the most pathetic of things. The saying is not, perhaps, convincing at first. But such a scene as this supplies a commentary which interprets the novelist's meaning. The helpless loneliness of a man out on his journey among the mighty forces of the Universe and without God, is terrible indeed. 'In all this wide universe,' writes Richter, in his famous first Flower-Piece, 'there is none so utterly solitary as the denier of God. With orphaned heart—a heart which has lost the Great Father—he mourns beside the immeasurable corpse of Nature, a corpse no longer animated or held together by the Great Spirit of the Universe—a corpse which grows in its grave; and by this corpse he mourns until he himself crumbles and falls away from it into nothingness.' And we feel that he is going back not only from hope and gladness, but in character also. That back, dwindling to a speck down the stretch of the highway, tells of a degenerating man. For, in the words of Bacon, 'as Atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty.'

Note.—Part III., by a curious freak of imagination, continues and enlarges the story of Atheist. His name had been Well-meaning, but he became Atheist through the wiles of Human Reason. In the Enchanted Ground he fell asleep, and in his sleep walked back (meeting Christian and Hopeful, and laughing at them while still asleep), till he came to Vanity Fair, where he dwelt a great while. He was nearly killed by a thunderbolt there, and he reappears as Convert, who very earnestly warns the pilgrims not to sleep in the Enchanted Ground.

# Literature.

## *THE PAULINE EPISTLES.*

The Pauline Epistles: A Critical Study. By Robert Scott, M.A., D.D., Bombay. (Edinburgh: *T. & T. Clark.* 6s. net.)

Dr. Scott is evidently one of those who refuse to read the New Testament through other people's spectacles. He has good eyes of his own, and he is determined to use them. And the fact that he sees some things which other people do not see seems likely to rouse the ire of those who think that they see everything. For ourselves we find no cause of quarrel with Dr. Scott. We accept his book as a serious effort at constructive criticism. We know that, as he says, the questions which he discusses will be probed, whether the Church lead or lag; and we have no sympathy with those who would board up the study of historical criticism against so well-equipped and competent a scholar. One does not need to accept all Dr. Scott's conclusions in order to appreciate his masterly grasp of Apostolic literature and to welcome his bold attempt at framing a theory of the origin of the different books that would solve at a stroke a multitude of vexing problems.

The chief objection to his method Dr. Scott has himself anticipated. He states frankly that his argument rests 'mainly on theological ideas and literary style.' And he seems to overhear some of his alarmed readers exclaim, 'Purely subjective and impressionist!' But those who patiently follow him will find that he is not without the instinct of a true expositor; that he relies not on a single argument, but on the convergence of many lines of thought; and that he passes under review not only the appropriateness of the writings to the author alleged, but the doctrinal ideas considered in the light of the influences that wrought in the early Church. To say that he ostentatiously sets aside all that is properly to be called historical evidence is to do him less than justice. His space is limited: he cannot discuss everything; his chosen task is to analyze the internal data which the New Testament books afford, and form a theory of their authorship that is not only consistent in itself, but that will precisely fit the external circumstances, so far as they are known. Even if Dr. Scott be wrong in his conclusions, his work is not in vain; it is a great step to dissipate some of our prejudices, and to set us in the way of reaching a right conclusion.

In order to understand clearly Dr. Scott's position, and see its advantages, one has only to place his theory side by side with the view more generally accepted. He begins by dividing the so-called Pauline Epistles and other parts of the New Testament into four groups. In this procedure there is nothing novel. Scholars have been wont to quarter St. Paul. In Dr. W. P. Paterson's *Pauline Theology*, a book issued for the benefit of the young, and highly commended by Drs. Charteris and McClymont, the following division is given: First, the Early Epistles (1 and 2 Thessalonians); second, the Controversial Epistles (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians); third, the Epistles of the Captivity (Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians); fourth, the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon). Now this division proceeds on the assumption that in the first group we have the characteristic Pauline Theology in germ; that in the second group it blossoms into fulness; that in the third group speculative and ecclesiastical ideas are added; while in the fourth group Apostolic fire has somewhat cooled and abated, and the teaching is more commonplace. The authorship of Hebrews remains an unsolved problem. Need it be wondered at that men have asked, whether, if Paul be the author of all these writings, his ideas developed and expanded in the midst of his activities, or whether as time went on the views he once held did not suffer material modification? The divergences between the groups have to be reconciled in some way. And we owe something to a man who takes a broad view of the facts, and who ventures a supposition that at a stroke makes Paul's mind consistent with itself, while it solves the problem of the authorship of Hebrews, and throws a flood of light upon the origin of the first three Gospels.

Dr. Scott finds no good reason to suppose that all the so-called Pauline Epistles came directly from Paul's hand. They do not profess to be his exclusively, although in the main they represent his mind, and emanated from his circle. The Epistles that bear the definite Pauline stamp, and

that declare his characteristic gospel, are 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Galatians, and Philippians. Even in these one may trace in some passages the influence of a Greek associate, but generally in thought and style they form a unity; they reflect the mind of one great personality. Here we have expounded the great antithesis of sin and righteousness, of law and grace, of wrath and salvation, of condemnation and justification, of terror and peace. The whole scheme, marked by forensic and vicarious elements, betrays a mind trained in the Rabbinical Schools, while in its consistency, grandeur, and moral appeal it attests the individuality of living and constructive genius.

Then we come to a second group of writings that stand by themselves—Ephesians, Hebrews, 1 Peter, 1 Thess 4–5, 2 Thess 1–2, inserted passages in some of the other Epistles, and the Gospel of Matthew. These all breathe the ministry of exhortation, and differ from Paul's letters by the priestly character of the doctrinal and moral conceptions. The great doctrines of the first group are absent; forensic conceptions do not obtrude themselves; instead of Paul's expiation, we have remission and the cleansing of the conscience. Thoughts of a new order appear, such as the Second Coming of Christ in outward catastrophic fashion, summing up the record of history. The style is literary. The author views the problems of religion through the spectacles of books. He is an adept in sentence-building—delighting in the careful balance, the pleasing alliteration, the skilfully adjusted succession of clauses, the elaborate mosaic of words. And he distributes his material under doctrinal and practical heads in a way quite foreign to Paul. Who is this author, whose mind is steeped in Paulinism, and who yet is other than Paul? Dr. Scott finds that Silas answers every requirement. A Jew of Jerusalem, the chosen representative of the Hellenistic section, a recognized prophet, a co-worker with Paul and Timothy—that is the very man. And this accords with the fact that 1 and 2 Thessalonians profess to emanate from Paul, Silas, and Timothy. Is there anything to hinder Silas being the chief or only scribe? Then in 1 Peter $5^{12}$ we find the name of Silas inscribed like the name of a painter at the base of his canvas. May he not also have edited a Gospel, which has so many points of contact with his other work? Why keep him from his own?

The third group consists of 1 Thess 1–3, 2 Thess 3, Colossians, Philemon, passages in other Epistles, and the Gospel of Mark. Dr. Scott finds that all the circumstances conspire to associate these writings with the name of Timothy. When he considers the fundamental resemblance to Paul, the co-operation with Silas, the Lucan vocabulary, the Johannine elements gathered probably at Ephesus, the imitative and philosophizing tendency, he is sure the writer of these letters can be none other than Timothy. And if Silas edited a narrative of Christ's life, why not Timothy? The Gospel of Mark, as we have it, need not, after all, be the earliest of the Evangelic narratives.

The fourth group consists of the Pastorals. Every one recognizes that here we breathe a new atmosphere. The great Pauline conceptions are absent, and their place is taken by a simple system of sound doctrine which is to be learned and obeyed. Dr. Scott will not allow the supposed late date of these Epistles, but boldly ascribes their authorship to Luke, the beloved physician. He makes an exhaustive study of the language as well as the thoughts, and he finds a mass of evidence all pointing to the Lucan authorship. And he believes that as 'Paul was providentially raised to rescue Christianity from the shell of Judaism, and to make it the religion of the world, no less truly may we suppose that Luke, the humble freedman of Antioch, was raised to translate the new ideas into world-wide speech, to pour the ethereal metal into new moulds, and to tell the tender mercy of God in forms and words of beauty that have borne for ages the accent of inspiration.'

Such is the general position taken up by Dr. Scott; but one has to read his volume through to feel the force of the arguments. If wide knowledge, assiduity in bringing facts together, a mastery of details, imagination, and absolute frankness and fearlessness in the pursuit of truth count for anything, this book should have a hearing. Instead of frowning on pioneer work, as they have often done, leaders of ecclesiastical thought would do better to cultivate open minds, and save themselves from the recantations and apologies that the defence of time-worn theories has frequently entailed in the past and will be sure to entail in the future. Dr. Scott has but touched the fringe of this great question; he has evidently

much in reserve: we wish him God-speed in the further elucidation of his views.

It is right to add that the volume is marvellously cheap. The publishers should reap their reward in a wide circulation.

A. M. Macdonald.

*Johnshaven.*

## *THE HOLY GRAIL.*

The Hidden Church of the Holy Graal. By Arthur Edward Waite. (*Rebman.* 12s. 6d. net.)

The Holy Grail—it is the eternal quest, and the literature of it will never cease. Mr. Waite has taken to the pursuit of it not through personal piety only, but also from his interest in mysticism. He has written this volume indeed, not as an addition to the Grail literature, but to that literature which at the present time is undoubtedly appealing to a far greater number of people, the literature of Christian mysticism. It becomes, however, an addition to the Grail literature also, an addition to be reckoned with.

What is the meaning of the title of the book? It means that the cycle of the Holy Grail (Mr. Waite spells 'Graal' always, but we shall use the more familiar form) does not move in the region of allegory, but in that of concealed intention. There was a concealed sanctuary, a Hidden Church; and it was in possession of the most sacred memorials connected with the Passion of Christ. This is the meaning of the mystery that surrounds the Holy Grail. It is a mystery that has been impenetrable, and from its nature it must be impenetrable. For it is of the nature of mysticism, and mysticism runs up into the impenetrability of God. But, again, this is the value of the pursuit of the Holy Grail. This is what makes the Grail literature worth the studying. In Mr. Waite's words: 'All great subjects bring us back to the one subject which is alone great; all high quests end in the spiritual city; scholarly criticisms, folk-lore and learned researches are little less than useless if they fall short of directing us to our true end—and this is the attainment of that centre which is about us everywhere. . . . I conclude, therefore, that the spirit of the Holy Quest may be as much with us in the study of the literature of the Quest as if we were ourselves adventuring forth in search of the Graal Castle, the Chalice, the Sword, and the Lance.'

Are we ready now to read Mr. Waite's book? It takes much reading. There are more than seven hundred pages of it. Are we ready? Mr. Waite does not care whether we are ready or not. He will find his audience somewhere; and 'I have no use,' he says, 'for any audience outside my consanguinities in the spirit.'

What was the Holy Grail? What was it materially? There are three possible hypotheses. (1) It was a cruet or vial, wherein the blood of Christ was preserved permanently. (2) It was an open platter or bowl, which, it is obvious, could have had no permanent content, much less the precious, or indeed any other, blood. (3) It corresponded to the notion of a chalice, but probably with a cover, after the manner of a *ciborium*.

## *VALUATION.*

Valuation: Its Nature and Laws. By Wilbur Marshall Urban, Ph.D. (*Sonnenschein.* 10s. 6d. net.)

Is it possible for a man to write a dull book deliberately? Professor W. M. Urban of Trinity College, Hartford, has done it. Once, he admits, something came to him which might have been of general interest, but he put it severely away from him. 'It is not my purpose,' he said, 'to add this glimmer of possible human interest to an otherwise dull book.'

The book is all the better. The great majority of writers are far too madly anxious to be interesting. If a novel is not interesting it is nothing. But science is discipline, and a scientific book must cost the reader something to master it, otherwise the reader will get little good out of it. We do not suppose for a moment that Professor Urban has preferred a long word to a short, or an involved sentence to a simple one, if the short word and the simple sentence would have served his purpose better. What we mean is that while Professor James, for example, is always interesting and often misleading, Professor Urban is always dull and generally a safe guide.

His subject is Valuation. What is value? What is it that makes one thing more valuable than another? What relation has value to physical comfort, to morality, to religion? All these and many other topics like them are dis-

cussed and discriminated perseveringly, ploddingly, without a symptom of satisfaction on the part of the writer; but, for all that, with great satisfaction on the part of the reader, so soon as he has mastered another difficult paragraph. Here is a difficult paragraph. Master it.

'If now we turn to a more specific examination of this reckoning in terms of egoism and altruism, we find that the dispositions thus described may vary in several significant aspects, each type of variation affecting the moral judgment, which is a function of the two variables. In the first place, there is the amount of the disposition to participate, as measured by the *character of the condition and personal worths sacrificed.* Condition worths may vary along the whole scale from the existence-minimum to the wholly worthless, personal worths from the characterisation-minimum, which is without capacity of substitution, to the most superficial personal quality. As an illustration we may take the case of the rescue of a human life (an act of high participation value): (*a*) by the sacrifice of a few hours of ease and pleasure; (*b*) by the risk of one's good name; (*c*) by the loss of all one values of condition and person, or even loss of life itself. If we bring no other elements into the reckoning, it is obvious that the degree of altruism is a steadily increasing one in these three cases, and that, other things being equal, the moral value of the act increases accordingly.'

## *THE CITY OF JERUSALEM.*

The City of Jerusalem. By Colonel C. R. Conder, LL.D. (*Murray.* 12s. net.)

This is the fourth volume, within as many months, wholly given up to a description of Jerusalem. First came Dr. George Adam Smith with two great volumes, both descriptive and historical, ending, however, at the time of Christ. Next came Dr. Selah Merrill (who since the publication of his book has himself entered the New Jerusalem) with the result of many years' life and experience in the Holy City. Then Professor Paton with the fresh impression of a scholar just long enough in Jerusalem to find everything new and forget nothing. And now Colonel Conder.

The article on 'Jerusalem' in the Dictionary of the Bible was written by Colonel Conder. It was a great article. It was the article of a man who had a keen eye for an identification and who could give a reason for it. It was the article of a man who could lay out the whole subject before him, and who was familiar, at the same time, with the minutest details of it; a man who could draw up a plan of Jerusalem on paper, and could find his way in all the streets and lanes of the city. This volume is the work of such a man.

Colonel Conder's *City of Jerusalem* has the advantage over Professor Smith's book that it tells the story from beginning to end. It tells the story from the earliest traces of a city laid bare by the Palestine Exploration Fund to the latest visit of a Russian pilgrim band. And it is all within moderate dimensions. Colonel Conder writes well. He writes confidently. He will not find everybody agree with him.

Of the 'city of David' he says: 'Some literary critics have recently tried to prove that the "city of David" was not a royal city on the mountain-top, but a mere hamlet on the tail of the Temple ridge.' And who are these literary critics? In a footnote he names Dr. Robertson Smith, Dr. Sayce, and Dr. G. A. Smith. And then he adds, 'The untenable character of this theory has, once more, been ably shown by the Rev. Selah Merrill quite recently.'

On Calvary he has his opinion also. His Calvary is the 'skull hill' of General Gordon. He does not, however, agree with General Gordon about the 'Garden Tomb.' 'The "Garden Tomb,"' he says, 'is not a Jewish tomb, and there is good reason to suppose that it is not older than the twelfth century A.D.' Calvary he is sure of, but no man knoweth of our Lord's sepulchre until this day.

## The Books of the Month.

Here is a book on Calvin, in celebration of his quatercentenary. How few have been the books on Calvin compared with those that were published on John Knox. This one is quite elementary, dealing with the man, not his theology—a book clearly intended for the family circle, and therefore illustrated. The title is *John Calvin: His Life, his Teaching, and his Influence* (Banks; 1s. net). The author is the Rev. William Wileman.

What have we got from the Monuments for the interpretation of the Old Testament? What we

have got from the Babylonian monuments has been told with great simplicity by the Rev. J. Evans Thomas, B.D., in his book on *The Old Testament in the Light of the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (A. & C. Black; 3s. 6d. net). For the first time the thing has been done, and done quite successfully, without the aid of a single illustration.

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The trustees of the British Museum have undertaken a complete *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, under the editorship of Mr. G. Margoliouth, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Oriental Books and Manuscripts. The work is to be issued in parts and sections, which may be bought separately at the British Museum. The trustees have sent us for review Section I. of Part III., which contains the Ḳabbālah Manuscripts. It is impossible to criticise the work without access to and careful examination of the manuscripts themselves. But Mr. Margoliouth is no stranger to us. From careful enough examination of previous work of his we should be willing to trust his accuracy even in the proverbially difficult task of the collation of Hebrew Manuscripts. It is within our power, however, to say that the description of the manuscripts contains many notes, both bibliographical and exegetical, which have a distinct interest and value in themselves. To those who can use the manuscripts (they number 733 to 864) the work will be indispensable.

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Dr. Paul Carus has re-issued, at the Open Court Press, his clever and unanswerable criticism of Agnosticism, of which the title is *Kant and Spencer*.

He has also published a new book entitled *The Foundations of Mathematics*, which he says is intended as a contribution to the philosophy of Geometry. The volume compels admiration of this modern author's breadth of knowledge. He is always modern, practical, and, in the best sense, apologetic. The catholicity of his mind enables him to speak to a very large audience.

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If the spade has solved some problems of ancient history it has created others. In Palestine the area is fortunately circumscribed. The excavations at Gezer have raised many questions of race and civilization, but there are few conflicting hypotheses. In Greece it is all the other way. For the earliest culture no man knows what word to use—Myocenæan, Minan, Ægean, or some other; nor can any one tell how soon an earlier culture will get in before the earliest.

The whole perplexing question is discussed by Mr. D. G. Hogarth in *Ionia and the East* (Clarendon Press; 3s. 6d. net), six lectures delivered before the University of London. Mr. Hogarth has studied the problem from books and on the spot. No man knows it better. And he writes well.

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Minutely, accurately, and joyfully has the Rev. Thomas Young, B.D., written the history of *The Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases* (R. & R. Clark; 1s. 6d. net). He has made his book also a Biblical and experimental commentary. He has even condescended to tell some good stories. As this on Psalm xx.:

'The early home of the famous physician, Sir James Simpson, Bart., was one in which there was often a severe struggle in providing daily bread. When his widowed mother was hard pressed she was inclined to be despondent. Then she would sit down and sing this psalm, and thereafter would rise up refreshed in spirit. And so it came to be known among her children as "Mother's Psalm"':

> Jehovah hear thee in the day
> When trouble he doth send:
> And let the name of Jacob's God,
> Thee from all ill defend.
> O let him help send from above,
> Out of his sanctuary:
> From Sion, his own holy hill,
> Let him give strength to thee.

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It is in America that women can speak frankly about themselves. Such a woman has written *The Ideas of a Plain Country Woman* (Constable; 3s. net). She is quite frank about herself as about her neighbours. But if she wears her heart upon her sleeve no daws need think to peck at it.

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Messrs. Constable have issued other two volumes of their 'Philosophies, Ancient and Modern'—the one *Plato*, by Professor A. E. Taylor of St. Andrews; the other *Berkeley*, by Professor Campbell Fraser of Edinburgh (1s. each net). They are both small books on great subjects, but they both represent the study of a lifetime.

Professor Taylor's *Plato* is the miniature of a master.

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The Rev. John E. Wakerley is President of the Men's Meeting in East Ham. He prepares the addresses he delivers and makes them appropriate. He has now published a volume of these addresses. The title is *The Making of Moral Manhood* (Culley; 2s. 6d. net).

The deliberate apologetic of Foreign Missions has been written by Mr. Alfred Beer. The title is *Foreign Missions: What they have done and how they may be extended* (Culley; 2s. 6d. net). The unbeliever is answered by argument. For Mr. Beer can turn a controversial sentence very neatly. But the unbeliever is answered to better purpose by results. These also Mr. Beer has at command.

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Messrs. Maclehose have published a *Memoir of Robert Herbert Story*, sometime Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. It has been written by his daughters. It is a good biography, loyal to the core, frank enough to be interesting all through, and not too long.

Principal Story was an ecclesiastic, if that word may still be used appreciatively. He was not a theologian. This was his theology: 'I can't bear to hear you speaking of Christ's death being "a mystery." If you thought earnestly over it you would see light in it. Do not think of that death in the formal Calvinistic way as the price paid for the elect's escape from punishment. In that sense it would be a mystery, no doubt. Think of it as the last act of the divine life of self-sacrifice, necessary to complete and perfect that life, the last pledge of a love for man that was stronger than life, the last appeal of the perfectly true and pure and loving to our loyalty and memory of Him; and it surely is not so mysterious as not to have in it something that would check your evil and help your good, if only you laid it to heart.'

He was something of a liturgist, but his liturgiology did not by any means incline his steps in the direction of the Roman Church. It was a practical modern thing; it was a matter of good form. 'He used to quote the effusion of a licentiate who was sent down to preach for a parish minister in his absence, and who, in conducting family worship in the manse, prayed for the minister's wife that she might be "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."'

There are not many letters. One of the best is from Sir George Grove, who edited *Macmillan's Magazine*, collaborated with Sir William Smith in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and became President of the Royal College of Music.

'21*st July*, 1884.

'Dear Dr. Story,—I am a very poor man, but I am very glad to give the enclosed small contribution to the Robert Lee Lectureship Fund, if you will kindly accept it.

'I was in Glasgow in the year 1840, and remember going to a lecture by the "Rev. Robert Lee of Campsie" on the Improvement of the Mind, or some such title. It was held in one of the churches. Among other books which he urged upon us was a book which he thought we had probably never heard of. "You know Coleridge as a poet, but few of you will know him as the author of the *Aids to Reflection*." Stimulated by this advice I went to Bryce the publisher in Glasgow, and found that a new edition had just been published by Pickering. I was very impecunious, but Bryce allowed me to pay so much a week, and this was my introduction to a book which became the foundation of my intellectual life—such as it is.

'You see that I have reason to be grateful to Lee, and that is one reason for my being sorry to give so little to his Lectureship Fund.

'G. Grove.'

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Whatever his subject may be Professor Orr always writes as an apologist. Yesterday his subject was the Old Testament. To-day it is Systematic Theology, the title being *Sidelights on Christian Doctrine* (Marshall Brothers; 3s. 6d. net). He always writes as an apologist, because he cannot write in any other way. But he does not desire to write in any other way. He rejoices in this way. The time is short, and he for one is not going to waste it in tight-rope balancing. He believes that that which is the truth for him is the truth for you and me, and times or seasons do not trouble him. These popular lectures on Systematic Theology were not delivered in order to give information, but in order to persuade their hearers to become Christians.

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*The Glory of the Body of Christ* is the title of a book which is further called 'An Opening up of

the Epistle to the Ephesians.' It is the translation of a useful practical commentary on that Epistle by E. F. Ströter (Morgan & Scott; 2s. 6d. net).

The Professor of Slavonic Languages in the University of Oxford has edited a translation from the original Čech of an historical romance on *The Last Days of John Hus* (R.T.S.). The romance is illustrated by J. Dedina; and we do not know whether to admire more the romance or the illustrations. Let us cast our vote for the illustrations. If we ever write a romance, J. Dedina must be the artist to illustrate it.

Some time ago Dr. Horton published *The Bible as a Missionary Book*. That might be the title of the new book by Professor W. O. Carver of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kentucky. It would be more descriptive than *Missions in the Plan of the Ages* (Revell; 3s. 6d. net). For the volume is a study of the references to the conversion of the world which are contained in the Bible. The sub-title is accordingly more appropriate—'Bible Studies in Missions.'

The book is not simply a commentary on the passages as they occur. That would have been an easy task and not very useful. This is evidently the outcome of long study, both of the Bible and of missions. The Bible is used to show that the whole subject of missions is a great Unity made up of parts which fit together and form an abiding structure. First, there is a general sketch of the missionary idea in the Bible; next, an account of the meaning of missions to God, who is their Author; third, of the meaning of missions to Jesus, their Founder; fourth, the meaning of missions to the individual Christian, their agent. Thereafter the Church is shown to be their conservator and the world their beneficiary. The last five chapters deal with the Message, the Plan, the Power, the Work, and the Consummation. 'Go ye into all the world.' Take the Bible and this book with you.

A successful teacher of elocution, Mr. Charles Seymour is also a successful author of books on his subject. The latest is *Speaking in Public* (Routledge; 3s. net). It is a book for students. It is a book, not itself meant to be mastered, but meant to give us the mastery of ourselves. Here is the secret of successful public speaking. Every word is underlined by the author.

'The speaker should long meditate upon the subject of his impending discourse, he should record as many ideas in the form of rough notes as may chance to occur to him. From these he should extract his headings and arrange them in proper order so as to create a neat plan of his speech on paper, and this plan or framework he should impress on his mind in the form of a mental picture. He should be totally unprepared with words, phrases, or sentences. His brain being full of his subject, and his headings presented clearly before him in mental visionary form, he is ready to rise and to speak.'

Messrs. Sands have published a translation (made by the Rev. H. Jimenez, S.J.) of Professor Ferreres's Historical Sketch of and Commentary on *The Decree on Daily Communion*. It is the standard manual on the subject.

Dr. Oesterley has published three lectures on various recently discovered Bible documents under the title of *Our Bible Text* (Skeffington; 1s. 6d. net). The first is on the Nash Papyrus of the Ten Commandments; the second is on the New Sayings of Jesus; the third is on the Freer Manuscript of the Gospels. Short and popular, the lectures are a useful introduction to their subject. Portions of the MSS are shown in three plates.

The volume for 1908 of *Bible Notes* reprinted from the 'British Friend' is the fifth volume of that series (Croydon: Woodbrooke Extension Committee; 1s.). The author this time is the Rev. Robert S. Franks, M.A. The subject is the Life of St. Paul. It is the best purely students' book for the study of the Life of St. Paul that we have seen.

# Synesius of Cyrene.

By Professor Dr. G. Grützmacher, Heidelberg.

Readers of Kingsley's *Hypatia* are acquainted with the figure of the bishop Synesius of Ptolemais, the pupil of the heathen teacher of philosophy. Many, no doubt, will be interested in this peculiar personality among the fathers of the Church, and desirous of having an historically reliable account of his life and character based on his works and his letters. The object of this article is to give such an account. The most remarkable feature in his career was not that Synesius, the enthusiastic pupil of the heathen philosopher Hypatia, was, while still unbaptized, in 409 A.D. raised to the bishopric of Cyrene. Ambrose of Milan also had not been baptized when the people and clergy chose him as their bishop. It will seem to us much more remarkable that Synesius was a convinced Neoplatonist when the bishopric was offered him. In a letter of that period to his brother, Euoptius, he writes: 'I will never convince myself that the soul comes into being only after the body, nor that the world in all its parts can ever pass away. The resurrection, which is in every one's mouth, I regard as something sacred and mysterious, but I am far from holding the popular view regarding it.' Our interest is aroused to find, in an age in which the slightest deviation from ecclesiastical orthodoxy was most keenly persecuted, that the episcopal office was offered to a man holding opinions so utterly opposed to the fundamental dogmas of the Church, and that such a man as Synesius could make up his mind to accept the office. Perhaps it is only an historical accident that Synesius seems to stand quite alone in the Catholic Church of his time. Hundreds of educated heathen converts may in all probability have shared his opinions, but they did not defend them by word and act. Many adherents of Neoplatonism had become Christians, not because they accepted all the Christian dogmas as their own, but only because they recognized in Christianity their own world of ideas. In this way Synesius is not to be regarded as an individual holding a position absolutely unique in the Church at the beginning of the fifth century, but as a typical representative of certain circles, that, while not very numerous, yet in that wonderful picture of that remarkable age of transition in the evangelizing of the ancient world attract our attention in a very special way.

In the beginning of the seventieth year of the fourth century, Synesius was born in Cyrene as the son of one of the noblest families in the land. With pride he traced his ancestry back to Eurysthenes, one of the Heracleidæ, who had led the Dorians to Sparta. In Alexandria, the seat of Greek, Latin, and Egyptian culture and learning, Synesius had sat at the feet of Hypatia, whom he regarded with feelings of tender affection. Even as bishop he wrote her as follows: 'Although the dead in Hades forget everything, yet will I think on my beloved Hypatia. For thee alone would I despise my fatherland, and, as soon as I have the opportunity, wander to a land of exile.' On returning to Cyrene, Synesius was entrusted with the honourable commission, on behalf of the five cities of Cyrenaica, of procuring an abatement of taxation for the impoverished province at the court of the Emperor Arcadius in Constantinople. At the end of the year 397, he set out on his journey, and remained three years in the capital. The dreaded minister Rufinus had already been overthrown, and a eunuch and former slave, Eutropius, ruled the weak-willed monarch. He held the emperor, as Zosimus says, like an animal on a chain. At the end of a year Synesius was at length able to obtain an audience of the emperor, to hand him the golden wreath of his native town Cyrene, and lay his request before him. We still possess the speech on the monarchy which Synesius delivered at the court of Arcadius. He boasts that he then spoke more boldly than ever Greek had done. In truth, his speech is a testimony to his princely courage, although it is possible that his expressions may have been made more pointed when he committed his speech to writing. He warns Arcadius that the king must be the shepherd of his subjects. The law must define the will of the king. The true ruler ought to be the copy of the Divine Providence. As God, the source of all good, freely imparts life and spirit, so the king must shower on his subject cities the fulness of his gifts and provide happiness for every

one of his subjects. The patriotic lament on the danger from the Goths which threatened the empire is a powerful appeal to a degenerate Romanism at last to rouse itself. The youthful idealist had hoped that his manly pride which had been displayed before the princes would have made the deepest impression, but in that he was mistaken. His words fell dead as soon as they were spoken in a court of deceivers. He had spoken in the bold speech of wisdom and virtue to a well-meaning but weak ruler. Synesius had bewitched himself by his eloquence, but the doom of the empire could not be averted by his elevated philosophical considerations. For that, a strong will was necessary, and that did not exist in the enervated Greeks, but in the barbarians with the vigour and freshness of a young race. During his sojourn in the capital Synesius had to witness a shameful humiliation of the Greek emperor. Gainas, the leader of the Goths in the pay of the emperor, made common cause with the Goth Tribigild, and the two threatened the city. Arcadius had to hand over to Gainas three of his most outstanding statesmen, among whom was Aurelian, the friend of Synesius. Owing to the intercession of the princely Chrysostom they escaped execution and were banished. Gainas was almost on the point of becoming ruler of the capital, when the majority of the Goths in Constantinople were murdered, and it was only after the head of the accursed Gainas had been sent to Arcadius, that the emperor felt himself free from the most overwhelming anxiety. Synesius has related these experiences at Constantinople in a remarkable allegorical and historical romance.

After remaining three years in Constantinople, and having obtained favourable terms for his native province, he turned homewards. After a short visit to his brother Euopius in Alexandria, he sailed for Cyrene. On the voyage he was shipwrecked. With overflowing humour he describes to his brother the dangerous journey. The majority of the ship's crew were Jews, an accursed race, as Synesius says, who thought they were doing a pious work by taking the life of as many Greeks as possible. Synesius relates humorously how the Jewish pilot at the beginning of the Sabbath, in accordance with Jewish law, gave up steering the ship, and returned to his duty only when the crew were in extreme danger of their lives. The following years were spent by Synesius in Cyrene, or on an estate in the south of the province. A feeling of loneliness took possession of him here amid his philosophical studies: 'I have never in Libya heard a philosophical voice, unless it were my own echo.' With good-humoured sarcasm he describes for us the characteristics of his country neighbours. They probably knew that there was an emperor, because they were yearly reminded of the fact by the tax-collector. What his name was they did not know. Some believed that even at the present day their ruler was Agamemnon, son of Atreus, who once upon a time marched against Troy, the handsome and the brave hero, for 'from our youth up we have heard people calling him king.' Synesius led the ideal life of a philosopher in contented retirement without the oppressive duties of a public office. But the troubles of the time again and again disturbed the philosophic dreamer. The wretchedly governed province was frequently exposed to disaster at the hands of a native Libyan tribe, the Maietæ. As a rich and energetic citizen Synesius took an active part in the defence. Synesius, the humanist of antiquity in the noblest sense of the term, enthusiastic for everything good, true, and beautiful, appears at the same time as an enthusiastic patriot, who was compelled by a tragic fate to witness, in part at least, the destruction of his beloved fatherland. As a philosopher he was not particularly productive, but his philosophical essays *Dion*; *or, Regarding his own Life*, and *On Dreams* show his passionate love for the fine arts and for philosophical speculations. In fact, the treatise *On Dreams* shows us the character of Synesius from a remarkable side. He was a dreamer in the midst of a passing world, and he devoted himself to his dreams and speculations. His dream-life meant more to him than his waking existence. He strove to obtain pure and holy dreams. Dreaming was, for him, an act of religious devotion.

Besides these serious works we have also from the pen of Synesius a work of playful wit in the *Praise of Baldness*. He celebrates the bald-headed by telling us that all holy and wise men such as the philosophers Diogenes and Socrates were bald, that the Egyptian priests shaved the head, and the visible gods the sun and the moon are bald. The perfected literary style of Synesius is here seen at its best.

In the year 409 when the Episcopal Chair of

Ptolemais became vacant, he was chosen by the people and clergy to fill the vacant see. After prolonged hesitation he accepted the influential position, and shortly before his ordination was baptized. We have alluded to the letter which he wrote to his brother Euopius shortly after his election. Just as he had on a former occasion spoken to the emperor with all the courage of the free-born Greek, so now he lays before the domineering and intolerant bishop Theophilus of Alexandria—for the letter is intended for him—with regardless and daring love of the truth, his philosophic doubt with regard to certain Christian dogmas. He will not interfere with the beliefs of the people, but he claims for himself the right to interpret these beliefs philosophically. With inborn tact he declares that he will not polemize against the dogmas, but outwardly hold fast the mystical shell, for he was well aware that the pure truth is hurtful to the masses, just as the full light injures the weak eye. But along with these intellectual doubts there were ethical considerations. He felt himself unworthy of the almost divine honour of the Episcopate. The bishop must be a godlike man. Synesius, however, knew himself to be a child of the world, a lover of weapons and horses, a devotee of the chase, inclined to every kind of fun, and by no means spotless, as a priest who absolves others from sins ought to be. Still another point, 'God, the law, and the blessed hand of Theophilus,' he writes, 'have given me a wife, and I will not separate myself from her, nor have secret intercourse with her like an adulterer, for the one course is inconsistent with piety, and the other with justice. It is rather my desire to be presented with many noble children by her.' It is characteristic that Synesius in an age in which virginity was so highly praised, regarded it to be impious for a bishop to give up his wife and unjust to keep up intercourse with her secretly. The house of the bishop ought to be the home of a model Christian family life. Notwithstanding all his opinions, Theophilus of Alexandria consecrated Synesius to the bishopric. We do not know if Synesius had made any concessions or whether he had given up living with his wife on becoming bishop. Theophilus, with his keen knowledge of men, was not deceived in the case of Synesius. He knew that the new bishop, in spite of all his courageous truthfulness in confessing his disagreement with Christian dogmas, would never come forward as an ecclesiastical reformer. His hymns, in which his rich and tender soul has made its confessions, show how he sought to combine Neoplatonism and Christianity in a unity. The longer he lived as a Christian bishop, the nearer did he approach the Christian teaching of the Church. The person of the Saviour was specially dear to him, and in the Gospel of John he found his picture most clearly reflected. By the side of high-sounding philosophic speculations there is to be found in his hymns a true Christian piety. He praises Christ, the Son of the Virgin, as the Physician of soul and body.

The Episcopal office did not bring Synesius the peace he had hoped for. His letters are full of depressing complaints. He attended to the duties of his office with the utmost care, he reconciled opposing factions, cared for the poor, and in a dignified manner defended the Church from the governor Andronicus. When Andronicus refused to give up his hateful practices, the mild bishop saw himself compelled to solemnly expel him from the Church. But when the governor was made the object of persecution from every side, the bishop obeyed the most exacting of all the commands of his Lord and forgave his enemy. He interceded in his behalf: 'Andronicus had formerly acted unjustly; now he is suffering unjustly. It is the custom of the Church to humble the arrogant, and to exalt the lowly.' Synesius was a Christian whose genuine brotherly love reminds us of the Good Samaritan in his Lord's parable. Still he had not forgotten that he was a son of his native land. The spirit of the ancient still breathes in the Christian bishop. In the good of his fatherland he saw at the same time the good of the individual. The approaching doom of his country was the greatest sorrow of his heart. 'Ill-fated Ptolemais,' he laments, 'I will be thy last bishop. I will remain at my post in the Church. I will remain there as long as I live, and there I will fall down dead. I am the servant of God and it is perhaps necessary that I should bring Him the sacrifice of my life.' All his three sons sank into the grave before him, and he bore his lot with resignation. When his third son died, he wrote: 'Woe is me—yet I only suffer a fate common to man. My third and last son is dead. But the conviction that nothing except what lies in our own power can be either a good or an evil remains always firm, or, to speak more exactly, this

was formerly but a scientific theory, but now it is the persuasion of a soul exercised by many misfortunes.' The Neoplatonist philosopher had become on the Episcopal Chair of Ptolemais a ripe Christian perfected by suffering. We are unacquainted with the date of his death. He seems to have died before the year 415. Thus he was spared from being a witness of the hateful death of his beloved Hypatia, who in this year fell a sacrifice to Christian fanaticism. Synesius, unquestionably one of the most remarkable and noblest personalities of his age, exerted no deep or permanent influence on the Church of his time. Like a cloud he passed by and with him there passed to its grave the Church of his native land, Cyrenaica.

# Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Volume I.

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By the Rev. James Donald, M.A., D.D., Keithhall, Aberdeenshire.

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# Contributions and Comments.

## The Constellations of the Apocalypse.

Not long ago a brilliant discovery by Pastor Samuel Jäger (Professor at the Theological School in Bethel-Bielefeld) was published in the weekly periodical, *Reformation*, viii. [1909] pp. 210–213. I desire now to exhibit the points of this discovery, along with some additional points noted by myself.

Rev $8^{13}$: Aquila, north of Capricornus, and thus standing for the latter also.

Rev $9^{3-10}$: an extraordinarily exact picture of Sagittarius (centaurs with two faces, the one of a man, the other of a lion, with wings and a scorpion's tail), as depicted on the Bab. boundary-stones as early as the second millennium B.C.

Rev $9^{14}$: Euphrates, the arm of the Milky Way adjoining Sagittarius, which already bears this river-name with the Babylonians. In like manner Rev $9^{16}$ contains a manifest allusion to the myriad stars of the Milky Way.

Rev 10: the angel with the *biblaridion*, who places his right foot on the sea and his left on the land, is the *ophiuchus* or serpent-bearer to the north of Scorpio.

Rev $11^{1}$ the temple (*naos*) and the golden altar (mentioned proleptically in $9^{13}$): the *thysiasterion* is the fire-altar (*thymiaterion*) south of Libra.

Rev $12^{1ff.}$: the woman = Virgo.

Rev $12^{3f.}$: the red dragon = Hydra, south of Leo, to whose principal star Regulus (*basiliskos*) there is a further allusion in $12^{5}$, 'the man child who shepherds all nations with a rod of iron.'

This unbroken series of the six middle figures of the Zodiac puts the supposition of chance out of court. Thus far Dr. Jäger had got in the middle of last January, when he communicated his discovery to me and asked for further information regarding the initial figures (Aries-Aquarius) and the closing ones (Cancer-Taurus). What I have now to add confirms entirely the correctness of Dr. Jäger's discovery of the starting-point.

Rev $13^{1-10}$ and $^{11-18}$: the two dragons are the two whose presence in Cancer has been proved by me —one with the head of a lion, the other with that of a vulture (see the figures in *Memnon*, i. 2, pl. on p. 208 f.).

Rev $13^{14}$ (*eikona tō thēriō*): the picture which is to be made of one of these dragons is the two-headed dragon in Gemini, which is actually called by the Babylonians, Mandæans, Syrians, Persians, and S. Arabians, the 'picture.'

Rev $15^{1}$: the seven evil angels = the Pleiades in Taurus.

We still want the first three figures — Aries, Pisces, Aquarius. But here, again, everything turns out in perfect order:—

Rev $8^{7}$: *pyr* is the fire-god Nusku in Aries

(iv Rawl. 23), where, as I am now able to prove, there stood a beacon-tower (the astrological prototype of the Alexandrian Pharos).

Rev $8^{8}$: *oros mega* is the great 'mountain' (Bab. *shadû*) which, according to iv Rawl. 11, was ascended by the god Bel, and which had its place beside the constellations of the Cock and the Fox (which have been shown by me to have been to the north of PISCES).

Rev $8^{10}$: *lampas* is the lamp whose presence in the Bab. heaven in AQUARIUS (cf. 'the fountains of waters') was demonstrated by me some time ago (see my *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, pp. 241, 245, and oft., and my *Grundriss*, p. 227, note 1).

Further confirmation is supplied by the following parallelism :—

| REVELATION. | ZECHARIAH. |
|---|---|
| *pyr* (ARIES). | *mĕnôrāh* ($4^{2}$). |
| *oros mega* (PISCES). | *har hag-gādôl* ($4^{7}$). |
| *biblaridion* (SAGITTARIUS). | *mĕgillāh*[1] *'āphāh* ($5^{1}$). |
| *gyne* (VIRGO). | woman in the ephah ($5^{7}$). |
| *eikōn* (GEMINI). | 'between two mountains'[2] ($6^{1}$). |
| *angeloi hepta* (TAURUS). | 'the seven eyes of Jahweh' ($3^{9}$). |

In Zechariah the *ophiuchus* answers not to Scorpio but to Sagittarius, which, from its position in the heavens, is quite possible. Even in the omission of six figures we note the intentional symmetry observed by the prophet: Taurus, Aries, Pisces (Aquarius, Capricornus), Sagittarius (Scorpio, Libra), Virgo (Leo, Cancer), Gemini.

FRITZ HOMMEL.

*Munich.*

## The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (Gen. ii. 9, 17).

THERE is a Semitic idiom which expresses *the whole* by means of two categories under one or other of which everything or everybody is included, *e.g.* 'the wet and the dry' (Dt $29^{19}$), 'the bond and the free' (Dt $32^{36}$), 'the deceiver and the deceived' (Job $12^{16}$), so probably 'light' and 'darkness' (Is $45^{7}$). Driver's *Deuteronomy*, p. 376, adds some Arabic examples—'he that has a companion and he that is alone,' 'he that moveth and he that is still,' 'he that giveth to hear and he that heareth.'

Does not the phrase הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע also belong to this class? Does not 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil' mean neither more nor less than the tree of *all* knowledge? Knowledge generally, which Aristotle tells us all mankind naturally desires, but which primitive man regarded as the peculiar prerogative of the gods, and so was guarded by them with jealous care.

I am, however, unable to find this interpretation supported by the commentaries most in use among us, *e.g.* Dillmann's, Spurrell's, A. R. Gordon's, or even Driver's. The first refuses to admit this interpretation of the phrase in Gn $2^{9.17}$ $3^{5.22}$, and yet admits that the phrase רַע אוֹ טוֹב in Gn $24^{50}$ and the phrase מִטּוֹב עַד רַע in Gn $31^{24}$ have this meaning of *everything*. Driver on Gn $2^{17}$ has 'The knowledge of good and evil—implying the power of distinguishing them, and estimating each at its proper worth' (cf. *Genesis*, p. 41). This, I venture to think, is too metaphysical a thought to be read into the expression in Gn $2^{9.17}$. It is true that 2 S $19^{35}$ and 1 K $3^{9}$ do refer to knowledge viewed as the power *to distinguish* things that differ—in the first passage the power to distinguish physical, and in the second, moral differences—but in these passages the Hebrew idiom is different from that in Gn $2^{9.17}$, בֵּין 'between' being used in the two former, and so they become equivalent to the phrase in Is $7^{15.16}$, 'to know to refuse the evil and to choose the good.' But in Dt $1^{39}$, 'Your children who have no knowledge of good and evil' means surely, 'Your children who have no knowledge at all.' If the interpretation suggested in this note be correct, Gn $3^{5.22}$ means 'Ye shall be as divine beings possessed of *all* knowledge,' and not simply 'Ye shall be as divine beings capable of perceiving moral distinctions.' Possibly this latter interpretation is not so much due to the exigencies of syntax as to the desire to interpret Gn $2^{4b}$–3 end, so as to make it reveal especially the dawn of the moral consciousness. But it was not the desire for moral knowledge or knowledge in its power to distinguish between good and evil, but the human desire for knowledge generally, and the yielding to that desire in defiance of a primitive instinct which forbade such unhallowed curiosity, which was regarded by this early writer as one great

[1] Perhaps originally 'serpent' (cf. Heb. *gālal*, 'to roll'), and then transferred to the rolled up 'book-roll.'

[2] Cf. my article 'Die Zwillingslöwen' in *Memnon*, i. 207–210, with the two illustrations, where the 'lunar disc between two mountains' corresponds to the 'lunar disc between the two heads of the Twin-dragon.'

cause of the human misery which marked the post-Golden Age of the race's history; and a tree became the symbol of knowledge as it did of life —a symbol derived, no doubt, from early animistic tree-worship and the primitive belief in sacred and oracular trees.

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## St. John i. 41.

MAY I suggest a further example of the confusion between πρωί and πρῶτος or its cases, to put by the side of Mrs. Lewis's new reading in this text? In Lk $6^1$ we find the Codex Palatinus reading *sabbato mane*, that is presumably ἐν σαββάτῳ πρωί. I note, by the way, that the Corbeiensis is cited by *W.-H.* for the early Western interpolation δευτεροπρώτῳ here. But Buchanan gives us its reading as *in sabbato secundo primum*, which does not seem at all the same thing: does that reflect πρῶτον as a variant of πρωί?

I have my doubts about Dr. Souter's suggestion that the Evangelist meant the Attic form πρῴ. A monosyllabic πρῴ would in vernacular first-century documents be written indifferently ΠΡΩ and ΠΡΩΙ, the 'ascript' ι being left out or inserted at will. Even πρῶιτον would be itself a perfectly normal spelling in a papyrus of a century either side of A.D. But is there evidence for a monosyllabic πρῴ in Hellenistic? Ptolemaic papyri show exclusively πρωί or πρωεί (Mayser, *Gramm.* 456).

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## 2 Corinthians vi. 14–vii. 1.

THOSE who retain this passage, in spite of its abruptness, as an integral part of the context, usually explain it as an apologetic reference of Paul to the insinuations of his Judaistic opponents, who held that his preaching of Christian freedom endangered the moral purity of the church. He hastens to disclaim any such inference from his gospel, it is argued. If the Corinthians have been guilty of antinomian conduct, it has been contrary to his principles and teaching. Hence this sudden outburst in $6^{14}$–$7^1$. Paul to compromise with paganism! Why, 'no one opposes heathenism more than he does' (so Weizsäcker, after Klöpper)! Who so careful of their moral purity as he?

Lütgert, in his recent monograph on *Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth* (Gütersloh, 1908, pp. 80 f., 123), ingeniously attempts to vindicate the connexion of $6^{14}$–$7^1$ with the context upon a different line. He regards the opponents in question as the Christ-party of 1 Co $1^{12}$, *i.e.* not as Judaistic legalists who thought that Paul went too far, but as ultra-spiritual gnostics who held that he did not go far enough in his preaching of Christian freedom. 'We are confronted here,' says Lütgert, 'with the influence exerted by the libertinism of the Christ-party upon the church of Corinth. This party laid claim to a far more thoroughgoing freedom in the matter of intercourse with the heathen than Paul would allow, and they charged him with narrow-mindedness, and with a baseless dread of demons which the truly "spiritual" man had quite outgrown.' Instead, therefore, of asserting the native strictness of his own gospel against calumnies to the contrary, Paul is regarded by Lütgert as warning the Corinthians against a dangerous laxity into which they were being led by the high-flown teaching of the Christ-party. 'License they mean when they cry liberty.' The Corinthians were not to think that he was too nervous or tyrannical in his regulations for their intercourse with pagans. They were not to listen to any party which taught that truly spiritual Christians were free to mix as they pleased with the outside world. This would be to *receive the grace of God in vain* ($6^1$). And the whole object of Paul's ministry was to prevent any such catastrophe.

Such an interpretation is psychologically possible, but exegetically is it less untenable than its predecessors? For one thing, it is a moot point whether the opponents of 2 Corinthians ($10^7$, εἴ τις πέποιθεν ἑαυτῷ χριστοῦ εἶναι, etc.) are really to be identified with the Christ-party of 1 Co $1^{12}$. For another thing, even if they are, it seems quite impossible, in view of 2 Co $11^{22}$ (Ἑβραῖοι εἰσι; κ.τ.λ.), to deny their Judaistic standpoint. Lütgert's exegesis of 2 Co $6^{14}$–$7^1$ depends on both of these presuppositions, neither of which is at all secure; it is also buttressed by an attempt to trace the Christ-party all through the Corinthian epistles, and the evidence for this is extremely precarious. There is no reason to suppose that this fourth party in the Corinthian Church had anything like the commanding position which Lütgert's theory involves.[1] Still less is there sufficient proof that

[1] Bousset (in *Die Schriften des N. T.*,[2] ii. pp. 76–77), who inclines to Heinrici's theory that the words ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ

their tenets were of a gnostic, libertine character. Furthermore, even granting Lütgert's view of $6^{14}$–$7^{1}$, we have practically the same difficulty as on all other theories of this class with regard to the internal connexion of $6^{12.13}$ with what immediately follows. JAMES MOFFATT.

## Emmaus.

MY note on Emmaus in the January number has called forth an interesting criticism by Dr. Lucien Gautier (see May number, p. 279). I ask leave to say only a few words by way of rejoinder. The passage in Josephus (*B.J.* VII. vi. 6) referring to *Ḳôlôniyeh* was of course not unknown to me, but in view of the summary character of my note I could not introduce it, because account had to be taken of many other points. Here it may suffice if I say in brief that the objection to locating Emmaus either at *el Ḳubêbe* or at *Ḳôlôniyeh* appears to me to be found above all in the circumstance that the Emmaus whose position is clear from 1 Mac $3^{40.57}$ $4^{3}$ $9^{50}$ can be *only* Nicopolis = Amwâs; and further, that Josephus in no way brings the supposed two Emmauses into mutual relation. I may add that I have already dealt exhaustively with the whole question in the periodical edited by me, *Die Studierstube* (Langensalza, Dietmar), 1908, pp. 285–289, where all the points which Dr. Gautier misses from my note, along with the relevant literature, are duly mentioned, and I need not repeat on this occasion what I have said there. I would only add my hearty thanks to Dr. Gautier for his suggestive remarks and his complimentary references to myself. JULIUS BOEHMER.

*Raben bei Wiesenburg* (*Mark*).

in 1 Co $1^{12}$ are not original, remarks that 'at any rate it is certain the Christ-party—if there really was one—played no special rôle and represented no special conception of the gospel.' This is certainly the impression left on one's mind by a study of the Corinthian Epistles.

# The Earliest Hebrew Script.

BY THE REV. F. DE P. CASTELLS, LONDON.

THE archæological research and excavations of recent years have supplied a wonderful vindication of the Old Testament story. In *Researches in Sinai*, for instance, Professor Flinders Petrie makes this statement:

> 'It is agreed now by those Egyptologists who have most recently worked on the subject—Spiegelberg and Steindorff—that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt, and that an Exodus from there to Palestine took place.'

He does not attempt a demonstration; but after reading this book and examining the illustrations, one must acknowledge that he has made a very substantial contribution to the confirmation of those conclusions. If the Israelites sojourned in Egypt, one may expect naturally to find some records of the fact in the distinctive writing of the Semitic race; it is in this connexion that the account of the 'foreign monuments' found in the region of Sinai becomes so interesting. 'Among them there are some sandstone images with unknown characters.' The images, Professor Petrie tells us, are carved in a ruder style than the regular Egyptian figures discovered about the same region; but, as we shall see, they are of great historic value.

There are two points to be elucidated, the age of the monuments, and the character of their strange writing. As to the antiquity of the monuments, Professor Petrie has sufficiently dealt with it. The facts are as follows. The image shown in his illustration No. 138 was found at the door of the Shrine of Sopdu, in the temple of Serabit, a shrine known to have been built by Hatshepsut (1503–1481 B.C.). And close to the image, when discovered, there was found a bit of the buff pottery with the red and black stripe which is characteristic of the succeeding reign, the time of Tahutmes III. (1481–1449 B.C.). Then, the sphinx of illustration No. 141 (a calf with a human face) came from the same temple, and on it there is, not only the six characters which we shall discuss later, on the upper sides of the base, but also on its shoulders a square containing a dedication to Hathor in ordinary Egyptian hieroglyphs, and between the paws Professor Petrie saw the Horus name of Snoferu, *Horû neb maat*, who was highly venerated in the reign of Tahutmes III.,

but not later. It is from all these facts combined, therefore, that the inscriptions are attributed to the 18th dynasty, about 1500 B.C. Professor Petrie goes on to suggest that they belong to 'some of the foreign workmen employed by the Egyptians, who may have been the Aamu or the Ratennu, both of the Semitic stock; but in this he has entered the region of conjecture. The sphinx mentioned is quite small, about a foot in length; it is said to be an imitation of the Egyptian sphinxes. It is now in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum, bearing number 41,748.

But now we have to deal with the second point, the nature of the writing. Professor Petrie takes it to represent one of the alphabets current in the Mediterranean long before the Phœnicians had adopted theirs. This would make the writing quite independent alike of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform, and so far we agree. For our purpose, we shall deal only with what is visible in his enlargement of the inscription in fig. 138, a reproduction of which will accompany this paper. Referring to the concluding line, he very pertinently remarks that as the signs are repeated on four various objects, they cannot be fanciful, but form probably 'some religious phrase.' They certainly are not arbitrary; their recurrence several times over proves that they were put together according to method.

What we desire to note is that the characters in question are practically the same as those of later Semitic monuments (the Moabite Stone and the Siloam Inscription), but with this remarkable difference that the form is reversed. Having discovered this, therefore, we shall try to identify the principal characters. The writer *has* tried, and he gives the result in the appended comparative table, which resolves the six characters forming the last line as תרטשאל. The Hebrew scholar may perhaps say that he cannot make any sense of these letters. But in *Researches in Sinai* we have a statement which explains the reason of this failure. In some instances, we are told, the six signs are found in vertical arrangement, and from this it is obvious that when drawn lengthwise they must be read from left to right. This reversed order in Semitic writing is a great surprise. But as we compare the later characters with these older ones, we might infer from their very form, that a change in the direction of the writing had been made. In Cadmæan Greek we sometimes see the letters facing one way, sometimes another. All the late Western alphabets look to the right; but the Etruscan and all the late Semitic alphabets look to the left.

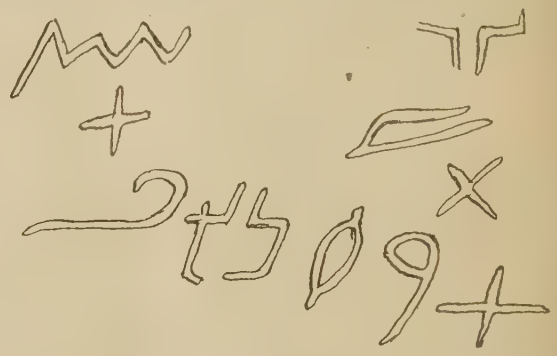

Illustration No. 138 of *Researches in Sinai.*

| Sinaitic. | Hieratic. | Moabite. | Judah. | Modern. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | ל | |
| | | | | א | |
| | | | | ש | |
| | | | | ם | |
| | | | | ר | |
| | | | | ת | 400 |
| | | | | מ | 40 |
| | | | | ד | 4 |
| | | | | צ | 90 |

*Identification of the Characters*, by the Rev. F. de P. Castells.

But even after transliterating and inverting the order of the six characters, we shall be told that the meaning is not at all obvious. It certainly differs from the Hebrew spelling of the Bible. But the differences are such as might be expected from so ancient a script. Following the Massoretes we should have to write it לְעַשְׁתֹּרֶת, '*To Ashtoreth.*' How, then, can we account for this archaic spelling? First of all, the ע may not have been in use; no equivalent can be found in Hieratic, and in the absence of it, א would be the letter employed. The use of ת and ט in the word indicates a distinction of sound, but this agrees with the Greek transliteration of the Biblical plural Ἀσταρώθ, where we have τ and θ. But now we have to inquire, Who is Ashtoreth? The popu-

lar handbooks of mythology tell us that she was the principal female divinity of the Phœnicians. In the Old Testament we see that Solomon introduced the cult of Ashtoreth from Phœnice, and then the description given us is: 'Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians.' But the cult can be traced to a very remote past in Central Asia. The equivalent of the name can be found as that of a supreme deity in other nations of antiquity: *Istar* in Babylon; *Astarte* among the Greeks; *Atthar* in Moab; *Hathor* in Egypt. In the earlier parts of the Bible we have the plural *Ashteroth*, but this is to designate the great diversity of idols which were made to represent that divinity; there were many Ashteroth, and yet only one Ashtoreth. Even among these Semitic monuments found in Sinai there are two distinct types of Ashteroth—the female figure No. 138 and the Sphinx No. 141. This use of the plural may help us to understand how the Hebrews came to adopt *Elohim*, in the plural, as a divine name while a monotheistic people. Our reading of the six characters finds ample confirmation in the little Sphinx described before, for this dedication 'To Ashtoreth' in Semitic characters, corresponds to the dedication to Hathor in Egyptian hieroglyphs on the other side.

Now above the dedication on figure No. 138 there are four other characters used separately, two on either side, and one above the other. What can they mean? Evidently they are used in their numerical signification: 40,400,4,90. They probably are intended to give the simple astronomical or chronological formula of the Egyptian year, which at first consisted of 360 days without the five epagomenal days subsequently added to it. 40 above 400 means obviously 40 from 400, or $400 - 40$, which equals 360; 4 above 90 on the other side means $4 \times 90$, which equals the same, the year being divided into four equal seasons. It is possible that the two symbols ⌝ ⌜ immediately above indicate this subtraction and multiplication.

Professor Petrie tells us that the practice of burnt sacrifice was the chief feature of the religion of the early Semites, and he therefore mentions that on the hill before the sacred cave, described in the book, there was found a great bed of ashes estimated at about fifty tons, itself the residue of hundreds of tons once accumulated there, for at different periods vast quantities have been removed.

The image has the features of a female, and this reminds us of how Jeremiah denounced the worship of Ashtoreth as the Queen of heaven. He describes the cult thus:

> The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven.

We may now sum up the results obtained under five heads:

1. The inscriptions of Serabit el Khadem are evidently the records of a Semitic people who in 1500 B.C. were settled in Egyptian territory, and had lived long enough under such conditions to have become familiarized with both the religion and the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt.

2. The alphabet used by these Semitic people has on close inspection proved to be practically that of a Judæan monument of 800 years later, and as the name 'Ashtoreth' has a Hebrew prefix (ל), it is legitimate to infer that they were the ancestors of the Hebrews.

3. Ashtoreth is now positively identified with Hathor, the chief deity in the region of Sinai.

4. At the period to which these monuments belong, prior to the Exodus, those people wrote, *not as the Hebrews of later times did, from right to left*, but from left to right.

5. They probably were monotheists worshipping a Supreme Deity, here named Ashtoreth, but under the influence of Egypt they made use of various images which represented God under different aspects. It may be that the Sphinx now in the British Museum is the sort of image which Aaron made at Sinai (called the Golden Calf) when the Hebrews were clamouring for a visible representation of their tribal *Elohim*. Aaron gave it to the people as representing the God Yahveh (Ex. $32^{4,5}$).

# Entre Nous.

**Marcus Dods.**

The loss to scholarship by the death of Dr. Marcus Dods is very great. The loss to the Church is greater. He was always more than his work.

He did the larger and more influential part of his work as a reviewer of books. What did the authors of the books he reviewed think of him? Did they recognize the conscience he put into a review? Did they see that he brought his sympathy and imagination into exercise and placed himself alongside the author, judging him not only by what he did, but also by what he sought to do?

And what did the readers think?

The ordinary reader of reviews applauds the 'slating' reviewer. Dr. Dods did not applaud him. He knew how meagre his equipment is. He knew how little conscience he has. The

'I know all about it' and 'This will never do' style of reviewing was hateful to him, because it is pretentious, even when the reviewer does know something of the subject, and because it is pagan.

**Virtue had gone out of Him.**

There is a little volume of private prayers published by Mr. Culley, the Wesleyan publisher, called *The Unveiled Heart* (1s. net). Let us read them privately. They are really not for publication. On the opposite page to where the prayer is placed there is always a quotation from some other author. We may quote one of these quotations, though we cannot quote a prayer. This one may be taken as an additional illustration for the Great Text Commentary.

'Where have you been, my brother?
For I missed you from the street.'
'I have been away for a night and a day
At the great God's judgment-seat.'

'And what did you find, my brother,
When your judging there was done?'
'Weeds in my garden, dust in my doors,
And my roses dead in the sun;

And the lesson I brought back with me,
Like silence, from above—
On the Judgment-Throne there is room alone
For the Lord whose name is Love.'

There is a Foreword to the little book, written with marvellous fine feeling, by the Rev. E. Theodore Carrier. It has more in it for the preacher than some thick volumes of homiletics. The subject of the Foreword and the author of the prayers is the Rev. Walter James, who died after eighteen months' ministry. But such ministry. The editor tells us that an old parliamentarian who had held office in the late Queen's Government went one Sunday evening into the Wesleyan church at Shepherd's Bush Road. Mr. James was in the pulpit. His utterance was a revelation to the politician. At the close of the service he waited to see what would happen. But the placidity of the people was unruffled. He went to the vestry and found the preacher exhausted. Then the editor says: 'All preachers who, like Walter James, put heart and soul into their sermons, know something of this sense of exhaustion. We cannot fathom the significance of what was said of Christ on one occasion, "that virtue had gone out of Him." His virtue was inexhaustible. He could transfer the healing force that was in Him without personal diminution. But *we* cannot. When the preacher has poured out his very soul upon his congregation, when he has been thronged by the multitude, when moral force and spiritual vitality have passed from him to them in the mysterious transfusion of soul with soul—the inner force droops, and prayer mingled with patience is needed to restore the soul to its original level of power. He must wait for the refreshing rains from the Hills of God to replenish his nature, as the autumn rains fill again the reservoirs which the summer heats have brought low. Walter James's congregation little knew the expense to nerve and physical energy at which his stirring appeals were made, though such close observers as Edward Hulse noted "the tension of that Paderewski face, fired yet paled with emotion."'

**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. J. E. Compton, Studley, to whom a copy of Fairweather's *The Background of the Gospels* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for July must be received by the 1st of June. The text is Rev $2^{7}$.

The Great Text for August is Rev $2^{10}$—'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.' A copy of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* or any volume of the 'Scholar as Preacher' Series will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for September is Rev $2^{17}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.' A copy of Dr. Robert Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* or of Dr. W. G. Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for October is Rev $3^{20}$—'Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Oswald Dykes's *Christian Minister* will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for November is Rev $7^{9, 10}$—'After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands; and they cry with a great voice, saying, Salvation unto our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* will be sent for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THERE is a most interesting story in the fourteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel. It occurs in the very heart of the struggle between Israel and the Philistines. These two tiny neighbouring nations were in fierce conflict for the supremacy. And the whole world was looking on. For what would it have been to the world if the Philistines had prevailed? Would Isaiah have come from Askelon? Would the Messiah have been born in Ashdod?

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The supremacy fell to Israel. And the world will ever remember with gratitude the names of the men who secured it. Certainly there is not one of them but would have said that the arm of the Lord had done it. Samuel and David, Saul and his son Jonathan—in this they would unite sincerely, and even fervently, crying, 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us.' But the work of God on earth is done by human hands. The world will ever remember gratefully the names of Samson, of Samuel and David, of Saul, and of Saul's son Jonathan.

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In the fourteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel Jonathan is the hero. Saul is king. And he behaves with a certain kingly superiority to consequence. But Jonathan is the hero. In no romance of boyhood do we follow the hero's fortunes with the breathless interest with which we still watch Jonathan and his armour-bearer as they agree to go over together to 'the Philistines' garrison that is on yonder side.' For the modern romance always omits one element of interest, the most deeply moving of all. It is the challenge to God. At every step of the foolhardiest enterprise God is called upon to show Himself on the side of the brave. It was not a clear conception of the will of God. It made Him appear sometimes to be the author of actions which were none of His. The challenge to God was not always quite separate from selfishness. But it was a religious act. No enterprise was ever undertaken on the toss of a coin. The modern writer of romance who leaves God out altogether, leaves out the most deeply and universally thrilling element in a narrative of adventure. 'Come,' said Jonathan, 'and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised: it may be that the Lord will work for us: for there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few.'

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But as we pass on through the entrancing story—the consternation of the Philistines and the rout, the astonishment in the army of Saul, the discovery of the absence of Jonathan, the pursuit, Saul's inconsiderate command that all food should be tabu till the evening, the enlightening of Jonathan's eyes through the tasting of the forbidden honey, the roll-call and the discovery of

the culprit—we are at last pulled up by a passage which we cannot understand.

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It is the forty-first verse of the chapter. 'Then said Saul unto all Israel, Be ye on one side, and I and Jonathan my son will be on the other side. And the people said unto Saul, Do what seemeth good unto thee. Therefore Saul said unto the Lord, the God of Israel, Shew the right. And Jonathan and Saul were taken by lot; but the people escaped.' It is the phrase 'Shew the right' that is not intelligible. When we turn to the Hebrew text we find that it consists of only two words. And we see that, as pointed, they scarcely admit of an intelligible translation. 'Shew the right' is little more than a clever shot at the meaning, made by the Revisers of the Old Testament. On their margin they suggest 'Give a perfect lot,' which is the translation of the Bishops' Bible and of the Authorized Version. Coverdale tries, 'Do that right is'; Matthew, 'Give perfect knowledge'; while the margin of the Authorized Version suggests 'Shew the innocent.' Thus the Revised Version is not even original. It is a combination of Coverdale and the A.V. margin, adopted from a reasonable supposition of what the context requires.

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The trouble is in the Hebrew. 'As a matter of fact,' says Dr. Buchanan Gray, 'and as scholars, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, have now perceived, the Hebrew text has suffered a considerable loss at this point owing to that common source of error, *homoioteleuton*.' From the first occurrence in the original text of the words 'Lord God of Israel,' the eye of the scribe passed at once to their second occurrence. Whereupon one occurrence of that phrase as well as the words between were lost to the Hebrew text. But they were preserved in the Greek translation. Through it they passed into the Old Latin versions. And although Jerome translated directly from the Hebrew, the influence of the Old Latin secured their reinsertion in the Vulgate. From the Vulgate they passed into Wyclif, the Great Bible, and later editions of the Douai Bible. Thus in the Great Bible the verse reads as follows (the portion which is not found in the Hebrew being placed within parenthesis): Therefore Saul said unto the Lord God of Israel: 'Give a perfect lot (Lord God, give Thou the judgment. How happeneth it, that Thou givest Thy servant no answer to-day? If this sin be in me or in Jonathan my son, shew it; or if this iniquity be in Thy people). And Saul and Jonathan were caught, but the people escaped free.' This is easier to understand. It would have been clearer if the technical terms had been taken over instead of being translated. Dr. Gray takes them over. And then for the crucial sentence he obtains the perfectly intelligible translation: 'If this iniquity be in me, or in Jonathan my son, give Urim; or if this iniquity be in thy people Israel, give Thummim.'

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The passage is discussed in a paper by Professor Buchanan Gray on 'The Text of the Old Testament,' which occurs in a volume entitled *Mansfield College Essays* (Hodder & Stoughton; 12s. net). The volume has been prepared on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Dr. A. M. Fairbairn. It contains as many as eighteen essays. And yet there is not one of them (for we have found the book worth reading from beginning to end) that does not make some profitable contribution to the subject which it handles. But let us return meantime for a moment to Dr. Gray.

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The remarkable thing which comes out of the discussion of our passage in the First Book of Samuel is that those versions which are furthest removed from the original Hebrew contain the best translation. The English Versions of the Bible may be divided into two classes—the primary and the secondary. The primary versions have been translated direct from the Hebrew. They are Tindale's, the Genevan, the A.V. and the R.V. The secondary are translations of another translation. They are Wyclif's, Coverdale's, and the Douai Bible. And the remarkable thing, we say,

is that in this case at least the secondary English Versions are the better.

The discovery raises a question which is of the greatest moment in the translation of the Old Testament. What place should be given to the Ancient Versions? The Revisers practically gave them no place at all. Dr. Buchanan Gray has no hesitation in holding that on that account, if on that account alone, we ought as soon as possible to entertain the idea of superseding the Revised Version of the Old Testament by a new translation.

When Alexander the Great conquered Asia he conquered it for Christ. For when Christ said to His disciples, 'Go ye into all the world,' He sent them to a world to which Alexander had given a common language. And wherever they went they found people who could understand them, as they spoke the Greek language of their own ordinary conversation.

This common tongue is called the *Koinê*. We must become familiar with that word. Properly speaking, it is a Greek adjective (κοινή) meaning common, and it is understood to qualify the Greek substantive meaning dialect (διάλεκτος). But it is now used freely as a substantive itself. What does it signify?

The fullest account in English of what the Koinê is will be found in the first volume of Professor Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*. There is a shorter account of it in Mr. Thackeray's *Grammar of the Septuagint*, the first volume of which has just been published at the Cambridge University Press. Mr. Thackeray adopts the definition of it which has been given by Professor Thumb of Marburg, 'the man who has done more than any other to promote a study of it and to point the way to its correct appreciation.' The Koinê, says Professor Thumb, is 'the sum total of the development of the Greek of common and commercial speech from the time of Alexander the Great to the close of ancient history.'

From the time of Alexander the Great. For when Alexander the Great began the conquest of the world the Greek language was separated into dialects. Some of the motley host which composed his army spoke Attic Greek, some spoke Ionic, some Doric. But as they associated with one another in the long marches by day or round the camp fires by night, their dialectical peculiarities disappeared. They had to understand one another. They had to learn to use a common tongue. The dialects were thrown into one large melting-pot, out of which came the Koinê.

It is true that before the time of Alexander something must have been done towards wearing off the edges of the Greek dialects. Tradesmen from different parts of Greece had been exchanging language as well as merchandise. And the Ten Thousand in their retreat across Asia, under the leadership of Xenophon, had almost forgotten that they had ever spoken different dialects when at the end of their heroic journey they shouted, 'The sea, the sea!' and fell upon one another's necks and wept. Yet the fusion of the dialects on the large scale took place under Alexander, and became final. It was Alexander who gave a universally understood or 'common' language to the civilized world.

It is called the Koinê not because it was the language of common men, but because it became the language of the whole civilized world. It became the language of those States which hitherto had used different Greek dialects. With the single exception of the Old Laconic, which still held its own in the fastnesses of the Peloponnesus and lives on in the modern Zaconic, none of the old dialects survived in the competition with it. But it not only displaced the old dialects of Greece, it also became the language of nations which hitherto had been guiltless of speaking Greek. Our own knowledge of it has come largely

from the discovery of papyrus rolls, and these papyri have been discovered almost entirely in Egypt.

But for all that, we must remember, and we shall not understand the Koinê if we do not remember, that it was the speech of common men. It emerged from the necessities of daily intercourse. It could not sweep away the literary language of Greece, the language of the great poets and historians as it swept away the dialects. That literary language may refuse to disappear even before a majority vote in an English University. But so different are the literary language and the Koinê, that when the Koinê was found in the Septuagint and in the New Testament it was considered necessary to give it a distinctive name, and for a long time it was called by the name of Biblical Greek.

There is no such thing as Biblical Greek. The Greek of the Bible is the Koinê. For that which sprang up in the necessities of intercourse was found capable of sufficient polish to be made use of by writers like Polybius, Josephus, the Seventy, and even St. Paul.

We have to be ready always to give an answer concerning the hope that is in us. And sometimes it has to be the statement of truth and sometimes the refutation of error. But, either way, it must be appropriate to the time and the circumstances in which it is given. The simplicity of the gospel becomes darker than the darkest speculations of philosophy if it is spoken in unfamiliar language. But the preacher's supreme mistake is to occupy himself with objections which were made by a generation that is dead and gone.

For this makes his preaching both uninteresting and unprofitable. Relying upon books which he found in his father's library, he continues to reprove Tindale and to answer Huxley. But these men have received their reward. And the new generation, which has almost forgotten their names, is quite unconcerned with the wisdom or the folly with which they spake on earth. The students of a theological college recently asked one of their professors if anything had been said about the Book of Acts since the days of Baur and Zeller, and they enjoyed their own grim irony. These students will soon be preachers. Will they preach as if the conflict were still between faith and unbelief, or between a materialist and a spiritual theory of the universal, or between idealism and agnosticism?

These, says Dr. Neville Figgis, were the issues of the last generation. They are not the issues now. Dr. Figgis was the Hulsean Lecturer for 1908–9. He has published his lectures under the title of *The Gospel and Human Needs* (Longmans; 4s. 6d. net). As Hulsean Lecturer he knew that he was called upon to give an answer concerning the faith that is in him. And the very first question that he set himself to answer was, Where does the attack come from to-day? It does not come from the agnostics. It does not come from the materialists. It does not come from unbelievers. The attack to-day, says Dr. Figgis, comes from those who say that Christianity is one among many good religions.

Now it may be that Dr. Figgis is looking forward a little in his answer. But it is the business of the apologist and the preacher to look forward. Dr. Figgis may be looking forward a little, but it is certain that even if the full flood of anti-Christian religiousness is not yet upon us, it is already the one issue worth fearing and facing.

Haeckel is still alive. But the issue is not materialism. It is now recognized that man must profess a religion of some kind. If he is an animal, he is a religious animal and not a brute. The only question now is, which religion? The lists are thrown open. Many are entering the competition. Some of them, says Dr. Figgis, are very queer religions. But they claim to be religions. They would have no standing otherwise. And they have their advocates. Even Herbert Spencer's

agnosticism had to be called 'semi-theism' as time went on. And Positivists like Mr. Frederic Harrison are as emphatic as any Christian in condemning the blackness of materialism. In *The Creed of a Layman*, he says, 'We must give human nature its fair chance and accept what it demands; and if human nature calls out for Religion, religion it must have.'

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Are we to allow Christianity to enter this competition? We must allow it. We have hung back hitherto. We have spoken contemptuously about parliaments of religion. We have refused to look at any other religion than our own. It is all due to the device of the devil. Now we must reject this subtle appeal to our pride and our indolence. Already it is taken for granted that Christianity has entered and been thrown. Man must have a Religion. The exact form of the Religion of the future may not yet be agreed upon. It is condescendingly admitted that Christianity may contribute some elements to it. But it is taken for granted and expressed with great assurance, in innumerable cheap books and cheaper magazine articles, that the good Lord Jesus has had His day.

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We must allow Christianity to enter the competition. But we must see to it that it is Christianity that enters. Now, Christianity is the Religion of the supernatural. Certainly it is an ethical religion, and its ethics may be compared with the ethics of Confucius or the Stoa. But if it is allowed to enter into the competition as an ethical religion only, it is not Christianity that is allowed to enter. Dr. Conybeare, in his new book *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, has shown us what can be made of a Christianity that is first stripped of its supernaturalism. Other religions may be supernatural also. Many of them claim to be. Let them come, bringing their supernaturalism with them. We are willing to try the spirits wherever they are said to be found. But we must insist upon it, that it is unscientific and outrageous first to reject the possibility of a resurrection and then to say that 'on His grave the Syrian stars look down.'

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We do not need to deny the things that are common to Christianity and other religions. As Dr. Figgis says: 'We cannot now echo the vaunt of St. Augustine about the virtues of the pagan world being *splendida vitia*; or treat Muhammad as merely a false prophet. Nor can we deny the immense amount of interaction between the religion of Israel and other earlier systems. Above all, the knowledge of Mithraic worship in the Roman Empire has revealed the striking interdependence of the Christian Church and other cults.' But the question is not, has Christianity borrowed this or that? Nor even, is Christianity superior in this or that respect to other religions? The claim which we make for Christianity is that it is altogether unique, its uniqueness consisting in this, that it is a revelation of God to man, given in the Person of One who is at once God and Man, Christ Jesus.

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We make this claim. Can we make it good? Well, the first thing that we have to take into account is the fact that the same claim is made by other religions also. And the mere statement of this fact is considered to be enough to dispose of the Christian claim. We must consider the claims of other religions. We must dispose of them. Both historically and experimentally we must show that except the name of Jesus there is none other name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved. How are we to approach the subject? We may approach it by the way of history or by the way of experience.

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Now when we approach the problem historically we are met at once by the objection that a religion which makes this claim makes a mistake, since it is impossible that God could select a certain moment of time in the history of the world to make a unique revelation of Himself. And when we approach it experimentally we are met by the objection that it is just as impossible that the

Eternal Spirit could concrete Himself in any particular person. These are the two main objections which the present age urges against the revelation of God in Christ. Dr. Figgis takes them in order.

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The first objection is that we are told to fix our thoughts upon a particular moment of time, the moment when Jesus was born in Bethlehem. That is a moment in the past, and we need something of the historical imagination even to fix our thoughts upon it. But the difficulty is not so much that it is a moment in the past as that it is a moment in time. It is said to be incredible that any particular moment should be lifted out of the infinite number of moments in the history of the world and stamped for ever with this significance. What is the apologist's answer?

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Dr. Figgis answers that the only thing in time that ever has significance is the moment. It is a difficult answer. But it is true, and it may be made triumphant. 'The value of monumental moments,' says Dr. Figgis, 'the feeling before some work of beauty that here at last is something finished, done for ever, that time and chance have no power upon the idea thus embodied, is inseparable from the sense of all greatness in art and life.' For confirmation he sends us to the English poet who has done most to express this truth, to Browning.

> All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist;
> Not in its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power
> Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist
> *When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.*

But the second is the supreme objection—that Christianity professes to find the Eternal Spirit in a particular person. Dr. Figgis supposes that it is the supreme and peremptory crux in the Incarnation. 'Think what it means. That infant at Bethlehem, God, the centre of all our worship, the source of all our being, the meaning of all our thought. Is it not "a thing imagination boggles at"?' And he frankly says it is.

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But immediately he adds that it is just this central paradox of the Gospel which gives it its charm for the common heart. There are only the two alternatives—the abstraction of the speculative thinker, or God concrete in Jesus the satisfaction of human need.

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And it is the only revelation that was waiting to be made. We knew already that God is great. We had discerned His greatness in the sublimity of the order in which we are placed. 'God is great,' the cry of the Muslims, is a truth which it needed no supernatural being to teach men.

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But that *God is little*—that is the truth which Jesus taught man. And the heart of Christendom has gone out to the story of Bethlehem and the manger, of the shepherds and the wise men, to the blessing of the children, to the words about the sparrows and the lilies. It is God in His humiliation, scorned, spat upon, dying, that has won the Christian and will win the world.

# Blasphemy.

## A STUDY IN THE EASTERN ATMOSPHERE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By the Rev. G. M. Mackie, M.A., D.D., Beyrout, Syria.

While the name of Christ provided a new personality to be revered or to be spoken against, and the Christian life imposed new restraints upon the spirit of malediction, yet among the Christians of the N.T. blasphemy had for the most part the same significance that it had among other Oriental peoples. It included (1) whatever was irreverent, defiant, or offensive towards God; (2) the profanation of any sacred office, observance, or institution; and (3) the language of invective and denunciation that was called forth by any teaching or behaviour that seemed to be hostile to religion and morals.

In this last sense blasphemy was not confined to any official declaration of anathema or excommunication, but extended to the angry invective and coarse malediction in which the Jews indulged when it was declared to them that Jesus was the Messiah, and that the Kingdom of God was for the Gentiles also. The habit of blaspheming or of invoking divine punishment was so general, and so commended rather than condoned as an act of royalty to the faith, that the complete avoidance of it, and of the spirit that produced it, became one of the marks of the new creature in Christ Jesus.

The study of these Oriental conditions in N.T. times is interesting not only as showing what the teaching of the gospel had to contend against, but as explaining how those traditional views of the sanctity of institutions and of corporate union afterwards influenced the Church in the matter of laying its curse or interdict on individuals or nations, and in attempting to inflict actual punishment upon them.

The following considerations may be mentioned as explaining the intensity of feeling among Orientals with regard to blasphemy in its relationship to God, and the religious value of cursing as between man and man.

1. In the East religion is the chief fact of human life. When Moses put the emblem of the Divine presence in the centre of the resting-places and at the head of the movements of Israel in the wilderness, he gave pictorial expression to a universal religious feeling. This does not mean that there is a general desire towards spirituality and sainthood, but that religion gives to every man his position, and is the strongest bond of fellowship and the chief means of protection. An Oriental will scarcely ever for the sake of truth and justice give evidence in court against a fellow-believer and in favour of one of another faith.

2. God is God. He is never referred to as our idealized conception of power and righteousness. His existence is in no way dependent on our perceptive faculties, nor is His nature affected by what we believe, or do not believe, concerning Him. Any such speculation can arise only from a heart that in its foolishness hopes that God is not. While man's thought of God is nothing, it is, on the other hand, of the utmost importance to bear in mind what God thinks of us.

3. All who have come to know Him, and to belong to Him, by the teaching of one or more of His prophets, become thereby His people. Each one can say, 'Whose I am, and whom I serve,' and it is believed that He in return is not ashamed to be called their God. As they exist by His protection and bear His name, they must live for His glory. As the religion represents the entire people, the entire people must represent the religion. Any desertion from the aggregate of membership is so much lost to the witnessing and serving power of the community, and therefore to the glory of God. Hence the feeling of intense malignity towards apostasy and schism.

Such is the solidarity of the religious community in the East that on an occasion of murder or blood-feud, when the actual perpetrator of the crime cannot be found, another man of the same religion, though innocent of the crime and even unaware of its occurrence, is put to death as a substitute.

4. Again, among Orientals words of blessing and cursing are on the same level as alike tending to find fulfilment in actual life. Thus, when a

visitor leaves an Oriental home, his host's last words to the departing guest are, 'Give peace,' meaning thereby that he desires his goodwill or blessing to be given to any friend of his who may be met with by the way. Similarly, it is understood that a malediction or curse regarded as originating in righteous indignation and submitted to the will of the Judge of the whole earth will also be granted a suitable fulfilment.

5. Further, as an Oriental is never regarded as a unit, but as a member of some community, and as his opinion, standards, and actions are judged to be those of his class, it follows that the blasphemy, that is, the malediction or curse, is seldom directed against the individual as such, but against the religion that controls and directs both his life and the life of those to whom he belongs. Such everyday imprecations of the street are, 'May your house (circle of relatives) become a ruin,' 'A curse upon your religion, upon the religion of your father, upon the religion of your ancestors.' Such blasphemy or railing is in its most intense and aggravated form when it is aimed at the prophet or religious head of the community. In Turkey the offence of blaspheming the name of Muhammad, though now commuted to fine and imprisonment, involved death by execution, burning, or impaling.

This is expressed in the Arabic proverbial rhyme:

Il-ṣârimu maslûl, åla shâtim il-rasûl
('Drawn is the sword, for him who curses the prophet of the Lord').

An Oriental may listen submissively to the severest strictures on his personal conduct and accept such rebukes as paternal chastisement meant for his benefit, but he at once becomes resentful and malignant if his personal delinquencies are described as those of his people, and as the mark of his religious fraternity. He considers it to be his duty to repudiate such a charge instantly and with the utmost vigour, and he will call upon his fellow-religionists to unite with him in bringing counter-charges against the 'blasphemer.' Self-defence then becomes a public duty, a sacred championship.

When this deeply established custom is viewed in its various connexions with Oriental social and religious life, it becomes apparent how great a force was needed to uproot it, and put in its place the principle, 'Bless, and curse not' (Ro $12^{14}$).

In the N.T. the charge of blasphemy was brought against Christ because, in declaring the forgiveness of sins and in speaking of His oneness with the Father, He seemed to be putting a man of flesh and blood in the place of God (Mt $9^{3}$ $26^{65}$ Jn $10^{33}$ $19^{7}$). Inferior in degree, but still an act of blasphemy, was irreverent speech towards parents (Mt $15^{4}$ Mk $7^{10}$), and against those in high office or rank (2 P $2^{11}$). The spirit of loyal and reverent discipleship is pained to hear the blaspheming or upbraiding addressed to Christ on the cross by the Jews and by His companions in suffering (Mt $27^{39}$, Lk $23^{39}$).

After years of devoted service Paul remembers with bitter regret that he had once been a blasphemer of Christ (1 Ti $1^{13}$), and that he had tried by torture to compel others to blaspheme the name of their Lord (Ac $26^{11}$). When the Jews of Antioch in Pisidia ($13^{45}$), and in Corinth ($18^{8}$), poured contempt upon the name of Christ, Paul would hear his own words of 'blasphemy' given back to him in the terms of insult that are still thrown at Christ, namely, the bastard of Bethlehem, the hanged one, the liar, the deceiver, the magician. The vehemence of feeling that found relief in such railing sometimes led to delirious and precipitate action, as in the martyrdom of Stephen. The narrative describes the shouting crowd, the stopping of horrified ears, the simultaneous onset and the swift dragging of the offender outside the city to the place of stoning ($7^{57}$).

In the Epistles, Christian believers are exhorted so to walk that their conduct may give no provocation to those who are without, and that the word of God may not be blasphemed, or have a curse called down upon it by any inconsistency or lawlessness in the life of Christ's followers (Ro $14^{16}$, Ja $3^{9.10}$). The spirit of blaspheming, in its motive and expression, is condemned as an evil thing. It has its home in the unpurified human heart (Mt $15^{19}$, 1 Ti $6^{4}$), and its companions there are bitterness, wrath, anger, clamour, malice, shameful speaking, and whatever is ready to rejoice in the depreciation of others (Eph $4^{31}$, Col $3^{8}$). Its precise opposite is the spirit of Christian love which 'taketh no account of evil' (1 Co $13^{5}$).

In the English language blasphemy is confined to whatever is irreverent towards God, and in a second degree to the profanation or desecration of what is connected with religious worship. The word is not used in the further sense of

invoking divine punishment on those who offend with regard to other relationships. This may be due partly to the fact that when the gospel was brought to the West it established itself among a people who had not those Oriental traditions which gave religious sanction to malediction.

In the papacy of mediæval Europe, on the assumption that St. Peter's successor represented St. Peter, and St. Peter Christ, and Christ God, it was a legitimate inference that any king or prince who disobeyed the Pope had no further claim on the devout loyalty of his people. He had blasphemed and was under a curse. But though such anathematizing and excommunication might be attempted by high ecclesiastical authority, the invoking of divine punishment never found a place in the common life of the West corresponding to the 'blasphemies' or imprecatory railings of Oriental custom.

The attempts at coercion in matters of belief that convulsed the Christian Church in Europe were largely due to the view that the Reformation was a schism, and that schism was an act of blasphemy against the Holy Church, the body of Christ. The union which the Eastern Church sought to secure by creed, and the Roman Church by authority, and the Protestant Church by the appeal to the Bible and to conscience, is still the master thought of the Christian Church, and the divisions and contentions which retard the progress of the Kingdom form the chief profanation of the name of Christ.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF REVELATION.

### Revelation ii. 7.

**'To him that overcometh, to him will I give to eat of the tree of life that is in the Paradise of God.'—R.V.**

### The Situation.

This is the promise made to the first of the Seven Churches of Asia, the Church in Ephesus. Ramsay and others discover a special appropriateness in each promise to its own Church, but it is difficult to make the appropriateness always evident. Here certainly there is the promise of food, the tree of life being a fruit tree, and the Ephesians are commended for their hatred of the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, who recommended the eating of food offered in sacrifice to idols. But the Nicolaitans occur also in the Epistle to Pergamum. More generally, Ramsay says that Ephesus had been falling from its original high level of enthusiasm, and for this the fruit of the tree of life is the one infallible cure. Boyd Carpenter brings these two suggestions together: (1) those who had not indulged in the licence of the Nicolaitans shall eat of the tree of life; and (2) the Ephesian Christians, who had lost the paradise of the first loving communion with God, are promised a restored paradise and participation in the tree of life.

### The Language.

There is no serious difficulty with the wording.

1. *To him that overcometh.* It is a present participle—not 'has overcome,' or 'will overcome,' or even 'is overcoming,' but 'the conqueror,' the victorious member of the Church, as such, apart from all consideration of circumstances (Swete). The idea is characteristic of St. John; this word occurs once in the Gospel, six times in the First Epistle, sixteen times in the Apocalypse; and elsewhere only in Lk $11^{22}$, Ro $3^{4}$ $12^{21}$.

2. *To him.* The repetition (omitted in A.V.) is due to anacoluthon, that is, failure in carrying out the originally intended structure of the sentence; cf. $2^{17.\ 26}$ $3^{12.\ 21}$. The sentence is probably constructed after the Hebrew. Blass quotes a striking example from the Septuagint of Gn $28^{13}$.

3. *To eat of the tree* is lit. 'to eat from (ἐκ) the tree,' *i.e.* to eat of the fruit that comes from it. We have the same word in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Levi $18^{10.\ 11}$.

> And he shall open the gates of paradise,
> And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
> And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
> And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.

4. *In the Paradise.* A.V., following the Textus Receptus, has 'in the midst of the Paradise,' but the manuscript authority for the reading is insufficient. It was probably added from a recollection of the passage in Gn $2^9$.

## The Sermon.

The most natural division of the text is into the three parts of (1) the Gift, (2) the Giver, (3) the Recipients; and this is the division which Dr. Maclaren adopts. But such a division would suit others of the promises equally well. For the sake of distinction let us take (1) the garden of God, (2) the tree of life in it, and (3) the eating of the tree of life.

I. The Garden of God. 1. Of the gardens mentioned in Scripture three are especially notable—the Garden of Eden, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Garden of God. They are associated with the whole history of man. One is at the beginning of his history, one in the middle, and one at the end. They also express the essential facts in his spiritual history. Eden is the place of innocence; Gethsemane is the place of testing; the Garden of God is the place of rest after victory.[1]

2. The garden of God is called in our text the Paradise of God. That is to say, the Greek word (παράδεισος) is transliterated and not translated. This Greek word has a history. It is itself a transliteration of the Persian *pairidaêza*, which meant a royal pleasure park with its forest and fruit trees. This was the special meaning of the Greek word at first. But the Greeks forgot the original meaning and used the word simply for a garden. This is its meaning in the Septuagint. And this meaning has been found on the Inscriptions in the Papyri. But, again, in the New Testament we find that it takes on a new special meaning. It is used for the abode of the blest.[2] The word occurs three times. In Lk $23^{43}$ ('To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise') it simply means the state or place of the blessed dead; in 2 Co $12^4$ it means that supramundane sphere identified with the third heaven, into which men pass in an ecstasy; while here (Rev $2^7$) it is the final joy of the saints in the presence of God and of Christ.[3]

3. Is this paradise in heaven or on earth? It is usually identified with heaven. In the New Testament, says Dr. Salmond, the primeval Eden gives place to a garden of God that is not of earth, the thought of the Paradise of the past is lost in the hope of a Paradise of the future, and the word becomes a name for the scene of rest and recompense for the righteous after death.[4] That is the sense in which Dr. Maclaren unhesitatingly uses it in his sermon on this text.[5] But Dr. Matheson earnestly pleads for the view that the second Paradise, like the first, is on earth. And certainly the Jewish Paradise of the time, as we find it in Apocalyptic books like Enoch, in the references which the Gospels contain to the Jewish expectation of the Kingdom of God, and in the Book of Revelation itself, is not above the clouds or beyond the tomb, but on earth. It is the earth itself indeed, renewed and made the abode of new men in Christ Jesus. But the distinction is not to be pressed. The Paradise promised to the penitent robber was after death, while Paul was still in the body when he entered the Paradise of his ecstasy. It is not yet a present possession, but a future promise. And Dr. Matheson is right in this at least, that we are to strive with all our might to realize it even here.[6]

> Grow old along with me!
> The best is yet to be,
> The last of life, for which the first was made:
> Our times are in His hand
> Who saith, 'A whole I planned,
> Youth shows but half; trust God: see all nor be afraid!
>
> Therefore I summon age
> To grant youth's heritage,
> Life's struggle having so far reached its term:
> Thence shall I pass, approved
> A man, for aye removed
> From the developed brute; a god though in the germ.[7]

4. What are the characteristics of the new Paradise? (1) The consequences of the Fall are reversed, and the primeval blessedness of man is restored in Christ; (2) this blessedness is secured from loss or change; (3) there is the immediate presence and vision of God.[8] It is for this reason that it is called the garden of God. His presence is its consecration. Hort observes that the term Eden, 'delight,' does not appear in the Apocalypse,

[1] See W. Lee, *From Dust to Jewels*, p. 146.
[2] See Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 148.
[3] See Swete, *Apocalypse*.
[4] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 669a.
[5] A. Maclaren, *The Victor's Crowns*, p. 1.
[6] See Matheson, *Sidelights from Patmos*, p. 17.
[7] Browning, 'Rabbi Ben Ezra.'
[8] J. Oswald Dykes, in *Christian World Pulpit*, xxix. 248.

so that what is conveyed by 'paradisaical' is misleading. God, not delight, supplies the characteristic.

How know I that it looms lovely that land I have never seen,
With morning glories and heartsease and unexampled green,
With neither heat nor cold in the balm-redolent air?
Some of this, not all, I know; but this is so:
Christ is there.

How know I that blessedness befalls who dwell in Paradise,
The outwearied hearts refreshing, rekindling the worn-out eyes;
All souls singing, seeing, rejoicing everywhere?
Nay, much more than this I know: for this is so:
Christ is there.

O Lord Christ Whom having not seen I love and desire to love,
O Lord Christ Who lookest on me uncomely yet still thy dove,
Take me to Thee in Paradise, Thine own made fair:
For whatever else I know, this thing is so:
Thou art there.[1]

**2.** THE TREE OF LIFE. 1. The tree has been associated with divinity in the religion of nearly all the nations of the earth. The Greeks of Ephesus were familiar with it as a symbol of life-giving divine power. The Jews were equally familiar with the idea. Of the idealized Tree of Life, says Swete, we read already in Pr $3^{18}$, but its first appearance in a vision of the celestial Paradise is in *Enoch*. Thus the writer of the Apocalypse found the tree of life in his own Jewish sphere of thought, the tree that was in the midst of the garden of Eden being already used for spiritual purposes in the prophetic literature; but he was aware that the symbol was intelligible also to the Asian Greeks.

Trees had been worshipped as the home of the Divine nature and power from time immemorial, and were still so worshipped, in Asia Minor as in the ancient world generally. On some sacred tree the prosperity and safety of a family or tribe or city was often believed to depend. When the sacred olive-tree on the Acropolis of Athens put forth a new shoot after the city had been burned by the Persians, the people knew that the safety of the State was assured. The belief was widely entertained that the life of a man was connected with some tree, and returned into that tree when he died. The tree which grew on a grave was often thought to be penetrated with the spirit and life of the buried man; and an old Athenian law punished with death any one that had cut a holm-oak growing in a sepulchral ground, *i.e.* heroön.[2]

2. What is the meaning of the tree of life? It is of course a fruit tree, and the eating of the fruit of it gives life. But what is life? It is in the pursuit of 'life' that men make money, seek pleasure, follow fame. But whatever life these make they do not make life that lasts.

Love, fame, ambition, avarice, 'tis the same;
For all are meteors with a different name,
And death the sable smoke, where vanishes the flame.[3]

To eat of the tree of life is to have eternal life. And this eternal life is not a mere continuance of conscious being. Just as we say of men who are sunk in gross animalism, or whose lives are devoted to trivial and transient aims, that theirs is not worth calling life, so we say that the only thing that deserves, and that in Scripture gets, the august name of 'life' is a condition of existence in conscious union with, and possession of, God, who is manifested and communicated to mortals through Jesus Christ His Son.[4]

Mr. G. T. Coster breaks up the life, as you might break up a ray of light, into these seven elements. (1) *Beauty*. It is in a garden. At the end of the Apocalypse it is in a city, but it is a city 'prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.' (2) *Knowledge*. 'The Lamb is the light thereof.' Christ no longer speaks to us in proverbs, but shows us plainly of the Father. (3) *Enjoyment*. Not the sensual pleasures of a Muhammadan paradise, but the satisfaction of spiritual powers. (4) *Fellowship*. They that fear God shall speak often one to another, especially of how they 'handled the Word of Life.'[5] (5) *Holiness*. 'There shall not enter into it anything unclean.' The description is negative, because something unclean did enter into the first Paradise. But the holiness is after redemption, and positive and permanent. (6) *Rest in Service*. 'They shall

[1] Christina G. Rossetti, *The Face of the Deep*, p. 206.

[2] W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 247.

[3] Momerie, *The Origin of Evil*, p. 314.

[4] A. Maclaren, *The Victor's Crowns*, p. 1.

[5] I remember hearing once of a little dying child shrinking timidly from the idea of going alone; but just before the end there came a spirit of sublime confidence, a supernatural opening of vision, a recognition of some companionship, and the little one cried out, 'I am not afraid; they are all here.' —Wilberforce, *Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey*, p. 161.

rest from their labours.' 'Neither shall there be any more pain.' But 'His servants shall serve him.' Their service will be worship; their worship will be song. (7) *Eternity.* The life of the Tree of Life is incorruptible and undefiled and fadeth not away.

3. The Eating of the Tree of Life. It is to him that overcometh.

1. This word 'overcometh' is a great word with St. John, and it is especially frequent in the Apocalypse. That book, says Swete, is a record and a prophecy of victories won by Christ and the Church. The note of victory is dominant in St. John, as that of faith in St. Paul; or rather faith presents itself to St. John in the light of a victory (1 Jn $5^4$).

2. What is it that is overcome? St. John does not specify. It is just overcoming. It is patient continuance in well-doing. It is not the victory over a single temptation. It is continual overcoming, the life of victory. The final victory and its reward are the fruits of innumerable antecedent victories.[1]

3. Still there are certain spheres in which the victory has usually to be obtained.

(1) Hort suggests a possible reference to the Greek games. It may be that some of the Ephesian Christians had once been runners or wrestlers or had been training for it. To overcome the desire even to witness the games was a great victory. Still more to overcome the desire to overcome. This is the usual verb (*νικάω*) found on the inscriptions for victory in the games.

(2) The victory is found in facing the tasks of life. The boy knows well enough that if he wants his kite to rise he must fly it in the teeth of the wind. It is easy enough to drift down-stream; but it is better to swim against the stream; the resistance of the water holds one up.

'I have a theory,' says Hubert Bland, in his volume of essays entitled 'With the Eyes of a Man,' 'I have a theory that the people which shortens its weapons wins its battles. I am not clear as to how that theory would work out in the sphere of lower warfare; but in the sphere of the higher warfare it is certainly true. If you want to win you must shorten your weapons; you must look your enemy in the white of his eyes; you must come to close grips with him.'—E. W. Lewis, *The Unescapeable Christ*, p. 228.

(3) It is found especially in suffering.

Wrote one of my friends to me the other day, from his home, which had suddenly been darkened by the shadow of death, and out of a heart stricken by one of the bitterest and sternest of earth's losses: 'I have never felt so near to God as I have done during the past week.' He had won past the flaming sword, and had eaten of the Tree of Life.

Said another of my friends to me not long ago, referring to a time in his life when everything that was stable in it seemed to be threatened by a tragic shock which robbed him of a friend as well as a father: 'I really never knew what it was to pray; I never knew the help and the power and the peace in prayer, until those dark days came and the burden almost crushed me to the ground.' He had won past the cherubim, and had eaten of the Tree of Life.—E. W. Lewis, *The Unescapeable Christ*, p. 220.

(4) But, above all, it is the victory over selfishness. 'I know,' said Dr. Welldon, as he resigned the headmastership of Harrow School, 'I know you will be brave in the face of danger; but oh—that I could be sure you would be equally brave in the face of temptation. You will conquer others; but, my boys, will you conquer yourselves?'[2]

4. This victory is *given*—and again we have one of the characteristic words of the Apocalypse. For the victory that overcometh the world is not our effort, but our faith. It is faith working itself out in effort, in effort of life and in endurance. 'Go into a mill,' says Dr. Maclaren, 'and in a quiet room, often detached from the main building, you will find the engine working, and seeming to do nothing but go up and down. But there is a shaft which goes through the wall and takes the power to the looms. We are working here, and we are making the cloth that we shall have to own, and say, "Yes, it *is* my manufacture!" when we get yonder. According to our life to-day will be our destiny in that great to-morrow. Life is given to the victor, because the victor only is capable of possessing it.[3]

Above the doorway of a house in Edinburgh there was once a legend which read as follows: 'He that tholes overcomes.' A youth who day after day passed that door, read the writing again and again, and as often wondered what it meant. One day he made inquiry, and found that to 'thole' was a pithy Scotch word which meant to *bear with patience.* He there and then made up his mind to *thole.* In after years that lad became one of the founders of the famous firm of Chambers, the publishers, and he, when relating his early experiences, unhesitatingly attributed his success in life to his early determination to *thole.* This

[1] C. Anderson Scott, *Revelation*, p. 139.

[2] *Youth and Duty*, p. 251.

[3] *The Victor's Crowns*, p. 8.

message bears the same burden to us—it bids us *thole*, that we may overcome. It bids us be faithful, that we may be partakers of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God. It is a figure which carries us back in thought to the first Paradise and to the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the promise cannot mean less than perfect restoration to all the blessings and privileges which Adam lost. But it means more. To eat of the tree of life in the Paradise of God is better than to eat of the Symbolical tree of Eden. For Christ Himself is the true 'Tree of Life,' and to be a partaker of Him is to have life for evermore.

# Recent Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels.

By the Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, M.A., Principal of Egerton Hall, Manchester.

The criticism of the Synoptic Gospels seems to have reached this point. It is very generally agreed that Matt. and Luke have edited and enlarged the Second Gospel. The points still debated in this connexion are details. The main fact is, as it would seem, undeniable. There is further a very widely held belief that Matt. and Luke had also before them a second source, consisting mainly of discourses; and for some years attempts have been made to reconstruct it, none of which have met with much approval.

It was at one time usual to call this alleged discourse source *the Logia*, but as that term seemed to beg disputable questions connected with a statement of Papias about *the Logia* written by Matthew, recent writers have preferred to adopt for it a colourless symbol Q (= Quelle). Harnack[1] has recently set himself to the reconstruction of Q, and as his results are likely to be widely accepted, it is the purpose of this paper to offer some criticism to both his methods and his results.[2]

*A. Methods.*—Briefly put, his method is to place in the source any section or saying that is found in both Matt. and Luke, but not in Mark. The assumption behind this is that wherever two writers agree closely in their records they are borrowing from a common source. As regards this I would only say that I am not prepared to contest the general position that the literary agreement between Matt. and Luke in sections common to them is so great that literary dependence in some form must be assumed.

But I would only urge that it does not follow from the fact that these two writers agree closely in many sections, that all these sections must have come from a single source. They agree, *e.g.*, closely in the case of the Sermon on the Mount. They also agree closely in the account of St. John's preaching. It does not follow that the sermon and the account of John were found in the same common source. They may have been found there. They may also have been in two separate sources. So far as St. Luke is concerned, he expressly tells us that he was acquainted with the works of many gospel writers.

On this method of collecting together passages common to Matt. and Luke in which there is close verbal agreement, Harnack builds up a document which he supposes that these writers used. It contains:

1. An account of John's preaching.
2. The Temptation and perhaps the Baptism.
3. A good deal of the Sermon on the Mount, followed by the healing of the Centurion's servant.
4. The two aspirants.
5. Sayings to the disciples about their mission.
6. The discourse about the Baptist, with the two sequels, Woes against Bethsaida and Chorazin, and the Thanksgiving to the Father.
7. The Beelzebub section and sign of Jonah.
8. Woes against the Pharisees.
9. Discourse about the Parousia, and other sayings.

Now a document which contained the material above tabulated would be a very curious sort of gospel writing. Presumably the purpose of the writer was to collect noteworthy sayings of Christ, and most of the material is of that nature. But what then has the record of the preaching of the Baptist to do in such a work? This would be intelligible enough as an introduction in any historical or biographical narrative of Christ's

[1] *The Sayings of Jesus* ('Crown Theological Library').

[2] For criticisms of Harnack from a different point of view, see Dr. Moulton in the *Expositor*, May 1909.

life, but what has it to do with a collection of Christ's sayings?

Again, the document thus reconstructed contains for the most part sayings or groups of sayings. In the midst of this appears quite unexpectedly a miracle, that of *the Centurion's Servant*. What has this to do in a collection of sayings? A little later there is another miracle, the healing of a dumb demoniac before the Beelzebub discourse. But the two cases are not parallel. Q, as reconstructed by Harnack, contains several instances of a very slight narrative setting to a series of sayings; cf., for example, *the Two Aspirants*, or *the Sending of John's disciples*, or *the Demand for a Sign*. Harnack, by linking together these and one or two other such references to fact, makes up what he calls seven narrative sections, but in reality only one is a narrative section, namely, *the Centurion's Servant*; and the others, including the Beelzebub miracle, are quite different in nature, being not self-contained narratives, but mere allusions to fact which serve as an introduction to sayings or groups of sayings. The narrative of *the Centurion's Servant* is therefore really isolated in Q. And we cannot help asking what right has it to be there? The central point of the story is not Christ's *saying*, 'Not even in Israel have I found such faith' (for as a saying apart from its context, that has no meaning), but the *facts* that Christ could heal by a word, and that He had done such a healing for the servant of a centurion.

What has a compilation of discourses in common with a narrative section like this? Or if the compiler admitted it, then surely his book must have contained other miracles and narratives and have been of a very different character from the source as Harnack reconstructs it.

Further, Harnack puts into his source eleven instances of what he calls Parables. But just as he uses the word *narrative* to cover mere references to fact, so he here uses *parable* to cover analogies, similes, etc. Of his eleven cases only four are formal parables. They are *the Two Builders*, *the Leaven*, *the Mustard Seed*, and *the Children in the Market-Place*. The rest are metaphors or allegorical allusions. Now here is a strange thing that in a document professing to be a collection of some of Christ's sayings there should be only four parables. The inference is obvious. Harnack's reconstructed source is at least incomplete. If there really was a collection of Christ's sayings, it must have contained more parables than these four, and those that are missing might very materially affect our judgment of the nature of the document.

Again, the reconstructed source brings with it almost as many difficulties as it solves, for it is only possible to explain the text of our two Gospels as reproductions of it by allowing the two Evangelists a freedom of dealing with it which is hard to reconcile with the probability admitted by Harnack, that it was of Apostolic origin. How explain, for example, the two presentations of the *Beatitudes*, or of the *Lord's Prayer*, on the supposition that the Evangelists had before them in an Apostolic document one and the same record of each of these items? Surely the inference here is irresistible that the differences in these sections between the two writers is not due to the fact that they are arbitrarily altering words, which they both had before them in the same form, but that they are reproducing different traditions of the Lord's words.

However, we might perhaps assent that the principle of putting into a common source all that is common to Matt. and Luke alone is not very likely to be far wrong, and that there is some probability that most of the above material occurred in a document lying behind our First and Third Gospels.

But two other words of caution are here needed. Before we proceed to discuss the character of this source and its theology we ought to be sure that we really have sufficient data for so doing. This is just where Harnack's method seems to me to break down.

For (1) we cannot be sure that the source did not contain much more than the material collected above. Either Matt. alone, or Luke alone, may contain material which belonged to it; or the source may have contained much which neither of these writers have borrowed from it.

(2) If so, this lost material, or this material found in only one Gospel, if added to that which Harnack puts into his Q, might very considerably modify our impression of its general characteristics and of its theology.

*B. Results.*—Now Harnack, after reconstructing his document, attempts to characterize its theology, and draws inferences from that as to its date.

There is in it no reference to the Passion. Therefore the central feature of the gospel message

was not Christ as Redeemer, but Christ as Teacher and Prophet of the Kingdom. Therefore the book was compiled before Mark wrote his Gospel, but not too early, or Mark would have used it.

Ramsay[1] tries to improve on Harnack here. He assumes that Harnack's conception of Q is right in the main, but argues that no Christian disciple could have written such a book after Christ's death, or at any rate after Pentecost. It must therefore have been composed during Christ's lifetime.

Ramsay is no doubt right that Harnack's Q is inexplicable as a production of a Christian disciple in the first thirty years after the Lord's death, but this fact should lead us, not to try and find a possible date during Christ's lifetime for the work, but to ask whether such a document as Harnack gives us ever existed at all. The inference again presses: the source must have contained much more than is given in Harnack's reconstruction, and the missing material might give quite a different character to the work, and make it an intelligible production of the early days of Christianity.

And the data exist for the discovery of the missing material. It is not far to seek, for it lies embedded in the First Gospel. Harnack gives as characteristic features of the source as reconstructed by him, 'Jewish horizon and sentiment' and 'conflict against the Pharisees.' He also says that the conception of the 'Kingdom of God' is that of a future kingdom in Mt $8^{11}$ = Lk $13^{28}$; Mt $23^{13}$ = Lk $11^{52}$; Mt $7^{21}$ = Lk $6^{46}$; Mt $10^{7}$ = Lk $9^{2}$ and Mt $6^{33}$ = Lk $12^{31}$; whilst in four other places, namely, Mt $12^{28}$ = Lk $11^{20}$; Mt $13^{33.\ 31}$ = Lk $13^{20.\ 18}$; Mt $11^{11}$ = Lk $7^{28}$; and Mt $11^{12}$ = Lk $16^{16}$, the Kingdom is regarded as already present.

Now the exact phrases in these passages are these:

| | Mt. | Lk. | Harnack. |
|---|---|---|---|
| $8^{11}$ | βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ |
| $23^{13}$ | βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν | otherwise | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ |
| $7^{21}$ | ,, ,, | otherwise | ,, ,, |
| $10^{7}$ | ,, ,, | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ | ,, ,, |
| $6^{33}$ | βασιλεία | βασιλεία αὐτοῦ | βασιλεία αὐτοῦ |
| $12^{28}$ | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ |
| $13^{33}$ | βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ | βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ |
| $13^{31}$ | ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| $11^{11}$ | ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |
| $11^{12}$ | ,, ,, | ,, ,, | ,, ,, |

It will be seen that so far as these passages are concerned, Matt. eight times has βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν where Luke has βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ (if he has any equivalent words), while Matt. only once has βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ. Harnack assumes that Luke has retained the phrase of the source, while Matt. has altered it in every case save one. But it is far more probable that Matt. retains the phraseology of his source, which Harnack admits was Jewish in character, and that Luke or a previous editor of Q has substituted for the Jewish βασ. τῶν οὐρανῶν a phrase which would be more natural to Western ears.[2]

As regards Harnack's distinction between the kingdom as present and future, all the cases where Matt. has τῶν οὐρανῶν, or simply βασιλεία, probably denoted the future Kingdom, an idea which is specially characteristic of the source. If Mt $12^{28}$ has τοῦ θεοῦ, that only shows that the source exceptionally used this phrase, the reason here probably being the influence of the preceding πνεύματι θεοῦ.

We find, then, amongst the characteristics of the source (*a*) 'Jewish horizon and sentiment'; (*b*) 'conflict against the Pharisees'; (*c*) 'the eschatological conception of the Kingdom.' Now if we apply these criteria to some of the sayings in Matt. which Harnack does not admit into his source, we shall find that they have a claim to admission there. *E.g.* $5^{20}$ is anti-Pharisaic. So are $6^{1\text{-}18}$ and $15^{12\text{-}14}$. The following are marked by Jewish horizon and sentiment: $6^{10b}$, 'Thy will be done;' $7^{6}$, 'swine' = Gentiles, $10^{5b\text{-}8.\ 23}$ $15^{23\text{-}24}$ and $24^{30}$; and the following by Jewish phraseology: $16^{17\text{-}19}$ $18^{14.\ 16\text{-}20}$.

I give here only a few verses which ought to be admitted into the source, although Luke has no parallel to them. I have elsewhere tried to make a more complete list of passages which were probably in the source, and have shown how the source, when so enlarged, presents a character very different from the description which Harnack gives of his

[1] *Luke the Physician*, p. 89.

[2] Here, as elsewhere, Harnack obscures the theological tendencies of the source by blotting out of it phrases which were fundamentally characteristic of it as a Jewish-Christian collection of the Messiah's sayings. *E.g.* Harnack omits ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς or ὁ οὐράνιος after πατὴρ, and the first three aspirations of the Lord's Prayer. The compiler of the source writing in the early days of Jewish-Christian Church life might (probably not) have added these clauses to the traditional prayer. But it is little likely that an editor so late as 'Matt.' would here and elsewhere have judaized his material.

limited Q. (See *St. Matthew* ['Intern. Crit.Com.'], lvii–lviii, lxxvi–lxxix.)[1] This source, as the writer of the First Gospel had it before him, was a collection of sayings and groups of sayings which had strongly marked Jewish-Christian features. It was very anti-Pharisaic, and many of the sayings were couched in very Jewish language, as, *e.g.*, Mt $16^{17-19}$. Being a collection of notable sayings of Christ, it naturally represented Him mainly on the side of His teaching, *i.e.* as a prophet of the Kingdom of Heaven. But it identified Him with the Son of Man of whom He had spoken, and represented Him as teaching that the Kingdom would be inaugurated when, in the near future, He returned as Son of Man. The ethical teaching which the book contained was therefore understood to be intended for His disciples, who were the true Israel, during the period of expectation of His return. Other characteristics of the book were its emphasis on the belief that Christ had not abrogated the Mosaic Law, which was still binding on His disciples, and its hostility to the Pharisees. They had misused their privileges, had rejected the Messiah, and, in consequence, the inheritance of the Kingdom had passed from them to the community (ἐκκλησία) of the disciples of the Messiah, to whom many proselytes from amongst the Gentiles would attach themselves ($8^{12}$).

The source as thus reconstructed may well be Apostolic (cf. Papias). It must be early in date, and it may well have been written in the early days of Christianity in Palestine, but certainly not during Christ's lifetime (Ramsay).

The later history of this book of sayings is full of interest. In the first place, the editor of the First Gospel got hold of it and combined it with St. Mark. He wrote in its spirit, was influenced by its conception, and adopted its phraseology. That is why he modifies St. Mark's record in such a way, *e.g.*, as to make it clear that Christ had not abolished the Mosaic distinction between clean and unclean meats,[2] and that His teaching on divorce was not antagonistic to Deuteronomy.[3] For the same reason he modifies Mk $9^{1}$ (cf. Mt $16^{28}$) in such a way as to show that the Kingdom of God will come with power when the Son of Man comes in His Kingdom, and that this will take place within the generation of Christ's contemporaries. The influence of the phraseology of the source upon the editor is shown, too, by the way in which he almost invariably substitutes βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν for Mark's βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.[4] The Gospel which he thus composed out of Mark and the discourse source is as Jewish in horizon and sentiment, as anti-Pharisaic, as primitive in its expectation of the nearness of the Parousia as was the source. For there is nothing in the Gospel which could not be accepted by one who believed that the new Israel, to whom the Kingdom was coming when the Son of Man returned, consisted of those Jewish-Christians who believed in Him, and of Gentiles who joined themselves to them. The parables in the Gospel are all capable of interpretation eschatologically, and the verses in which there is reference to admission of Gentiles to the new society would suggest nothing more startling to a pious Jewish-Christian than many passages in the Jewish prophets.

That the Church adopted this Gospel with its Jewish atmosphere into the list of its sacred books proves, not that the editor wrote it in a Pauline spirit of universalism, but that much that he has inserted can be interpreted in a sense very different from that which he and his contemporaries gave to it. The strange thing is that modern writers should fail to recognize the Jewish and primitive atmosphere of the book, and should continue to speak of it as though it had been written by a Churchman who wished to represent Christ as having sanctioned the doctrines and usages of the Christian Church as they existed a generation or two after His lifetime.

At a somewhat later date St. Luke came across some of the contents of this discourse source. Harnack and others write as though he had before him the original book in the same form in which the editor of the First Gospel used it. But this is very unlikely. The supposition that Matt. and Luke both used substantially the same discourse document forces us to suppose that Luke has used great freedom in editing it, altering its phraseology, and breaking up its groups of sayings. And it is unlikely that he would have so treated a primitive and perhaps apostolic work. It would be easier to think that he had seen our First Gospel and sometimes been influenced by it. In that

[1] I have ready for immediate publication a full text of the source reconstructed on the lines laid down in this paper.

[2] Mt $15^{20}$, Mk $7^{19}$. Cf. *St. Matthew*, p. 167, n.

[3] Mt $19^{9}$, Mk $10^{11}$.

[4] Cf. *St. Matthew*, p. lxvii.

case the First Gospel was one of the 'many' secondary gospel writings to which he refers in his Prologue.

On the other hand, the view, that whilst Matt. had a Greek translation of the original book, Luke knew some of its contents, not directly but intermediately, scattered through some of the works to which he refers in his preface, explains both the large amount of agreement between Matt. and Luke in sayings of Christ, and at the same time their disagreement in the phraseology, order, and setting of these sayings.

# In the Study.

## Was St. Peter ever in Rome?

THE report of Monsignor Duchesne's great scholarship has penetrated even to this country, and the translation of his *Early History of the Christian Church* (Murray; 9s. net), which has been made from the fourth edition of that work, will find a welcome. It is true that his name is more associated with the history of Church institutions. But it would be strange if the historian of Church institutions were incapable of writing a history of the Church. Certainly the history of the early Church can be written only by one who is intimately acquainted with its institutions.

The distinctive features of Mgr. Duchesne's History are simplicity of style, simplicity of purpose, and conscientious painstaking research. In some parts of the work every page testifies to the abundance of discovery in recent years of early Church literature and to Mgr. Duchesne's acquaintance with it. The period covered is from the Burning of Rome in 64 A.D. to the end of the third century. But there are four chapters of preparation, summarizing the history of events recorded in the New Testament.

Mgr. Duchesne's simplicity of purpose may be tested by his handling of the question whether St. Peter was ever in Rome. It is a question which Roman Catholics answer with a unanimous Yes. Mgr. Duchesne answers Yes. It is even possible that he would be distressed if he were told that his evidence left it open to Protestants to answer No. But he is not the man to twist the evidence in order to secure a verdict. What does it amount to?

In the first place, there is no information whatever as to anything St. Peter did in Rome. All that even tradition affirms is that in Rome he died and left his chair. Mgr. Duchesne makes nothing of possible references in the Apocalypse or the Epistle to the Hebrews; and of the last chapter of the Fourth Gospel he says merely that it contains an extremely clear allusion to the *way* in which St. Peter met his death. In the first Epistle which bears his name a greeting is sent from the Church of Babylon, which Mgr. Duchesne has no doubt is the Church of Rome. But he is not sure that St. Peter wrote that First Epistle. He is sure, however, that the author, writing under Peter's name, would only write from a place where it was known Peter had stayed.

Outside the New Testament he comes first to Clement of Rome, who in his reference to Nero's persecution (1 Clem. 5, 6) connects Peter and Paul with the Danaides, the Dirces, and other victims who suffered as a result of the burning of Rome. There is Ignatius also, but his reference is quite indefinite. 'I do not command you,' he says to the Roman Christians, 'as Peter and Paul did: they were apostles, I am only a condemned criminal.' Upon which Mgr. Duchesne remarks, rather curiously for him: 'These words do not amount to the assertion, "Peter came to Rome," but supposing he did come, Ignatius would not have spoken otherwise; whereas if he had not, there would have been no point in Ignatius' argument.'

We have to go on now beyond the middle of the second century. And what we find is that St. Peter's visit to Rome is then an accepted fact. Dionysius of Corinth in Greece, Irenæus in Gaul, Clement and Origen in Alexandria, and Tertullian in Africa, all refer to it. In Rome itself, Caius, about 200 A.D., points out the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul. 'By the third century, we find the Popes building on their title of successors of St.

Peter, and their right to the title is nowhere denied.'

That is the evidence.

## Sun, Stand Thou Still.

That great question, how far the Septuagint and other early versions should be used for the translation of the Old Testament, which is touched upon in the 'Notes of Recent Exposition,' is discussed by Professor Geden in his *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (T. & T. Clark; 8s. 6d. net). More than that, in a lucid account of the versions themselves, Professor Geden enables English readers to take an interest in the matter, and even to give their opinion with some little confidence. He also discusses some of the passages which are affected by the readings of the versions.

One of these passages is that popular crux of interpretation, the standing still of the sun in Jos $10^{12.\,13}$. The Hebrew which is translated 'stand thou still' is literally 'be dumb.' And Dr. Geden has little doubt that the reference is to 'an eclipse of the sun, vividly and picturesquely represented as its *dumbness*, the occurrence of which struck terror into the hearts of Israel's enemies, and contributed mainly to their overthrow.'

The whole passage in the Revised Version is:

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

Professor Geden believes that the last line is a mistranslation. He thinks that the verb had originally been the same as in the first line. (In the present Hebrew there is only the difference of a letter between them.) Then the meaning would be 'and the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the nations their enemies became dumb (or were destroyed).' The Septuagint gives the glory directly to God (ἕως ἠμύνατο ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν), showing that there is at least room for reconsideration of the Hebrew.

## Before the City.

The Sheriff of Perthshire is a student of the New Testament. He has written a volume on *St. Paul and his Mission to the Roman Empire* (R. & R. Clark; 1s. 6d.). He has written it as a layman should, without theological discussion or didactic meditation, simply as a story of human interest. And once or twice he takes his own view of things and even his own exegesis.

He takes his own exegesis of Ac $14^{13}$: 'Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people.' What is meant by 'which was before their city'? The R.V., with most of the expositors, makes it 'whose *temple* was before the city.' Sheriff Johnston says: 'The expression "Jupiter before the city," so puzzling to the ordinary reader, means Jupiter whose worship was established here before the city was built.'

## The Hope that is in You.

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF 1 PETER III. 15.

'But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts: and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.'

### I. The Meaning.

*Sanctify.*—What is meant by sanctifying God (or Christ)? The expression occurs also in the Lord's Prayer (Mt $6^{9}$, Lk $11^{2}$), where the same verb is used of *hallowing* the name of God. The idea is found nowhere else in the New Testament, but in the O.T. it occurs in Lv $10^{3}$, Nu $20^{12}$, Is $29^{23}$, Ezk $36^{23}$ $38^{23}$. Just as to 'glorify' God means (in word and deed) to recognize His glorious perfections; as to 'magnify' Him means to recognize His greatness; as to 'justify' Him means to recognize His inherent justice; so to 'sanctify' Him means to recognize, in word and deed, His full holiness, and therefore to treat Him with due awe. This not only substitutes the fear of God for the fear of man (since they mutually exclude each other), but also enforces purity of life.[1]

It is the simplest of truisms that God can receive no increase of holiness, least of all from those who must beg Him to forgive their sins; but to sanctify Him, or to hallow His Name, is to acknowledge Him, not merely in word, but habitually and practically—in thought, in feeling, in aim, in conduct—as being what He is, the

[1] Mason, in Ellicott's *N. T. Commentary*.

one supreme object of obedience, reverence, and devotion. They sanctify Him who give Him His due, who treat His claims as real and absolute, who look away from all other powers, from all imagined resources or grounds of confidence, to Him as the origin and centre of their existence, the One most high, most holy, and most lovable, and at the same time most 'awful' in His 'purity,' with a reverential awe which leaves no room for lower fear, because it involves an adoring and loving trust.[1]

*The Lord God.*—The A.V. follows the Textus Receptus (Κύριον δὲ τὸν Θεὸν), but the evidence is overwhelming for Χριστὸν instead of Θεὸν, and all the editors adopt it. But what is the translation? Wyclif, following the Vulgate (Dominum Christum), has simply 'the Lord Christ,' and Rheims 'our[2] Lord Christ.' R.V. has 'Christ as Lord,' making Κύριον without the article as the predicate of the sentence. But Bigg points out that the sentence is a quotation from the Septuagint of Isaiah ($8^{13}$), where the Κύριον is already without the article. He accordingly translates, 'sanctify the Lord, that is to say, the Christ.' The commentators mostly agree with Bigg. Mason translates 'sanctify the Lord the Christ'; Plumptre and Bennett more briefly 'the Lord Christ.' In any case, as Bigg says, 'the Christological import of the passage is not affected.' The Κύριον of the Septuagint corresponds to the 'Yahweh of Hosts' of the Hebrew, and the application of the name to Christ here amounts to a claim to Divine honour for Him.[3]

How significant is the application to Christ, by His own "first" Apostle, of words which the prophet had used with reference to the Holy One of Israel! If Christ can be, and is to be, thus sanctified, Christ must be literally Divine, One in being with the Most High; or else St. Peter is in effect exhorting us to break the first commandment.[4]

*In your hearts.*—This does not mean simply '*with* your hearts,' or '*from* your hearts' (*i.e.* inwardly, or, with all sincerity and devotion), but it signifies the local habitation *where* the Christ is to be thus recognized. That is to say: St. Peter, like St. Paul (Eph $3^{17}$), acknowledges an *indwelling* of Christ in the hearts of the faithful; and this indwelling is not merely subjective, consisting of their constant recollection of Him, but real and objective: there He is, as in a shrine, and they must pay due reverence to His presence. The Apostle does, in fact, in those words 'in your hearts,' purposely call attention to the difference between Isaiah's use of the name Immanuel and the Christian meaning of it. To Isaiah, God dwelt in the midst of a people in its corporate capacity; St. Peter knew that, through the Incarnation, each individual Christian has God in him, united with him.[5]

*And be ready.*—R.V. 'being ready.' The evidence for the omission of 'and' is decisive. But there is no word in the Greek for 'be' or 'being,' and the insertion of any such word obscures the close connexion with the preceding injunction. The first effect of the abiding sense of Christ present as the object of holy fear in the heart will be a constant readiness to meet inquirers.[6]

*Always.*—At a moment's notice, emphasized afterwards by 'to every man that asketh you.'

*To give an answer.*—Gr. πρὸς ἀπολογίαν, lit. 'for apology,' R.V. 'to give answer.' 'To give an answer' is Tindale's translation, followed by all the English Versions, except Wyclif ('to *do* satisfaccioun'; Purvey, 'to satisfaccioun') and Rheims ('to satisfie') who follow the Vulgate *ad satisfactionem.* Of the modern versions Weymouth[7] has 'to make your defence.' This is the meaning. The answer or apology is strictly a speech made by a prisoner in his defence, and so used of Paul's speech to the hostile Jewish mob at Jerusalem, Ac $22^{1}$; also Ac $25^{16}$ (R.V., 'defence'); and of Paul's defence when tried at Rome, 2 Ti $4^{16}$. So Plato's *Apology* is in the form of a speech made by Socrates in his defence when tried for his life. Later on *Apologia* came to be the title of treatises written in defence of the Christian faith. Hence the science of Christian evidences is styled 'Apologetics.' This verse might serve for its motto.[8]

*To every man that asketh you a reason.*—Cook, 'to any one who asks for an account.' And Mason

[1] W. Bright, *Morality in Doctrine*, p. 306.

[2] 'Our' is a mistake, and is changed in Haydock's Version and in all modern Catholic Bibles into 'the.'

[3] Masterman, *First Epistle of St. Peter.*

[4] W. Bright, *Morality in Doctrine*, p. 309.

[5] Mason, in Ellicott's *N. T. Commentary.*

[6] Cook, in the *Speaker's Commentary.*

[7] *The N.T. in Modern Speech.*

[8] Bennett, in *The Century Bible.*

properly points out that 'ask' is equivalent to demand. It does not mean inquirers about Christian doctrine, but those who call Christians to account for their profession of the gospel hope. Mason thinks that St. Peter refers chiefly to being called into the law court to give account, and that he is probably thinking of our Lord's charge in Lk $12^{11}$. Cook points out that the Greek words for 'answer' (ἀπολογία) and 'reason' (λόγος) are closely related. Lyman Abbott would bring the relation out by translating, 'Be always ready to give a justification to those who ask you to justify the hope that is in you,' or, 'to show a reasonableness of the hope that is in you to those that ask you a reason for it.'[1]

*Of.*—'Of' is here used in the obsolete sense of 'about,' or 'concerning' (R.V.). The same prep. (περί) is translated 'of,' with the same meaning in Ac $5^{24}$, 'they doubted of them, whereunto this would grow'; $15^{6}$, 'the apostles and the elders were gathered together to consider of this matter'; 1 Co $1^{11}$, 'It hath been declared unto me of you.' Cf. the Rhemish translation of Mt $11^{7}$, 'Jesus began to say to the multitudes of John.'[2] The three chief modern versions (Weymouth, Twentieth Century, Lloyd) prefer 'for,' which goes better with 'reason.' But we can still say 'an account of the hope.'

*The hope that is in you.*—Mason takes the hope to be simply Christianity, but Bennett,[3] more particularly, the expectation of the glorification of Christ, of deliverance from sin and suffering, and of admission to the perfect bliss of intimate fellowship with God; an expectation that took shape for a time in the picturesque imagery of an immediate second coming, but was more worthily realized in the future life. To outsiders, the Christian hope was at once the most attractive and the most absurd feature of the faith, and would therefore be a frequent subject of inquiry.

*With meekness and fear.*—A.V., following the Textus Receptus, omits 'but,' which is found in all the best MSS and ancient versions. Of two Greek words so rendered it is the more forcible that is used here (ἀλλά), R.V. 'yet.' Masterman paraphrases, 'but remember.' Meekness in relation to man, fear in relation to God. Meekness is the opposite of assertiveness. In Tit $3^{2}$ it is set over against a contentious spirit, in Gal $6^{1}$ against want of consideration for offenders, in 2 Ti $2^{24}$ against harshness towards opponents. The fear, says Bishop Butler, is that reverential fear which the nature of religion requires and which is so far from being inconsistent with, that it will inspire, proper courage towards men.

[1] *Christian World Pulpit*, xxxviii. p. 200.
[2] *D.B.* iii. 585.
[3] *The Century Bible.*

## II. The Use.

1. Christianity as a Religion of Hope. Our apologia is always an account of the *hope* that is in us. It differs in this respect from all other religions. The religion of Confucius is a religion of memory and duty; the Confucianists reverence, if they do not worship, the memory of their ancestors, and attempt to walk in the same path; but there is no light shining on that path from the future world, and there is no hand stretched out to help and to sustain them from the upper world. The religion of Buddha is a religion of duty; but it is also a religion, if not of despair, of at least a close approximation to despair. Its only message to mankind is that there is no escape from the evil of the world except by escape from consciousness, by extinction; and there is no extinction except by the way of duty. That is not a very hopeful religion. And the religion of the old Stoics, the best of all the religions of ancient Greece and Rome, had in it no hope. It was a religion of courage; a religion of obligation; but the best that the Stoic could say was—'Endure bravely.' He threw no light on the problems of the future. Now and then a glimmer of light shines from ancient philosophy, as in the writings of Socrates; but, for the most part, the religions of paganism, though they may be religions of reverence and of duty and of fidelity and of conscience, are not religions of faith or of hope.[4]

Not many weeks ago I was walking in New York with a brilliant Japanese friend. It was evening, and the moon was shining brightly. My friend called my attention to the fact that in the poetry of Buddhism, the literature of Buddhism, there is almost no reference to the sun, but always to the moon, and he explained the fact by pointing out that the spirit of Buddhism is essentially that of pessimism and sadness, and that naturally the cold, calm moon would be used in literature as a characteristic symbol. On the other hand, he called attention to the almost constant use of the sun as a symbol in Christian literature, and accounted for it by the fact that the inherent spirit of

[4] Lyman Abbott, in *Christian World Pulpit*, xxxviii. 200.

Christianity is that of hopefulness, energy, and courage, and the sun is the natural symbol of such ideas.[1]

1. The Bible is a book of Hope. It never ignores the dark facts of man's history; but it never passes from the description of any of them without hinting at the hope and the promise of a remedy. The story of the Fall has the ray of hope which we call the Protevangelium thrown upon it (Gn $3^{15}$). The flood is followed by the Rainbow promise. Even after the crucifixion the disciples met together in an upper room and were glad. Again and again in the Epistles we come upon some rapturous outburst of hope, until it finds its glorious consummation in the Book of Revelation, and all the Universe rings with the Hallelujah Chorus.[2]

2. Our God is a God of hope. This is St. Paul's deliberate description of Him (Ro $15^{13}$). He means that He is the God of hope for man. And yet He knows what is in man.

O Lord, when Thou didst call me, didst Thou know
  My heart disheartened thro' and thro',
Still hankering after Egypt full in view,
  Where cucumbers and melons grow?
    —'Yea, I knew.'—

But, Lord, when Thou didst choose me, didst Thou know
  How marred I was and withered too,
Nor rose for sweetness nor for virtue rue,
  Timid and rash, hasty and slow?
    —'Yea, I knew.'—

My Lord, when Thou didst love me, didst Thou know
  How weak my efforts were, how few,
Tepid to love and impotent to do,
  Envious to reap while slack to sow?
    —'Yea, I knew.'—

Good Lord, Who knowest what I cannot know,
  And dare not know, my false, my true,
My new, my old; Good Lord, arise and do,
  If loving Thou hast known me so.
    —'Yea, I knew.'[3]

3. The Unspeakable Gift was a gift to hope. 'The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.' Nor is He unaware of the task. He sees a Zacchæus through and through, and He says, 'To-day is salvation come to this house.'

A policeman said to me one day, 'It is a very easy thing for you to have faith in folks, sir; but it is very hard for me.' 'Why so, my friend?' I asked. 'Well,' said he, 'you see the best of folks and you see them at their best: you see them because they are good. But I see folks because they are bad. And when you see nothing but badness it is hard to have any faith in any goodness anywhere.' I sympathized deeply with that man and with thousands who are in like evil case. *It is hard.* But this triumphant hope of Jesus Christ is the hope of One Whose life and work is in relation to sin.[4]

He knows the worth of man as well as his want.

How can we bridge over those gulfs of social differences which sever us from one another, and which seem ever to grow deeper and wider? Alas, to-day it is in this world that Dives and Lazarus are hopelessly shut off from one another. To-day Lazarus cannot reach the rich man's gate—it is too far out in the suburbs; and as for the dogs, they are a great deal too delicately cared for to show the beggar any such delicate attention as that which is recorded concerning those of olden time. It is only in one way that deliverance can come—it is by making the man greater than his position, greater than all his surroundings, that you can bridge these gulfs—thus and thus only. Do we not all remember the words, true, alas! to-day as when they were written?—

But why do I talk of death?
  That phantom of grisly bone:
I hardly fear his terrible shape,
  It seems so like my own.
It seems so like my own
  Because of the fasts I keep:
*O God! that bread should be so dear!*
  *And flesh and blood so cheap!*

Jesus Christ alone has made man worth more than gain or pleasure: and Jesus Christ alone can keep man so.[5]

And He goes to work by the way of hope. 'He shall not cry nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench.'—'Woman, where are thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said, Neither do I condemn thee: go thy way; from henceforth sin no more' (Jn $8^{10.11}$).

As Napoleon was conversing with his officers one day about the great men of antiquity, he turned to one of his suite and asked him: 'Can you tell me who Jesus Christ was?' The officer replied that he had not thought much of those things. 'Well,' said Napoleon, 'I will tell you. I think I understand something of human nature, and I tell you that the heroes of antiquity were men, and I am a man. Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, and myself founded great empires; and upon what did the creations of our genius depend? *Upon force.* Jesus alone founded His empire upon love, and to-day millions would die for Him.'[6]

[1] Cuthbert Hall, in *Christian World Pulpit*, lxi. 348.
[2] See M. G. Pearse, *Short Talks for the Times*, p. 209.
[3] Christina G. Rossetti.
[4] M. G. Pearse, *Short Talks for the Times*, p. 218.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 220.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 223.

2. How do we make this Christian Hope ours? By sanctifying the Lord Christ in our hearts. In the beginning of the Epistle, St. Peter tells us that we have been begotten 'unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead' (1 P $1^3$). Whereupon he adds a practical 'wherefore.' 'Wherefore,' he says, 'gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ' ($1^{13}$). And this hope is to take the form of holiness, 'Because it is written, Ye shall be holy; because I am holy' ($1^{16}$). For the Christian hope, which springs from the resurrection of Christ, becomes ours by the revelation of Christ in our hearts. Now in this revelation we recognize the holiness of Christ, and we ourselves are made holy. Our hearts become fit temples for Christ to dwell in.

We have all of us, I dare say, witnessed the consecration of a church. We have seen the fabric growing from its foundation. We have seen the first stone laid with much ceremony, amidst many hopes and with many prayers. We have passed the place daily, or visited it from time to time, in the interval between that laying of the first stone, which was the dedication of the ground, and that solemn act of inauguration which was the consecration of the finished building. We have seen the walls rise, the arches gradually spring upwards, the roof framed and at last covered, the windows carefully shaped and then filled perhaps with bright colours. All this time the workmen busied themselves within, as they might have done in the construction of a common dwelling. No one thought it irreverent to enter with his head covered: the time for such scruples was not yet. At last the day of consecration arrived. A religious service, of unusual ceremony and devotion, set apart the building for ever to the sole use of God's worshippers, and invoked the perpetual blessing of God Himself upon all who should there assemble in that character to the end of time.[1]

But when Christ comes to dwell in the heart He turns the temple into a sanctuary, a place of refuge. It becomes a sanctuary (1) against apprehended suffering; (2) against persecution; (3) against fear for the future of the Church and the faith.

Let us observe how impressively the Apostle adopts the language of the prophet, who had to cheer up faithful souls in Judah against the time when the waters, as he expressed it, of 'the great Assyrian river' were to spread like a flood over the land of the promised 'Immanuel.' What would then be the only refuge? The truth of which Immanuel's name was the condensation: 'With us is God.' It is not for His servants to be scared by what terrifies the worldly-minded and unfaithful. They must not be shaken like trees under the wind; such fear is for a king and a people who are 'wearying out' the forbearance of their God. No, 'fear not ye what this people fear. The Lord of Hosts, Him shall ye sanctify; let Him be the one object of your fear, let Him be your "living Dread."' Yes, fear to offend Him, and fear nothing else; and then He will be to you for a place of shelter, a sanctuary where you can be safe and at rest, 'hidden from the provoking of all men.' This is the point, that the 'one most holy and saving fear of His displeasure delivers us from all base and earthly fear, from all other fear in the world.' This is why, in other places of Scripture, the fear of man is described as a snare, and worldly fearfulness as a sin, implying as it does that the fear of the Lord is absent. The son of Sirach's 'woe to fearful hearts' is reaffirmed in the Apocalypse, which places 'the fearful' first in the list of the inevitably condemned.[2]

3. The Christian Hope is a Hope for the Christian, and it is a Hope for the World.

1. For the Christian. It carries him back to the creation. The creation of a soul involves immense obligations on the part of the Creator. Accordingly it is the Creator Himself that becomes the Redeemer. And He may be trusted to fulfil in the Christian soul the promise of His first word. He abideth faithful; He cannot deny Himself. The tree of life in the midst of the first Paradise would mock God, as it stands in the first Book of the Bible, if it were not found again in the last Book. 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the Paradise of God' (Rev $2^7$).[3]

I pluck an acorn from the greensward, and I hold it to my ear; and this is what it says to me: 'By and by the birds will nest in me; by and by I will furnish shade for the cattle; by and by I will furnish warmth for the home in the pleasant fire; by and by I will be shelter from the storm to those that have gone under the roof; by and by I will be the great ribs of the great vessel, and the tempest will beat against me in vain while I carry men across the Atlantic.' 'O foolish little acorn! wilt thou be all this?' And the acorn says, 'Yes, God and I.' And so I look out into life, into history, into the story of Christ, and He says to me, 'You are to become a son of God.' And I say, 'I?' 'Yes,' He says, 'you, when I am within you, and you are working out My design and accomplishing My purpose.'[4]

2. For the world. (1) Because the God of hope is a God of love, of love for the world. And (2) because of the actual progress in the world which the gospel of hope has made.

4. We are to be ready always to give an Account of this Hope.

1. An answer is always possible. For (1) the

[1] C. J. Vaughan, *Epiphany, Lent, and Easter*, p. 349.

[2] W. Bright, *Morality in Doctrine*, p. 305.

[3] See J. Newton, *The Problem of Personality*, p. 235.

[4] Lyman Abbott, in *Christian World Pulpit*, xxxviii. 201.

Christian hope is not the suppression of reason. Momerie reminds us that even so wise a man as Bacon was once foolish enough to say, 'The more incredible anything is, the more honour I do God in believing it.' (2) Nor is our hope contrary to reason. It may contain much that the reason cannot comprehend, but in so far as it is true it can contain nothing that is positively contradicted by the reason. Accordingly (3) the revelation in the heart which follows the resurrection, although it is Divine and Supernatural, appeals to the reason and calls for its exercise. And (4) the Object of worship must be a reasonable Object.[1]

2. An answer is a good thing. It yields two benefits. (1) It makes our convictions respected. There is persuasion in the forceful putting of a thought. The effect of words, as of soldiers, can be trebled by their manner of marshalling. And (2) it gives ourselves a firmer grasp of the hope. Our hope becomes resolute when we know with precision what it is and with definiteness why it is. If we are crossing a stream upon a bridge we contemplate with pleasure the broad courses of masonry on which it rests.[2]

There was an island, so runs the fable, in which it was reported that there was buried much gold. Many came and upturned the stones, and, though they never found the gold for which they looked, yet their searching for it prepared a barren soil for the reception of the seeds which the winds and the birds brought, and at last the hidden treasure appeared in olives and grapes. It is in the same way that the Bible and religion are understood to-day as they could not have been if the rationalistic critics of Germany had not worked. Though the Tübingen school have not succeeded in finding the explanation of Christianity for which they sought, they have succeeded in making a great historical field fruitful. Historical faith is to-day greatly indebted to historical scepticism.[3]

5. The Answer must be appropriate to the Occasion. The modern answer must direct itself chiefly against the misuse of science. And it should consist of both attack and defence.

1. The attack. There are several points to which the attack may be directed.

(1) Science, even if it were infallible within its own sphere, leaves much unexplained. (*a*) About Nature. Science has to do with things as they are. She knows not how they came to be. That is beyond her scope. And if you say God made them, she has no data even for a contradiction. Faith and hope say, 'Who knoweth not in all these that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this.' And if the supernatural is admitted at the beginning it must be admitted all through. (*b*) About man. Two things distinguish man from the rest of creation. He can think of God, and he can choose right or wrong. Science can only register the results of these gifts, she cannot account for them. And a science which suppresses what it cannot classify will not long command respect.[4]

(2) Faith in a personal God is more reasonable than materialism. A telegram is not due to the accidental arrangement of particles of matter. It requires machinery. And more wonderful than the machinery is the mind that planned it all. 'The materialistic position,' said Professor Huxley once, 'that there is nothing in the world but matter, force and necessity, is as utterly devoid of justification as the most baseless of theological dogmas.' And Clerk Maxwell said that he had carefully scrutinized all the agnostic hypotheses he knew of, and that they one and all needed a God to make them workable.[5]

(3) Science is here divided against itself. Haeckel and his followers are not the only scientists in the world. Haeckel himself tells us that Wundt is one of the ablest living psychologists in Germany. Yet Wundt abandoned the materialistic position after starting from it. Romanes, the author of *A Candid Examination of Theism* lived to write *Thoughts on Religion*.[5]

(4) Faith leads to nobler service. 'I have never yet,' says Mr. Vine, 'discovered a man who has been saved from moral degradation of any kind by materialistic teaching'; but he adds, 'It would be possible to crowd this great church with those who in this district would without hesitation affirm that the gospel of the grace of God has lifted and saved them.'[6]

2. The defence. There are many arguments.

(1) Man by his nature needs a religion of some kind.

The historian of the French Revolution of ninety years ago describes how, at a certain point in its mad career—when

[1] See A. W. Momerie, *Defects of Modern Christianity*, p. 324.

[2] See C. H. Parkhurst, *The Blind Man's Creed*, p. 30.

[3] E. J. Hardy, *Doubt and Faith*, p. 22.

[4] See Archbishop Thomson, *Life in the Light of God's Word*, p. 265.

[5] See C. H. Vine, in *Christian World Pulpit*, lxxi. 7.

[6] *Ibid.*, lxxi. 7.

all had been done that could by force be done to abolish Christianity; when the churches had been desecrated, and the priests massacred or expelled or driven into hiding—it occurred to the leaders that society could not go on without some kind of religion; and so they proceeded to persuade the National Convention to 'decree' (imagine that!) 'the existence of the Supreme Being,' and 'the consolatory principle of the immortality of the soul,' as 'the basis of rational Republican Religion.'[1]

(2) It must be a religion that recognizes the deepest fact of man's being, his sense of guilt, and that endeavours to remove it.

(3) Christianity alone offers pardon and peace with sufficient means of bestowing them.

(4) Christianity alone gives power to stand.

(5) Christianity alone presents the encouragement of example, the example of One who was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.[2]

6. The Christian Answer must be made in Meekness and in Fear. For (1) no answer is better than a bad answer; (2) an arrogant answer is bad; and (3) an irreverent answer is bad. That is to say, the Christian must fit himself for making his answer by knowing what his hope is, by having sufficient sympathy with man to make his answer acceptable, and by sufficient fear of God to make it true.

Bishop Blomfield used to tell a story of his having been once, late in life, at the University church at Cambridge, and of having seen a verger there whom he remembered when he was himself an undergraduate. The bishop said he was glad to see him looking so well at such a great age. 'Oh yes, my lord,' the man said, 'I have much to be grateful for. I have heard every sermon which has been preached in this church for fifty years, and, thank God, I am a Christian still!' Some of us Christianity repels rather than convinces when 'put into a form that could be written out at examinations, or cross-examined in a court of law. After all the title is more than the title-deeds, and it is when we pierce beneath the surface that we get personal conviction and not the mere external authority of history or literature.[3]

[1] D. J. Vaughan, *Questions of the Day*, p. 177.
[2] See R. Leitch, *The Light of the Gentiles*, p. 146.
[3] E. J. Hardy, *Doubt and Faith*, p. 30.

# Recent Biblical Archaeology.

By Stephen Langdon, M.A., Ph.D., Oxford.

## Letters to Cassite Kings.[4]

This series contains two previous volumes of texts from the Cassite period, namely, vols. xiv. and xv., by Professor Clay, which include contracts, receipts, inventories of public property, lists of salaries for public officials, and various transactions of the state accountants. Fortunately, nearly all of the 300 documents published by Clay could be dated. Clay's contributions to the history of this period enable one to restore the great line of Cassite kings who succeeded *Burnaburiaš* as follows, *Kurigalzu*, *Nazi-maruttaš*, *Kadašman-Turgu*, *Kadašman-Enlil*, *Kudur-Enlil*, *Šagaraktišuriaš*, *Kaštaliašu*. Evidently serious troubles overtook the Babylonian state at the end of this period, for, so far as the archives of Nippur are concerned, Cassite documents cease to be found. Nabuna'id (555–538) found the dedicatory cylinders of only two Cassite kings whose architectural works had survived, and both of these, *Burnaburiaš* and *Šagaraktišuriaš*,[5] belong to the portion of the dynasty restored to us by the brilliant work of Clay. The Cassite dynasty numbered thirty-six rulers, who reigned, according to the Kings' List, 576 years, of which the archives of Nippur and the accidental records of Nabuna'id mention but these eight as of great importance. One of them, Burnaburiaš, was already a familiar figure in history, being made famous by his letter to Amenophis III (?) of Egypt.

Dr. Radau now publishes 99 letters (some merely fragments) from the same period. Although such documents are never dated, yet it is *a priori* probable that, being from the same archives as the

[4] *Letters to Cassite Kings*, by Hugo Radau, Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, vol. xvii. part 1.

[5] Burnaburiaš rebuilt Ebarra of Larsa and Šagaraktišuriaš Eulmaš of Sippar.

texts published by Clay, they belong to the same period, when the affairs of the Cassite dynasty were prosperous. Moreover, many prominent officials in the business records appear as writers or recipients of letters in these new texts. We may therefore concede at once the main point at issue and assign the entire series to the period from *Burnaburiaš* to *Kaštiliaš*, or about 136 years. Radau, building upon the chronological notices of Nabuna'id dates this period 1450–1309, which is a half-century earlier than the dates assigned by Thureau-Dangin, Schnabel, Weisbach, Peiser, and others. The problem of Cassite chronology is notoriously complicated by contemporaneous Egyptian and Assyrian references, as well as by conflicting statements of the Babylonian records.[1] Radau starts with the now generally conceded date of Berosus for Hammurabi, 2130 B.C., and reckons 700 years to the *end* of the reign of Burnaburiaš, according to the Larsa cylinder of Nabuna'id, thus obtaining about 1423 (Radau) for the end of the reign of Barnaburiaš. Hilprecht has found a tablet from the 27th year of this (?) king which would fix his year of accession at 1450. Radau maintains, against the explicit statement of the Synchronous History, that Karaindaš reigned *after* Burnaburiaš, and that Kurigalzu, whom the Nippur archives (*ex silentio*) and the Synchronous History make the son[2] and direct successor of Burnaburiaš, was the son of Karaindaš. Karahardaš, son of *Muballiṭat-Šerua* in the Synchronous History, he identifies with Kadašmanharbe, son of the same in Chronicle P. This identification I accept, and would reservedly admit the comparative accuracy of Nabuna'id.[3] Following Radau also in the statement of the Sippar cylinder of Nabuna'id, who places Šagaraktišuriaš 800 years before his reconstruction of Eulmaš, and reckoning from about 540, one obtains 1340 for the approximate date of the accession of this king, making his date 1340–1327 [Radau, 1331–1318]. I am inclined to accept this reconstruction with our author.

The letters fall into two classes, (*a*) those bearing the address *ana bêli-ia*, 'to my lord,' and (*b*) letters addressed to officials named in the letter. Naturally, a very important question is propounded by the address 'to my lord.' Does this mean the king? If so, why should the royal correspondence be found at Nippur? To be sure, we knew already from the business documents that a large portion of them concerned the *ekal* and the *bîtānu* which Clay had identified with the temple. Radau is clearly right in maintaining that *ekal* means 'palace,' 'royal residence' and both he and Clay are equally wrong in regard to *bîtānu*; Clay translated 'our house,' and Radau propounded the impossible explanation *é-a-nu*, 'temple of *Anu*'; both, however, find a reference to the temple. *E-a-nu*, *E-nu* is certainly the Hebrew בִּיתָן, 'palace,' and a synonym of *ekallu*.[4] The author has brought convincing internal evidence that these letters [1–74] were addressed to the king, one of which actually begins with an honorific hymn, 'To my lord adorned in befitting splendour, offspring of God, who seeketh not punishment, hero,[5] strong and wise, etc.'[6] One, in fact, is written by a king, whom Radau identifies with Šagaraktišuriaš. We can, therefore, entirely agree with the author on this point. He has proven beyond any doubt that Nippur was a favourite seat of the Cassite dynasty, and it is probably due to their cultivated taste that such an important literary collection was found there, just as the great library of Nineveh is due to the good taste of the famous Ašurbanipal, whose scribes copied many tablets at Nippur.

The author indulges, however, in what seems to me some impossible conjectures, and uses a passage of the Chronicle P (p. 75) to prove that *Kurigalzu's* chief residence was not Babylon, but Nippur.[7] In

[1] Schnabel's discussion in *M. V. G.*, 1908, 1, 'Studien zur babyl.-assyr. Chronologie,' appears to be wilfully subjective and often based upon absolute misstatements. For example, the Synchronous History does not say that Ašuruballiṭ revenged the *murder* of Karaindaš, but simply that he revenged him (p. 14).

[2] Radau explains *maru* as 'descendant,' which is of course possible.

[3] I cannot accept Radau's reconstruction of the relationship of these kings. Following the Synchronous History I would give the dynasty thus: *Karaindaš*—1455; *Burnaburiaš* (brother of K.), 1455–1430; *Karahardaš* (son of K.), slain by the Cassites; *Kurigalzu* (son of B.), 1430–1405.

[4] Clay finds occasional reference to a *bît ili*, which is of course the temple, but Radau's texts contain reference to the *ekallu* and *bîtānu* only. 'Temple Archives,' a term applied by Hilprecht, Clay, and Radau to the mound whence came most of their finds, is probably false, and to be replaced by 'Palace Archives.' *ekallu* is occasionally used for 'temple' in the royal inscriptions of the late period; cf. R. i. 51, No. 1, col. 1. 15.

[5] Read *ḳarradi* not *guradi*, also *zeru ša ili* in l. 1, scarcely *zêru ištu šamê*.

[6] No. 24.

[7] In this connexion be it openly stated that Delitzsch's copy of Ch. P, iii. 9, does not warrant in any way the ingenious transliteration on p. 75, n. 1.

the remarkable letter, No. 24, the king's father is called *Nazi-Enlil*. Radau identifies him with *Nazibugaš*, the usurper slain by Ašur-uballit, and makes the king of No. 24 a pretender and contestant for the throne against Kurigalzu. I cannot see why an identification with Nazimaruttaš is more improbable than with Nazibugaš. The king of No. 24 would then be *Kadašman-Turgu*.

The texts are an invaluable addition to the literature of the period, and yield rich philological material. The author has edited several with notes, which show wide reading and a fairly adequate grasp of the vast field of Assyriology. He often goes into the field of religion to expose his theory of a 'Trinity in unity,' namely, 'Father, Son, Mother,' but I fear he will find few adherents to his thesis, at least in its present form. Yet his radical views contain some truth; there is no doubt that the Babylonians developed the idea of a 'Son of God,' who became the active principle of creation. They furthermore personified the 'Word' of God as the virgin mother Ištar, a fact which seems to be unnoticed by Radau. Especially ingenious, and it seems to me sound, is his reading of *KA-DI* (p. 19) as *gusir*, identifying this divinity with Ninib of Dir. He is clearly right against Thureau-Dangin and myself in maintaining that $^{ilu}$*KA-DI* is a male divinity, not a female. I accept also his reading *gusirra* for *gu-nu-ra*, which is of course only a variant of *gusir*. He has likewise shown from letter No. 89 that the temple of Dir was called *Etarkulkalama*.

On the philological side, which after all is the department in which these texts are especially important, the author has made thankful contributions. Of extraordinary value is the phrase No. 40, 8, *mê a-a-u-ti*, 'these waters,' showing that *a-a-u*, *ia-u* can be used as a demonstrative pronoun both in the singular and the plural. So in *ul ia-u amēlu*, 'not is this a human,' in Gilgameš, *Epic*, x. col. iv. 17.[1] This same text [No. 40] proves that Hebrew חֹדֶשׁ, late summer, is connected with Babylonian *ḫarbu*, *ḫarpu*, 'stubble ground,' 'harvested field' (Johns), so to be explained against Radau (p. 130), since the Sumerian word is *šel-gidda*, 'plucked harvest.'

[1] The fem. pl. *aiiti* for *aiiāti*, in R, iv. 60*, 10. It is probable that this demonstrative *āu*, *iau*, etc., is identical with the interrogative adjective (Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, 47*b*). It is likely that Heb., Arab., and Syr. *hu*, *hi*, etc. are directly connected with Babylonian *āu*, *iau*, which is the basis of the Semitic prefix for imperfects, *ia*.

It is the unpleasant task of a reviewer to emphasize the mistakes of an author, and before adding my philological notes, I would express again my great indebtedness to this book. So important did it seem to me that I put aside my own immediate work to read the book, finding it necessary to know the contents.

The author has proposed a new explanation for the Aramaic phonetic reading of *Ninib*, אנושת, which he would divide into *en-usātu*, 'lord of help,' or healing.[2] This seems to me hopelessly impossible, since it is based upon the supposition that Semitic *usātu*, 'support,' is connected with the Sumerian loan-word *asu*, 'doctor,' 'healer' [p. ix]; besides, none of the titles of Ninib emphasize him as 'god of healing.'

Page 9. I quite agree with Radau that *Enlil* was sometimes pronounced *bêl*. Marduk is frequently called *Enlil of the gods* and $^{ilu}$*EN*, i.e., $^{ilu}$*Bêl* is used directly for Enlil in *B.M.*, 81–7–1, 9, line 4 [*P.S.B.A.*, 1889]. *bêlu* means 'Enlil' in Reissner's *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, 80, 14.[3]

P. 20. The reference is Sp. 1, 131, not 331.

P. 26. *ittannašunuti* is probably for *iddan*, etc., from *nadānu*; cf. p. 57, rev. 7; *ḫinnu* means 'hull of a ship,' 'body of a chariot' (*Z.A.* xvii. 193; Johns, *A.D.D.* ii. 117). Radau's text shows that the original was *uḫinu* and a loan-word. The *uḫinu* of stone and gold must have been little relics or ornaments like the *makurru*, 'boat of silver' (*J.A.O.S.*, 27, 299).

P. 35. The derivation of *itû*, 'side' from אתה, 'to see,' is at least questionable.

P. 37. *Šupparšakku* is certainly a loan-word, and can have no Semitic derivation.

P. 39. II. R. 35*a*, 18, 'Ištar of Eridu' (?). It is doubtful whether a divinity is intended by this passage, in a list of words for 'chamber,' 'cell,' etc.

P. 46, l. 3. *Pindu* is the same word as *igin-zu* = *pindu* (*S.A.I.*, 2645), to be derived from ידע, 'to know,' as the Sumerian root *zu* indicates.

[2] Hrozný, *Revue Sémitique*, 1908, 'Ninib und Sumer,' read *en-namaštu*, 'lord of flocks.'

[3] The German excavators found the Aramaic letters NB upon bricks in the outer wall of Babylon, which have been explained as an abbreviation for *Nimitti-Bêl*, the commonly accepted name for the outer wall of the ancient city. If this identification and reading be correct, then *enlil* must be rendered by *bêl* in Semitic in this case, since the name is written without exception *Nimitti-*$^{ilu}$*enlil*.

The Sumerian form *i-gi-in-zu* is exclamatory 'oh know!' hence all the words *abbûna*, *uka*, *la mašil*, etc. (*S.A.I.* 2636–51), are Semitic interjections for 'surely,' 'verily,' 'certainly,' etc.; *pindu* = *wadû*, *windû*, 'the knower,' evidently also an interjection.

P. 47, 5. *Epir ummani paššur niši*, 'food of the artisans,' 'platter of the people.' Radau's interpretation is perfectly correct. A parallel passage is *S.B.H.*, 101, 15. Ištar is the *paššur ubarti ipteru mati; ubartu* means 'underworld' [*S.B.H.*, 118, 53], and *paššur* is explained by Sumerian *banšur*, hence Ištar, 'the platter for the dead,' as goddess who presides over the cult of the dead; see also my *Sumerian-Babylonian Psalms*, p. 11. *ipteru māti*, explained by *kagub kanagga* and *kagub* = *patānu*, hence *ipteru*, 'certainly' = *ipru*, 'nourishment'; cf. *Babyloniaca*, ii. 207.

P. 49, No. 24, 18. Read *ša sar-ra in ga-ti . . . iddinu*, 'which the king gave into my hand.'

Note 1. *Girra* and *gir* in proper names is *girû*, 'opponent.' Ranke, *Personal Names*, 229. Radau's explanation, *gir* = Sum. *gim* is quite impossible.

Note 3. Read *uku-nita* (*Babyloniaca*, i. 289)

P. 52, l. 4. Read *ša-a'-lu-tu-nu* (?).

P. 87. The explanation of *šakanakku* from Semitic *ša* and *kanāku*, 'to seal,' would have to be paralleled by other compositions with *ša*, or otherwise satisfactorily explained (by syns. or Sumerian equivalents).

P. 98, 12. Read *allu*, perhaps 'pick-axe.'

P. 104, 34. The text and context induce *li-ḫi-iṭ* (!).

Note 1, *aššu* for *aššum* would be strange if not impossible.

P. 105, 6. *Adru*, 'court,' is the same loan-word as *aduru* (*Babyloniaca*, ii. 105).

P. 111, 9. Read *tušrîb-šunuti* (?), 'thou shalt cause them to be replaced,' from רוב [conjectural].

P. 119, 16. 'On the second I will commence to gather taxes.' *Kam* can be used only after ordinals, correct also p. 98, 12.

P. 122, 6. *Rukku*, 'empty,' not 'far away.'

P. 123, 10, etc. Read *gušuru*, 'beams'; there is, so far as I know, no reason for identifying $^{šam}PUHUD$-$ŠAR$ or $^{šam}É + AŠ$-$ŠAR$ with a possible (?) $^{giš}PUHUD$.

P. 128, n. 2. Cf. *ûmi maḫāri*, Hrozný, *Briefe aus Ta'anek*, No. 5, 14.

P. 132, 20. Read *lipašir* (?), 'that he may open, free,' etc.

P. 24. The text has *ki*, for *ki-a-am* (?).

P. 26. *Maṭû* cannot mean 'wail,' 'complain,' contrary to Jensen, but 'lack strength,' 'be in dejection.' I would translate, 'that the irrigation fail not.' The meaning of *maṭû* and Sum. *laḫ* = 'fail,' 'be wanting,' is sure (with Delitzsch). Cf. *maṭû* = *ṣiḫru* (K, 2040, 5), *umtaṭi* (ii.[2]), 'becomes less' (*Ham. Code*, 16, 73).

P. 149. *Sin-kara-bi-eš-me*, perhaps for *Itti-sin-karbi-ešme* (!).

# The Life of Faith.

By Professor the Rev. W. W. Holdsworth, M.A., Handsworth.

## Spiritual Life a Spiritual Communion.

We have seen that the life of faith begins with that submission of spirit which lays the heart open to the presence and power of Christ, perfecting in the believer that which He begins when He makes His first appeal to their impotent spirits. We have seen that that act of surrender is followed by a corresponding act on the part of Christ; that He commits Himself to the spirit that has realized 'the obedience of faith.' We may now go on to consider the resultant life, and while this theme may be said to be the central teaching of all St. John's writing, we shall find it put before us in clearest and most continuous form in those chapters of the Fourth Gospel which give us the last discourses of our Lord before His passion, when life imminent had begun to cast the shadow death. The section of the Fourth Gospel which begins with the fifteenth chapter is pre-eminently

that in which life is put before us as a great spiritual communion, and the Saviour concludes His description of its issues by the great prayer in which that life, both in Himself and also in His disciples, was consecrated to the glory of God.

The never-to-be-forgotten sanctities of the Upper Room had now come to an end, and these discourses were spoken during some pause which our Lord must have made in the courts of the temple before He left them for the last time. Over its gates was carved in golden leaf and filament and cluster, a climbing vine. It was the pride and symbol of that spiritual Israel which had lived in vision for many a prophet. It stood for a life fulfilled in fruit; a life realized in that pouring forth of itself whose perfect expression is sacrifice. The symbolism of the vine has been put before us in all but perfect words by Mrs. Hamilton King in 'The Disciples.'

The husbandman comes early with the pruning hooks and shears
And strips it bare of all its innocent pride
And wandering garlands, and cuts deep and sure,
Unsparing for its tenderness and joy.
And in its loss and pain it wasteth not,
But yields itself with unabated life
More perfect under the despoiling hand. . . .
Then comes the vintage, for the days are ripe.
And surely now in its perfected bloom,
It may rejoice a little in its crown,
Though it bend low beneath the weight of it,
Wrought out of the long striving of its heart.
But ah! the hands are ready to tear down
The treasures of the grapes; the feet are there
To tread them in the winepress, gathered in,
Until the blood-red rivers of the wine
Run over, and the land is full of joy.
But the vine standeth stripped and desolate, having given all. . . .
And all the winter-time the wine gives joy
To those who else were dismal in the cold;
But the vine standeth out amid the frost,
The winter through, and next year blooms again
Not bitter for the fulness yielded up,
As fair and fruitful towards the sacrifice,
As if no touch had ever come to it
But the soft airs of heaven and dews of earth;
And so fulfils itself in love once more.

Such had been the ideal of Israel, to bring, by the outpouring of life, the joy of life to all the world. But that ideal had never been fulfilled by Israel, and as He who was the embodiment of all that was true in His nation's life looked upon the emblem, He knew Himself to be its fulfilment. He was the 'true,' the ideal, vine.[1] But having made that which was at once an admission and a claim, the Saviour passes to consider the position of His Disciples. His own relation to them was too close, too intimate, for Him to hesitate. All that He was they were too. For their life stood in Him as His life was to be discovered in them. Their mutual fellowship of faith meant vital union. They were vine and branches, and the flow, the efflorescence, of life in Him was to be shared by them. Nor were they less united in suffering. For them, as for Him, that life was to obtain fulfilment through pain and strife. As branches they were to expect the pruner's knife to cleanse them of the deadly superfluities of life. That cleansing would be due to the power inherent in the revelation which He had given them in Himself. The thought is not so much that His teaching is to be the instrument of their cleansing as that the removal of the superfluous, and therefore dangerous, part of life is the issue of that one revelation given in Christ.[2] So carefully does the Apostle avoid any suggestion of artificiality in the relations between the believer and His Lord. Each effect is the natural issue of an inherent life. The vine had no purpose but the bearing of fruit, and in all that led up to this, and in the actual bearing of the fruit, the sharp sundering knife was to be recognized as accomplishing an essential process. Everything which impaired the bearing of fruit was to be taken away. In his acceptance of the suffering conditional to fruitfulness there was to be discovered the fulfilment of the Father's will, and in the bearing of much fruit the disciple was to prove himself[3] ever more and more the disciple of Christ.

Nor was it any scanty harvest that should follow. That which is common to Christ and

[1] ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή. This seems to be the force of the adjective as distinguished from ἀληθης='real.' See 1 Jn $2^8$, where the two adjectives appear in a connotation that decides in favour of this distinction. The *ideal* light now shineth and reveals that the old commandment has been made new. And this renewing of the commandment is real—belongs to the order of life—both in Him and in you.

[2] καθαροί ἐστε διὰ τὸν λόγον. Not διὰ τοῦ λόγου, which would be instrumental.

Cf. Eph $5^{26}$, καθαρίσας (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι.

See also Westcott on Jn $15^3$.

[3] ἵνα γένησθε ἐμοι μαθηταί, lit. 'that ye may become to me disciples.' Following the reading of BDL.

the believer is no pinched and poverty-stricken life. The same full and overflowing vitality which throngs the pulse, and breaks out in every generous expression of life, the hundredfold return of the one seed which is cast into the ground, will be found in the disciple as it is found in Him who by the outpouring of His own blood has quickened the souls of countless generations of men.

The scanty, stunted fruitage which is the common feature of our life makes our Lord's words of supreme importance to us, 'He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit.' The condition of a fruitful life then lies in this 'abiding in Christ.' What do the words mean? They are not unfamiliar in our modern speech. They have become a formula easily used, and often imperfectly understood. Indeed, it is to be questioned whether we shall ever in this life grasp the idea of a perfect fusion between two personalities, but in those rare moments that come to us when most the spirit life is clearly seen, we may know ourselves so truly one with Christ that His thought becomes our thought, His purpose is the purpose of our life, and our meat and drink is the doing of His will. Sometimes He is so truly one with us that the very thought that some plan or project of ours is contrary to His mind and will is enough to make us that moment cast it from us as something alien and hostile to ourselves. In such moments it is that we know our Lord so close to us that nothing can come between Him and us; it is then that we know Him to be so truly one with us that life apart from Him is no life for us. We live only as He is to us the breath we breathe, the force that actuates in us. There is a beautiful plant that finds its life in the sea. In that great 'element' it lives, and moves, and has its being. So intimate is the connexion between them that we scarce can say whether the plant is in the sea, or the sea in the plant. We lift it from the ocean in which it lives, and in a few moments frond and filament are flaccid in our hands; death has begun already, and we are glad to cast it from us. It lives only so far as it is in the ocean and the ocean in it. But, after all, what can be more suggestive than the figure used by our Lord Himself? Vine and branch in vital union, and between them both one life. One life! That may be fairly grasped and understood. What makes our difficulty is the act that unites man and God. It is the blending of two differing personalities that gives us pause. How is that brought about? What are the conditions of its realization? It cannot be the absorption of the Buddhist. Men cannot finally satisfy themselves with a mental concept which disannuls and dishonours the individuality with which God has endowed them. But the opposite extreme of thought in this connexion is equally unsatisfactory. To take 'life in God' to indicate a mere acceptance of the divine will as something outside ourselves to which we conform, is to empty the words of their true significance. Either of these very different interpretations renders the great truth sterile of that which it is intended to beget. We are saved from both by *a true interpretation of faith.* If faith be the willing submission of the individual spirit to its Lord, then the freedom of the individual is honoured in the act of submission; and our obedience does not become an inevitable sequence obliterating all that made life rich and deep, and divine. Neither does it share the weakness which belongs to the induced sentiment, the enforced compliance. Rather we know that we consciously and willingly —retaining all that has made the honour of our life hitherto—yield ourselves up to be His bond-servants that we may know a true obedience, by each new submission of spirit becoming more truly His.[1] But that act of ours does not stand alone. It is met by a divine response. Faith receives its answer in the divine grace that stoops to the heart thus opened to receive, and God enters into communion with the spirit of man.

Further than this we cannot go. We have entered into the world of spiritual causes, and thought stops short. It is only when we find in the effects of prevailing prayer, of increasing power, of spiritual joy, effects too great to be attributed to any lesser cause that we are made confident, and know that though we cannot explain how the divine and the human can meet and make one life, yet only the fact of that one life sufficiently accounts for the spiritual experience of the saints of God in all ages of the world. We

[1] ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς δούλους εἰς ὑπακοήν δοῦλοί ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε (Ro $6^{16}$). The second relative clause is difficult, but its force will be seen by giving its full value to the present indicative ὑπακούετε. 'His slaves ye are, and continually or increasingly ye obey him.' Godet renders the clause by 'to whom obedience is the order of the day.'

see also that in the appeal for faith the righteousness of God is one with the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,[1] and in the very act in which He is divinely compassionate His imperative demands are most clearly seen, while in the moment in which man obeys he knows that he loves supremely.

There is thus no break in the thought of our Lord when in the closing verses of this passage He passes to speak of love. If life be communion, there is no wonder that love should appear in the thought, for love is communion too. Of this love we have brought before us in the context two thoughts. In the ninth verse its quality is set before us, and in the tenth its object is shown to be our Lord Himself.[2] 'As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you; continue ye from day to day in that love which is my very own, which is of my being, which is myself. As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you.'

[1] *τὴν περισσείαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύουσι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Ro $5^{17}$). The failure to see how both the *χάρις* and the *δικαιοσυνή* might abound together in the one Incarnation may account for the reading *τῆς δωρεᾶς*.

[2] *μείνατε ἐν τῇ ἀγαπῃ τῇ ἐμῃ*. The full force of the tense should be brought out. For *ἡ ἀγαπὴ ἡ ἐμη* as distinguished from *ἡ ἀγαπη μοῦ* in the next verse, cf. *ἡ χάρα ἡ ἐμη* ($5^{11}$) and *ἡ εἰρηνὴ ἡ ἐμη* ($14^{27}$).

See also Westcott *in loc.*

Here our thought is lifted up into that fine air which breathes over the heights sublime of deity. We are in the presence of a love which belongs to the heart of God, a love at which we faintly guess when we speak of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost as making all that we can know when we say that 'God is love.' 'Into that divine communion,' says Christ, 'you enter when you live one life with me by faith. Abide in the love for which I stand.'

But that love is not left in an indefiniteness which would rob it of power, and so its object is declared, and by a swift and subtle change in wording we read that the love with such a quality is to gather round our Lord Himself. 'In simple obedience your love shall find me; if ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in the love of me.'

We began the passage with life, we close it with love. Who shall separate the two? Who shall speak of love save as that perfect communion whose other name is life? How can we speak of life in its highest unless love be its law? Love and Life; they are the great terms of existence whether human or divine. And between them lie the high effects of purity, of obedience unto death, of heavy fruitage breaking the bough that bears it, of sacrifice. 'Abide in me,' saith the Christ.

# Literature.

## *MYSTICAL RELIGION.*

Studies in Mystical Religion. By Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. (*Macmillan.* 12s. net.)

There is no evidence that the knowledge of Mysticism is at all general yet. But the desire to know must be general. Of that the evidence is abundant. In a steady stream, month after month, great volumes about Mysticism are published. Either the same men must read several volumes in their desperate desire to know, or else the number of readers must now be very large to give every book a chance. It seems as if ecclesiastical religion had lost its attractiveness, and mystical religion were going to have its day. It is not Mysticism as a philosophy, but Mysticism as a religion, that is so popular now as a study or a pastime. The books that have been published have been written by professors of religion. And the subject has been presented as it appeals to different religious communities. Dr. Inge would not deny that he gave us the Anglican view. Mr. Waite might be credited with the unattached attitude. Baron von Hügel, with great ability, has appeared as the exponent of the historical mysticism of the Roman Catholic Church. Professor Rufus Jones is a Quaker.

There is no body of Christian people, not even the Roman Catholic Church, that has a better right to representation than the Friends. For if the mystical chamber is a House of Lords in which

ancestry gives the right to a place, it is also a House of Commons. The member must have his constituency and the confidence of it, but he must obtain his seat because he is himself a mystic, because he is one for whom Mysticism has done something, one who has done something for Mysticism. Professor Jones is himself a mystic, first because he is a representative Quaker, and next because of Mysticism he has freely received and has freely given. This is a great book. It is not surpassed by the representative book of any other denomination. It is the work of a man whom Mysticism has made great, and who now rejoices to magnify Mysticism.

And for the uninitiated it is the easiest of all the volumes that have been published, and it is the most interesting. The method of it is the historical. The best method. And the history is written not from without but from within. It is not a record of events or of the phenomena of life. It is a report of life itself, of the close walk with God, by one who has himself lived that life and is living it now; by one who is walking and talking with God in the cool of every day. Professor Jones has the historical gift. His chapters on the Anabaptists will stand comparison even with the epoch-making estimate of Principal Lindsay. Not less faithful to the facts, he might be credited with a clearer consciousness of the Anabaptist intention and ideal.

## *MOMMSEN'S PROVINCES.*

THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM CÆSAR TO DIOCLETIAN. By Theodor Mommsen. New Edition. (*Macmillan.* Two Vols. 21s. net.)

Mommsen may have done greater services to scholarship than the service he did by writing the *History of Rome.* But it is his *History of Rome* that has made him known in the world, and it is by the *History of Rome* that his name will be carried down to the coming generations. As Spenser is the poet's poet, Mommsen is the historian's historian; and it is probable enough that future generations will benefit by his labours, not so much directly as through the works of other historians, to whom he is both a source of information and the breath of inspiration. The *History of Rome* was published in two parts. First came the *History of the Republic* in 1854–55, in three volumes. It was translated by Professor W. P. Dickson, and issued in five volumes in English in 1862–66. Then in 1885 appeared the fifth volume of the German original, containing the *History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire, from Cæsar to Diocletian.* Mommsen seems never to have intended to write the history of the period which would have occupied the fourth volume. He held that that part of Roman history had been so fully described by the Roman historians themselves that the modern historian could do nothing more than reproduce their narrative. Still he called the new volume the fifth, leaving the gap visible. The fifth volume was also translated by Professor Dickson, and was issued in two English volumes in 1886. It is of these two volumes that we have now the new edition.

The new edition has been edited by Dr. F. J. Haverfield, Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. As the work is stereotyped, Dr. Haverfield has been somewhat restricted in his revision. But some revision was necessary, and indeed has been urgently called for all these years. For the translation of Mommsen's fifth volume was neither so happy nor so accurate as the translation of the first three. Dr. Haverfield in his introduction recalls some well-known but altogether unaccountable mistranslations. He claims that at least the glaring mistakes have been rectified. But as the alterations run into several hundreds, and as account has been taken of the changes which Mommsen himself introduced into the original German down to the fifth and last edition of 1904, it is easy to see that this new edition supersedes the old. It is quite worthy of the book. Though still without the easy flow of the translation of the Republic, it is good English reading, and it is a reliable representation of what Mommsen really believed and wrote.

It is even more than that. Professor Haverfield has added Notes to the chapter on Britain. They are not merely notes of an English writer with a special interest in that chapter, but also of one who is a master of the subject, and whose notes do no disgrace even to the brilliant work of Mommsen.

## *THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS.*

THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE. By T. R. Glover. (*Methuen.* 7s. 6d. net.)

This month, as noted on another page, there is published a translation of the *History of the Early*

*Church*, by a distinguished Roman Catholic scholar. The book before us is the work of a distinguished Free Churchman. Though their purpose is not identical, the two authors cover the same ground, and in their judgments cross and recross one another continually. And we could scarcely conceive a more profitable exercise than the reading of these two works together. Mr. Glover is just as well equipped as Mgr. Duchesne. He is quite as loyal to the truth; he is quite as disinterested in the search for it. But he is more interested in men, Duchesne in movements. He is more concerned for the liberty of the sons of God, Duchesne for the continuity of the Catholic Church. The things which appeal to Mr. Glover are human things. He does not forget that Jesus of Nazareth is also the Lord of Glory. But he is himself most closely drawn by Jesus of Nazareth, and almost seems to think it possible that the manger in Bethlehem had sufficient potentiality in it to yield at last a Christian Church which would cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

Mr. Glover must be supplemented. We have already said so, and suggested Mgr. Duchesne. He is not theological enough; he is too fascinating, he is too human. The subject of his fourth chapter is Jesus of Nazareth. When he comes to speak of Judas Iscariot in that chapter, he shows that what impresses him most is the inconvenience, the irksomeness, to Jesus, of the presence of Judas after the discovery of his disaffection. 'What this man's constant presence must have meant to Jesus, ordinary experience may suggest. Shrewd, clever, and disappointed, he must have been a chill upon his Master at all hours.'

His leaning to the human has sometimes perhaps to be corrected, not merely supplemented. In the interview with the Syro-Phœnician woman, the Evangelists tell us that it was Jesus who first referred to the dogs eating the crumbs. Mr. Glover would set the Evangelists, at least as we now have them, right. 'I believe that the allusion to dogs has been thrown back into Jesus' words from the woman's reply, and that she was the first to mention them.' And he bids us note Mark's emphatic phrase 'for this word' ($7^{29}$).

And, more dangerously, he says that Jesus died with the cry—'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?' He did so, he says, because 'the worn-out frame dragged the spirit with it.'

But what a book it is for interest. Has Mr. Glover begun his *Life of Christ* yet?

## *THE NEW SEPTUAGINT.*

The Old Testament in Greek. By A. E. Brooke, B.D., and N. M'Lean, M.A. (*Cambridge University Press.* 12s. 6d. net.)

This is perhaps the most important of the publications of the month. It is the second part of the new Septuagint. Let the title be recorded in full: *The Old Testament in Greek*, according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other Uncial Manuscripts, with a critical Apparatus containing the Variants of the chief ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Edited by Alan England Brooke, B.D., Fellow and Dean of King's College, and Norman M'Lean, M.A., Fellow of Christ's College, University Lecturer in Aramaic. Vol. i. 'The Octateuch'; Part II. 'Exodus and Leviticus' (12s. 6d. net).

Now there is not much that can be said about the new part beyond what was said about the First Part of the work when it appeared. The editors themselves do not say much. They tell us, however, that from the beginning of this part the readings of the Roman MS. numbered 108 by Holmes and Parsons have been given, and that the New Testament evidence has been more fully presented. The full text of the New Testament quotations has been printed, so that a comparison between the wording of the Septuagint and the wording of the New Testament quotation can be made at a glance.

But there is a more important matter to which the editors direct our attention. This is a critical edition of the Septuagint, and no student is equipped without it. There is nothing like it, indeed, in literature, or likely to be. But the editors tell us that it is no part of their business to construct the best possible *text* of the Septuagint. For that the reader must go to Swete's edition. They have accordingly adopted some readings for the sake of shortening their notes, without themselves thinking that they are the best readings.

It is unnecessary to add that the very latest literature has been made use of, including the new volume of *Horæ Semiticæ*, by Mrs. Lewis, which was published only a month ago.

At the end of the introduction credit is given at

last to the late Dr. H. A. Redpath that is something like adequate to the work he did. At last, we say; for it has been too long delayed. Who is to take his place in the great project of a Dictionary of Patristic Greek? He had planned it and had engaged co-workers on it before he died. Who will encourage and direct them now?

### *SIX OXFORD THINKERS.*

SIX OXFORD THINKERS. By Algernon Cecil, M.A. (*Murray*. 7s. 6d. net.)

The Six Oxford Thinkers are Edward Gibbon, John Henry Newman, R. W. Church, James Anthony Froude, Walter Pater, Lord Morley of Blackburn. They stand in a certain succession. It is not an ecclesiastical succession, apostolical or other. It is rather the succession of the revolutionary. For in our habit of wide generalizations we are now able to understand that even revolutions work by cause and effect and probably as accurately as gravitation. But Mr. Cecil does not greatly trouble himself to work out the succession. He writes six readable sketches of six men of letters who are all associated with Oxford, and lets them stand in order.

Only twice do the sketches reach distinction. In the one case it is the distinction of admiration, in the other of discontent. The one is Dean Church; the other is Lord Morley. Mr. Cecil disapproves of Lord Morley because he is a Liberal, and the sketch is vitiated. But the sketch of Church is admirable. He speaks of Church's style. Church himself says somewhere that there are two great styles—the self-conscious and the unconscious, or, in other words, the style of Gibbon and Macaulay, and the style of Swift and Pascal and Newman. Church's style is the unconscious. And then Mr. Cecil says: 'Among his University Sermons on *Human Life and its Conditions* there are some whose restrained beauty and mystic intensity are not surpassed by anything that Newman ever wrote.'

He holds that Church 'possessed that marvellous quality of reserve, which sets so wide a gulf between the manner of Christ and the manner of St. Paul. As he says of Newman, so of himself, it is true that "he did not try to draw men to him. He was no proselytizer; he shrank with fear and repugnance from the character—it was an invasion of the privileges of the heart."'

He says that the word 'awful,' restored for once to its proper meaning, was constantly on the lips both of Newman and of Church; and it was, as it seemed to those who watched him, under the shadow of a great awe that Church passed through the last weeks of his life here.

He quotes Church's saying: 'Our Lord came among us, not to clear up perplexity, but to show us which side to take.'

## Among the Books of the Month.

Mr. Allenson has published two volumes of sermons for children, and republished one volume. The republished volume is Mr. J. A. Hamilton's *A Mountain Path* (2s. 6d.). Why does not Mr. Hamilton, who has the gift so supremely, give us more? But the new books are by children's preachers also—*Little Sermons to the Children*, by the Rev. R. C. Gillie, M.A. (1s.), and *In God's Orchard*, by the Rev. James Learmount (3s. 6d.).

Mr. Allenson has also issued a volume of pulpit illustrations called *Parables and Pictures* (2s. 6d.). They are gathered by James S. Drummond. Where has he got them? He should have given the book and the page of it every time. Some are new and some are old, but the point is always obvious. Take these two for sample:

'Admiral Dupont was once explaining to Farragut the reason why he failed to enter Charlestown Harbour with his fleet of ironclads. He gave this reason and that reason and the other reason; and Farragut remained silent until he had got through, and then said, "Ah, Dupont, there was one more reason." "What is that?" "You didn't believe you could do it."'

'An American once wrote to the editor of a newspaper: "Sir, I ploughed my field on a Sunday, I planted and reaped it on a Sunday, and this October my crop is the best in the district." The editor inserted the letter, and added a footnote: "God does not always settle His accounts in October."'

But Mr. Allenson's great book this month comes from America. It is a complete treatise on Theology and Ethics; and the theology is both Biblical and Systematic, and the Ethics is both theoretical and practical. The title is *Man Preparing for other Worlds* (6s.). The author is Mr. W. T. Moore, M.A., LL.D., the same, if we

mistake not, who once was editor of the *Christian Commonwealth*. But that was before the days of Mr. R. J. Campbell and the New Theology. Dr. Moore's theology is not new. Better than that, it is old and tried, and it is held with a conviction and sincerity that make the account of it a delight to read in spite of the multitude of words which the book contains and the many long quotations.

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From the American Baptist Publication Society there comes the third and last volume of President A. H. Strong's *Systematic Theology* ($2.50 net). And now that we have the third volume, with its exhaustive, accurate, and ideal set of indexes, we are more than ever impelled to say that as a storehouse of material on every aspect and department of Systematic Theology there is nothing in the English language like this book. Moreover, the material is sifted. It is selected and sifted and set forth clearly. It is a library in itself, and will save the buying of many books.

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Messrs. Bagster have published a little volume of *Studies in the New Testament*, by W. T. Lynn, B.A., F.R.A.S. (1s. 6d. net). They are chiefly on the Parables, Miracles, and the Chronology.

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The new volume of *Horæ Semiticæ* is a transcription of *Codex Climaci Rescriptus* (Cambridge University Press; 10s. 6d. net), made by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., D.D., LL.D., Ph.D., with seven facsimiles. This codex contains Fragments of Sixth Century Palestinian Syriac Texts of the Gospels, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of St. Paul's Epistles, together with Fragments of an Early Palestinian Lectionary of the Old Testament. It is a contribution to our knowledge of Christian Aramaic literature. Mrs. Lewis looks forward to the time when the whole of the New Testament in this ancient version will be in our hands. When that happy time arrives her name will not be forgotten. She tells the romantic story of the purchase of the MS., and she dedicates the volume to Mrs. Gibson—Animae Dimidio Suae Sorori Gemellae.

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It is some time since we have seen the name Fausset in Biblical literature. It was once very familiar. It appears now as W. Yorke Fausset, M.A., Rector of Timsbury and Prebendary of Wells, and as the name of the author of an edition of Novatian's *De Trinitate* (6s. net), a volume of the Cambridge Patristic Texts.

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But we must hasten to the last and most welcome of all the volumes which the Cambridge Press has issued. It is a *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, according to the Septuagint, by Henry St. John Thackeray, M.A. (8s. net). It is not a complete grammar. It is the first of two volumes. It contains the introduction, orthography, and accidence. Some account of its contents is given on another page. It is enough to say here that Mr. Thackeray has supplied one of the ugliest gaps in our bookshelves, and that he is of all men the man to supply it.

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Quite unconsciously, and therefore very significantly, the Principal of Hackney College and the Bishop of Durham have been moving in thought towards identical conclusions, and have been expressing themselves identically. Principal Forsyth has spoken at the annual meetings of the Congregational Union, Bishop Moule in a volume entitled *Faith* (Cassell; 3s. 6d.). Have you read Dr. Forsyth? Then listen to these words of Bishop Moule: 'Very little is said now in the sense of that memorable answer to the question, "What is the chief and highest end of man?"—"*To glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.*" It would seem to be assumed that rather God exists for man than man for God; that the highest aim of man is to realize himself, and that the work, I had almost dared to say the duty, of God is to enable man to do so.'

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To your library of bibliography add Gomme's *Index of Archæological Papers*, published in 1907 (Constable), remembering that, while ordinary books fall, books in bibliography rise, in value with the years.

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Mr. Culley is making the Wesleyan Book-Room one of the most active publishing offices of our time. He has just projected a new series, which he calls the 'Finsbury Library'—thick good-looking volumes to be sold at 1s. net. Already six volumes have been issued of the Library, among them inevitably the Journal of John Wesley.

Mr. Culley has also added a volume to his 'Library of Methodist Biography.' *William*

*Bramwell, Revivalist*, by the Rev. C. W. Andrews, B.A., B.D. (1s. net.).

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Messrs. Dent have laid the student of the history of religion under a great obligation by issuing a translation of Count Lützow's *Life and Times of Master John Hus* (12s. 6d. net). The translation has life in it, not only making us forget that it is a translation, but carrying us along in its vigorous movement as only rarely a book even written in English does. Then it is a handsome volume, beautifully printed, and furnished with all the necessary pictures and plans.

Count Lützow believes in Hus. There is no giving with one hand that he may take back with the other. He admires Hus as a man greatly. He believes heartily in the Hussite movement. And just because he is in sympathy with Hus and the Hussites he has been most particular to verify everything by the original documents and to test his own conclusions by the conclusions of other historians.

Count Lützow's *Hus* is to be regarded as one of the great contributions to historical biography. Place it beside Köstlin's *Luther*. It restores a great man to his place in the world; it vindicates the originality and the blessing of a great movement.

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It may be a good, or it may be a bad, but it is a highly significant sign of the times that an Edinburgh publisher has determined to run the risk of a complete translation into English of the works of Friedrich Nietzsche. The edition will extend to eighteen volumes. The publisher is Mr. T. N. Foulis, Frederick Street.

Four volumes have been issued. *Thoughts out of Season* appears in two volumes, each 2s. 6d. net, the first volume being translated by Anthony M. Ludovici, the second by Adrian Collins, M.A. Of this book the first impression consists of a thousand copies, and each copy is numbered. *Beyond Good and Evil* is issued in a single volume (3s. 6d. net). It is a reprint of Helen Zimmern's translation. It is described as the second edition of 2000 copies, and again each copy is numbered. The fourth volume is the *Birth of Tragedy* (2s. 6d. net). Each copy is numbered of a first edition of 1500 copies. The translator is William A. Haussmann, Ph.D. The general editor is Dr. Oscar Levy; who else could it have been? Now we have often been told that we must read Nietzsche, and some of us have begun to read him. We have also been told in what order his books should be read. But the order is not of so much account as some grandmotherly reviewers seem to think. There are only a few who will ever be able to read Nietzsche, only a few even of those who take some interest in the problems of life and philosophy; and it is better to leave them to happen upon him as they will or miss him altogether. Of the few who read Nietzsche only a minority will get any real good out of him. The rest will simply be lifted up with pride.

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The Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford has a captivating command of language, sometimes recalling even the daring liberties of Professor William James. For Dr. Stewart is also from America. Well, his new book needs all the gift of fascinating writing which he possesses. For it is an exposition of *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas* (Clarendon Press; 6s. net), a subject of surpassing difficulty and elusiveness. Dr. Stewart divides his book into two parts. The first part contains the doctrine of ideas as a contribution to methodology; the second part contains that doctrine as expressing æsthetic experience. The first is the more difficult part of the exposition, and in it Professor Stewart handles the Dialogues separately. The conclusion he comes to is that the 'idea' of a virtue is, in Plato's language, its *context*. Thus the idea of courage is stated when the virtue so-called is defined in relation to the part which it plays in the Social System—when its 'final cause,' or 'use,' is set forth—when the standing need which it meets, and the particular manner in which it meets that need, have been fully explained.

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Mr. Frowde is the publisher of the *Church Hymnary*, which we may now have from him, clearly printed and complete, for 1d. net.

He is also the publisher of the *Scofield Reference Bible*. This is an edition of the Bible according to the Authorized Version, which contains a new system of connected topical references to all the greater themes of Scripture, with Annotations, Revised Marginal Renderings, Summaries, Definitions, and Index. It is edited by the Rev. C. I. Scofield, D.D., aided by others, among whom we observe Dr. A. T. Pierson.

Its virtue lies in the value of the topical references. They are footnotes and they are quite few. Here is one of them. It is given at the first occurrence of the name of Balaam (Nu $22^5$).

'Balaam is the typical hireling prophet, seeking only to make a market of his gift. This is "the *way* of Balaam" (2 P $2^{15}$), and characterizes false teachers. The "*error* of Balaam" (Jude 2) was that he could see only the natural morality—a holy God, he reasoned, *must* curse such a people as Israel. Like all false teachers he was ignorant of the higher morality of vicarious atonement, by which God could be just and yet the justifier of *believing* sinners (Ro $3^{26}$). The "*doctrine* of Balaam" (Rev $2^{14}$) refers to his teaching Balak to corrupt the people whom he could not curse (Nu $31^{16}$, with Nu $25^{1-8}$ and Ja $4^4$). Spiritually, Balaamism in teaching never rises above natural reasonings; in practice, it is easy world-conformity.'

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Mr. Francis Griffiths continues the publication of 'Essays for the Times.' Here are the titles of some of the new issues; *The 'Fioretti' and the Gospels*, by Charles J. Shebbeare, M.A.; *The True Place of the Holy Sepulchre*, by 'Peladan'; *The Roman See in the First Centuries*, by William Ernest Beet, M.A.; *The Mystery of Mysticism*, by the Rev. A. W. Hopkinson, M.A.; *The Science of Religion*, by the Rev. Henry D. A. Major, M.A.

Mr. Griffiths has also begun a series of 'Primers for Bible Students,' and a further series on 'English Revolutionary Leaders.' Then he has published another volume of the 'Biblical Illustrator,' edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. It completes the Book of Isaiah. These are all up-to-date publications. Even the Biblical Illustrator takes account of the most recent volumes of homiletic literature.

But the most modern book in Mr. Griffiths' list this month is an anonymous volume with the innocent title *Is Death the End?* (3s. net). It is said to be by 'a well-known writer,' and that is not by any means impossible, for not only popular writers but even writers of ability and scholarship lose their heads and begin to drivel when they accept as evidence for a life after death that which comes from the hand of a spiritualistic medium. Of the two things which this well-known writer says the Society for Psychical Research has done, namely, that it has demonstrated the fact of hypnotism and established the truth of telepathy, no one is in doubt; but neither is any one in doubt that neither that Society nor this book furnishes any proof whatever that 'the dead commune with the living.'

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Four volumes have been added to Harper's 'Library of Living Thought' (2s. 6d. net each). One of the volumes is a translation, made by the Headmaster of Plymouth College, of Professor Becker's *Christianity and Islam*. Professor Becker says that there are three reasons for comparing Christianity with Islam. The missionary may consider that it will increase the efficacy of his proselytizing work; the ecclesiastic may look for proofs of the superiority of Christianity in the interests of Apologetic; the historian may wish to understand the influence which the one religion has exerted on the other in order to add to the scientific knowledge of the world. Professor Becker himself wishes to add to the scientific knowledge of the world. He sits pretty loose to the doctrines of Christianity, and even to what are generally considered its facts. But he is a good scholar and fair-minded. The air he asks us to breathe is somewhat thin, but if we can breathe it it may be bracing.

Another volume is a translation of Wrede's *Origin of the New Testament*. The translation is made by the Rev. James S. Hill, B.D.

The latest addition is in two volumes. It is a translation of *The Life of the Universe* of Dr. Arrhenius of the Nobel Institute in Stockholm, Dr. H. Borns being the translator. It is a complete history, and by a master hand, of the progress of Astrology and Astronomy from the dawn of knowledge to the present day. And although it is brief, for so vast a subject, there is no difficulty in the reading of it, and it has something to teach even the best instructed astronomer. There are a few illustrations throughout the pages.

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Professor Kent of Yale has begun the issue of a series of volumes which are meant to be companions to the volumes of his Student's Old Testament. They are not to be companions on an equality, however, but rather squires to those nobler knights. Perhaps they will simply be taken to be short popular summaries of those great scholarly volumes; and if so they will not be taken altogether amiss. The general title is 'The Historical Bible.' Two volumes are

published, one entitled *The Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History*; the other, *The Founders and Rulers of United Israel* (5s. net each). The publishers in this country are Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have also published a new volume by Mr. G. H. Pember. Its title is *The Great Prophecies of the Centuries concerning the Church* (7s. 6d.). It is a supplement to the volume on *The Great Prophecies of the Centuries concerning Israel and the Gentiles*. It is, in short, an examination of the literature of the New Testament in the interests of prophetic interpretation.

Mr. Pember, it has to be admitted, is now quite away from the main stream in which the interpretation of Scripture flows. This is nowhere seen more evidently than in his treatment of the Apocalypse. For him Bousset and Gunkel do not exist, nor even Sir William Ramsay. He finds no use for them. Is it possible, then, that fruitfulness follows where his own little river flows; or has it become at last visibly and unmistakably a stagnant and unrefreshing pool? We may readily admit that much of what Gunkel and Bousset have written will pass away. But for the present, the student of the Apocalypse, and of the New Testament generally, should read Professor Swete, who represents all that is sober-minded in interpretation and is a whole continent apart from Mr. Pember.

Another volume issued by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton comes from the pen of the accomplished author, Mr. Joseph Compton-Rickett. Its title is *Origins and Faith* (6s.). In all that Mr. Compton-Rickett writes there is pleasure, pleasure for us, pleasure, we should think, for almost everybody. This is an essay of reconciliation. And the only fault that we have to find with it is that it secures its reconciliation by not ploughing too deep. On the greatest subjects, such as the doctrine of the Atonement, it does not go deep enough. Certainly the doctrine of reconciliation by the blood of Christ was and is something more than a concession to Jewish ceremonialism. Reconciliation by blood was a deep fact in the heart of the Jew, and it has had a universal response in the heart of the Gentile when the Gentile has had strength enough, of heart and of will, to make the response.

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Professor W. H. Bennett has written the volume on *Old Testament History*, and Professor R. Mackintosh the volume on *Christian Ethics*, for Dr. Adeney's 'Century Bible Handbooks' (Jack; 1s. net each). Professor Mackintosh retains the title 'Christian Ethics' deliberately. He does not believe, with Dorner, that, as general philosophical Ethics ripens, separate treatment of Christian Ethics must fade away. Nor does he believe, with Herrmann, that philosophical Ethics knows what right is, while Christian Ethics knows and does what is right. Dr. Mackintosh holds that the philosopher may never be able to say 'the love of Christ constraineth us,' and that we have no right to make him say so.

But have we no right? If we ourselves must say so, and Dr. Mackintosh says we must, is it not equally our duty to get other men to say so? And is it not our duty to hold their work to be inferior and incomplete until they do say so?

Of the books on Christian Ethics in existence Professor Mackintosh seems to be most drawn by Dr. T. B. Kilpatrick's book on *Christian Character*—'probably the best thing on Christian Ethics in our language for zeal and enthusiasm.'

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The first volume of the *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology* issued by the University of Liverpool is now complete. It contains the four parts separately published. The editor is Professor J. L. Myres, with whom have collaborated some of the most distinguished archæologists of our day.

The volume as a whole obtains value chiefly from the fact that it is a record of the most important discoveries brought up to date. Contributions are often very brief, but sufficient, and they are made by the men and women who are on the spot. The letterpress and the illustrations are both admirable.

The fourth part contains an account by Mr. John Garstang of the excavations at Sakje-Geuzi in North Syria, an authoritative account and the most accessible that we have in English. Sakje-Geuzi is a small village at the foot of the Qurt-Dagh range, lying in a valley that is shut in by that range on the east, and by the Giaour-Dagh range on the west. It is only a few hours distant from Sinjirli. The mounds with which the whole district is strewn are due, Mr. Garstang has no doubt, to the desire of the people to live as high as possible above the marshy plain. Professor Sayce believes that the sculptures which have

been found in these mounds are the work of the Hittites of North Syria, dating between the campaign of Assur-nazir-pal in 880 B.C. and the conquests of Tiglath-Pileser III. about 730 B.C. Mr. Garstang agrees with this opinion.

We have touched on but one of the articles; we strongly recommend the whole work.

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Armitage Robinson's Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, published in 1903, has superseded all other commentaries. We are not sure that it did not prevent Westcott's Commentary, which was published three years later, from being seriously considered. It consists of two parts. The first half of the book is occupied with a running exposition, interspersed with paraphrase. The second half contains the Greek of the Epistle, with word for word exposition in double columns below, as we are familiar with it in Lightfoot. For the student ignorant of Greek the first part is the more profitable, and that part has now been published separately. The title is *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians: An Exposition* (Macmillan; 2s. 6d. net).

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Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published uniformly the autobiography of a Missionary, with the title *This is my Story*; and an outline study of the Apocalypse, by H. W. Mackintosh, with the title *Things to Come* (1s. net each).

They have also issued *The Hebrew Christian and his National Continuity* (1s. 6d. net), a real contribution to a subject of immense consequence, the question, whether a Jew may become a Christian and yet remain a Jew. The author is Mr. Philip Cohen, a Jewish missionary in South Africa.

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There are now three independent and admirable versions of the New Testament in modern English —Lloyd's, which is the latest and most conservative; Weymouth's, which is enjoyed for its scholarship and choice of the middle way; and *The Twentieth Century New Testament*, which is the only one that is written in modern speech, without consideration for the feelings of the antiquarian. *The Twentieth Century New Testament* must be got in its revised edition, which was issued in 1904. And that revised edition should, if possible, be had in the handsome form in which it has just been issued by its enterprising publishers, Messrs. Horace Marshall & Son (5s. net).

It is a long, long time since we have had a monograph of any magnitude on St. John. For the difficulties are enormous, and they are round us yet on every hand. But we cannot wait till science settles this and that book's date before we begin to preach, and we are thankful when a sufficiently furnished scholar has the courage to write a biography of St. John to tell us at least where we stand. The author is the Rev. C. E. Scott-Moncrieff, D.D., Vicar of Blyth, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Southwell, unmistakably a scholar with a knowledge of the literature, with a knowledge also that there is something deeper in St. John than the literature touches. He covers the whole ground, and gives his book the title of *St. John, Apostle, Evangelist, and Prophet* (Nisbet; 4s. 6d. net).

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The new volume of the 'Westminster New Testament' is *Thessalonians and Corinthians* (Melrose; 2s. net). The author is Professor Robert Mackintosh of Manchester. Dr. Mackintosh has not been allowed much space for these Epistles, but he seems to be one of those beings who thrive best in confinement. His exposition often consists of a single alternative word, and that alternative word is enough. When the new translation of the Bible is projected Professor Mackintosh should have a seat on the committee.

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When you call at the bookseller's for some little book to give to a friend, whether it is for a young man or an old woman, ask first of all for a volume of Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier's 'Living Thoughts' series. They are beautifully got up, they cost but sixpence each, and they have been chosen by some one who has made a conscience of it, every one of them having the literary gift which makes them readable and the spiritual insight which makes them profitable. The new volume is by the Rev. Harrington C. Lees, M.A. Its title is *When Jesus Came*.

The convert to Christianity is nearly always now a remarkable man or woman. Among the uncivilized races there are still converts, crowds of them sometimes, thank God, that are just ordinary men and women. But in civilized countries the convert who owns to his conversion is so marked a man that he must be a remarkable man. Such a man was the Rev. Dhanjibhai Nauroji, the first modern convert to Christianity from the Zoroastrian

religion. How remarkable he was, how modest and how brave, and what Christ did for him may be read in a book called *From Zoroaster to Christ* (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier; 2s.). It is a brief autobiography, edited by Dr. Mackichan of Bombay.

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What is the best antidote to Christian Science? It is not exposure of its innumerable absurdities. For that has been done many a time, and the oftener it is done, the more Christian Science seems to thrive. Perhaps the Emmanuel Movement will be its antidote. The Emmanuel movement began a year or two ago in Boston. It takes all that is good in Christian Science and rejects all that is evil. Dr. Worcester and Dr. McComb, collegiate ministers of Emmanuel Church there, are at the head of it. They work along with the medical men, by whom every case of illness is first diagnosed. A reliable account of the movement may be found in a book called *The Emmanuel Movement in a New England Town*, written by L. P. Powell, Rector of St. John's Church, Northampton, Mass. (Putnam; 5s. net).

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We are commanded to be ready always to give an answer to every man who asks us a reason of the hope that is in us. Dr. Horton has obeyed the command unreservedly in *The Triumph of the Cross* (R.T.S.; 1s. net).

In the Devotional Commentary (also published by the R.T.S.), *Genesis* has been done by Dr. Griffith Thomas. It has been done in three volumes; the third volume has just reached us. Here as everywhere else, and he is a prolific writer, Dr. Griffith Thomas always writes so that you are compelled to read him (2s.).

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Messrs. Sands & Co. are the publishers in this country of a little book which explains, 'for Catholic book lovers and students,' *The Roman Index of Forbidden Books*. The author is Francis S. Betten, S.J.

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Some pleasant things are said in *How to make the Lord's Day a Delight*, by the late Canon Parker of Bristol (Elliot Stock; 1s. 6d. net). They make this book about the Lord's Day a delight.

But there is more matter in *Messages from the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Stock; 2s. net), a collection of what would be called Bible readings, by the Bishop of Durham.

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It is enough to note the issue of volumes iv. and v. of *The Catechism in Examples*, by the Rev. D. Chisholm, Priest of the Diocese of Aberdeen (Washbourne). These volumes complete the work.

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To the R.P.A. reprints have been added a new edition of Bölsche's *Haeckel*, the first part of Conway's *Life of Thomas Paine*, and a *Selection from Paine's Political Writings* (Watts; 6d. each).

# Contributions and Comments.

## Acts xxvi. 30.

In the new number of *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung* (v. 232), the learned editor, Professor Wilcken, has a brilliant restoration of a desperately fragmentary passage in *Tebtunis Papyri*, ii. 46 (No. 287[15f.]), which even Drs. Grenfell and Hunt left as a congeries of disconnected letters. Using as his key the procedure in Ac 26[30], Wilcken reads ἀνασ[τὰ]ς εἰς [σ]υμ[βούλιον κ]αὶ σκεψάμ[ενος με]τ[ὰ τ]ῶν [ . . . The judge rises from the bench, and apparently retires to consider the question with his assessors, just as Agrippa, Festus, and Berenice did in the case of Paul. Wilcken notes that the assessors are often enough referred to, but there is no passage so clear as this for the *ire in consilium*. It is significant enough that in a discussion of this legal procedure the great Mommsen should have overlooked, as Wilcken notes, the obvious case in Acts, and a further example in Philo (ii. 597 M.). Omissions of this kind by some of the greatest of classical scholars are not infrequent.

James Hope Moulton.

## The Greek Text of Mark vii. 11.

Since the days of Erasmus, the last clause of Mk 7[11] has uniformly been printed ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ

ὠφεληθῇς. It is a singular fact that none of the translators or interpreters of the verse goes to the length of translating the subjunctive, which all agree in reading. The subjunctive here must manifestly be due to the character of the clause either as a conditional relative sentence of the vivid future type ('that wherein thou shalt be profited of me'), or as a present general conditional relative sentence ('that wherein thou art profited of me'). The translators, however, almost with one accord introduce a *potential* feeling into the clause; 'By whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me' (Authorized Version); 'That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me' (Revised Version, American Standard); 'Whatever of mine would have been of service to you' (Twentieth Century New Testament); 'Anything in which you may be profited by me' (Gould); 'Was du von mir haben könntest' (Weizsäcker); 'Whatever it is, which otherwise you would have received from me' (Weymouth); 'What I might have used to aid thee' (Moffatt).

This practically universal impulse to take the clause potentially is certainly not without significance, however questionable it may be as a treatment of a subjunctive with ἄν or ἐάν. Indeed, it can hardly be supposed that any of these renderings is at all consistent with the accepted text of the passage, since the subjunctive, with or without ἄν, is no proper mechanism for the expression of possibility, present or past.

To take the subjunctive as it stands, however, and render it frankly, yields no even tolerable sense. 'That wherewith thou shalt be profited of me is Corban,' and 'that wherewith thou art (general) profited of me is Corban,' are alike inappropriate to the obvious general sense of the passage, which, as every student feels, has been divined by the translators already quoted.

Must we then, as hitherto, do positive violence to the text, in the interest of the context? This would leave Mark, and with him Matthew too, under the charge of a serious solecism. Let us rather, by way of experiment, retranslate into Greek the clause upon which the interpreters agree so well: 'That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me' is easily represented by ὃ ἄν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφελήθης, the potential indicative with ἄν representing precisely the feeling desired.

But how does this differ from our text in Mark? In two respects only. ὠφελήθης, aorist indicative, replaces ὠφεληθῇς, aorist subjunctive—a purely editorial matter, of which uncial manuscripts, lacking accents and the subjunctive iota, would take no account. Again, ἄν stands for ἐάν, but this ἐάν is itself no proper ἐάν at all, but a mere alternative writing for ἄν (the Bezan Codex reads ἄν here), and Professor Moulton has shown how strongly the first and second centuries preferred ἐάν to ἄν, particularly in relative clauses of conditional types. This is less easy to establish for specifically potential constructions, yet the acknowledged fondness for ἐάν, as compared with ἄν, after the relative, is quite enough to account for the presence of ἐάν here. The translators have, in a sense, been right; the editors have been wrong. In short, the text, as usually printed, must be reaccented and amended by the omission of the editorial ι-subscript, so as to read ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφελήθης, in accord with the well-nigh universal feeling of its translators.

This is not an entirely novel contention. My colleague, Dr. S. J. Case, points out to me that Professor Blass, in the second edition of his *Grammatik*, p. 210, takes practically this view of the passage (and of Mt $15^5$), although the point he makes is obscured in the second English edition (p. 320) by the misprinting of the vital word, ὠφελήθης. 'The ordinary spelling ὠφεληθῇς is impossible.' The fact seems to be that the mediæval manuscripts, punctuating and interpreting this clause quite otherwise, gave the verb the traditional form; cf. Luther's rendering, 'Wenn ich's opfere, so ist's dir viel nützer'; and the Vulgate, 'quodcumque ex me, tibi profuerit.' The early editors took it over from the cursives (probably that Basiliensis 2, which Erasmus is said to have sent to the printer), and their successors have never suspected the reading.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

*University of Chicago.*

## Psalm xvii. 15.

THIS verse has offered difficulties to all translators and commentators. See the commentaries, especially Delitzsch (*Die Psalmen*,[5] pp. 168–169) and Baethgen (*Die Psalmen*,[3] p. 48), also H. Kessler (*Die Psalmen*,[2] 1899, p. 36 [in Strack-Zöckler's 'Kurzgefasster Kommentar']). The main difficulty lies in the word בְּהָקִיץ. What does the psalmist mean by 'awakening'? And what kind

of awakening is it? Various explanations have been given. Ewald, for instance, thinks of awakening after the night's sleep; Delitzsch of awakening from the sleep of death; Baethgen of awakening from misery.[1] None of these explanations can be considered satisfactory. It is very improbable that the psalmist should refer to an awakening from misery. Besides, it would give no sense here. Neither can בְּהָקִיץ refer to resurrection, as the whole chapter deals with the present life. Neither is Ewald's explanation satisfactory, as this must imply that the psalm was sung in the evening—a theory for which there is no support in the psalm itself. The main question is this: What is the sense of בְּהָקִיץ in v.15b, especially as there is no reference to a state of sleep in v.15a? Only if v.15a referred to some kind of sleep, in v.15b would בְּהָקִיץ be justified. And this consideration seems to have caused the LXX and some other ancient translators[2] to regard תְּמוּנָתְךָ ('thy likeness') as the subject of בְּהָקִיץ (which is, of course, entirely wrong).[3]

I should like to propose the following solution. What the psalmist wants to say in v.15 is this: while the wicked are in the possession of all material goods, and enjoy all worldly pleasures (vv.13. 14), he, the righteous, is happy in his communion with God. All the material goods are nothing. They may vanish at any moment. But the spiritual pleasures are endless. The Divine joys never vanish. Let the wicked deceive themselves with their worldly goods. God they know not. But he, the righteous, has one wish: *always* to see God, *constantly* to be in communion with the Lord. What we have, therefore, to find in v.15 is the idea 'always.' And this idea is, I believe, really contained in this verse. The verse reads: אֲנִי בְצֶדֶק אֶחֱזֶה פָנֶיךָ אֶשְׂבְּעָה בְהָקִיץ תְּמוּנָתֶךָ. Now, I think that חָזָה, which refers more to spiritual seeing, visions, also means 'to see while sleeping.' Cf., *e.g.*, Is 29[7], בְּשִׁעְפִּים מֵחֶזְיוֹנוֹת לָיְלָה, Job 4[13], וְהַיָּה כַּחֲלוֹם חֶזְיוֹן לַיְלָה; whence we see that חָזָה refers to seeing in the night. Cf. also Gn 15[1], where בַּמַּחֲזֶה seems to refer to a night-vision[1]; cf. also v.[12], and Nu 24[4. 16]. And this meaning, I think, חָזָה has in this verse. I should therefore translate: 'I, in righteousness, see thy face (while sleeping, during the night); I am satisfied with thy likeness while awake (during the day).' Now, 'by night' and 'by day' naturally means 'always'—the idea which the psalmist wanted to express. Note also the fine distinction of פָּנִים and תְּמוּנָה. In sleep he can see God's פָּנִים, 'face'; when awake, however, he can see only His תְּמוּנָה, which is more the reflexion of פָּנִים. Cf. also Nu 12[8], וּתְמֻנַת יְהוָה יַבִּיט—when awake—and Ex 33[20. 23]—God's פָּנִים cannot be seen by man when awake.[2] Thus the verse simply expresses the idea that the psalmist will *always* be in communion with God, and this is *his* pleasure. In this way, I believe, the verse becomes quite easy and intelligible.

SAMUEL DAICHES.

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[1] Cf. also Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms*, 1888, p. 44. The suggestion offered therein ('when I awake' may mean 'when life's short day is past') is not tenable either. See also Cheyne, *The Origin of the Psalter*, 1891, p. 389 and p. 430. His emendations and explanations in his *Book of Psalms* of 1904 (p. 58 and p. 62) are, of course, entirely unacceptable.

[2] See Baethgen, *l.c.*

[3] Cf. also Wellhausen, who translates 'at thine awaking' (in Haupt's *S.B.O.T.*, 'The Book of Psalms,' p. 13; see also p. 169). See also G. Beer, *Individual—und Gemeindepsalmen*, p. 18.

## The Name of God in Genesis.

I THINK that Dr. Skinner's discussion of this matter in the May number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES scarcely does justice to my article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. That article covered over 50 pages, and I cannot attempt even to summarize it here, but I should like to indicate briefly the main points at issue. The question is not whether Genesis is divisible, but whether a particular clue—and, in consequence, a particular analysis in so far as it rests on that clue—is sound.

To save space I begin by taking a concrete case which happens to illustrate several points simultaneously and then drawing the inferences. It must, however, be clearly understood that this instance is merely one of many that will be found in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* article.

In Gn 16[11] an explanation of the name Ishmael is given in which the Tetragrammaton is used. But the Lucianic LXX, the Old Latin and one *Hebrew* MS. read *Elohim*.

[1] See also Dillmann, *Genesis* (tr. Stevenson), vol. ii. p. 56.

[2] Through this explanation the remarks of Delitzsch, *l.c.* p. 168, with reference to this question are rendered pointless.

1. Dr. Skinner says it is reasonable to expect that Jewish scribes would be more careful in this matter than Greek copyists. But this instance shows that the variant is a *Hebrew* variant, for the mistakes of *Greek* copyists could not possibly influence a *Hebrew* MS. I therefore submit that little reliance can be placed on this argument. For numerous other examples, see pp. 128–130, 150 ff.[1]; and for a further body of evidence drawn from the support of other Versions, see pp. 130 f. Once the fact that the Greek rests on Hebrew variants has been established in a number of cases, a presumption arises that it does so in other cases where no independent testimony is preserved; and a case is made for further investigation.

2. Dr. Skinner further thinks that significance attaches to the fact that in a great majority of instances the LXX substitutes God for the Tetragrammaton of M.T. To this there seem to be two answers. (1) If we regard the Tetragrammaton as original in all cases of difference, this canon must make us suspect M.T. wherever any Version substitutes it for *Elohim* or some other word; and I admit that in all such cases a question does arise. But in Genesis this, of course, means that the Tetragrammaton will have to be introduced into numerous passages of 'E' and 'P.' (2) In some cases where there are differences the *Elohim* of the Versions is demonstrably preferable to the Tetragrammaton of M.T. I instance Gn $16^{11}$ where the name Ishma*el* requires *Elohim* in the explanation (cp. Israel, Peniel). The Tetragrammaton would require Ishma*yah* as the name. Here, again, other instances will be found on pp. 131 ff. Consequently we cannot hold that the variants are all due to a desire to avoid the Name of God. It would rather seem that some readings are due to a tendency of M.T. to substitute the Tetragrammaton for *Elohim*.

3. Dr. Skinner says that the LXX differs from M.T. in forty-nine cases. But in an enormous number of passages *some* Septuagintal authority, *e.g.* Lucian in Gn $16^{11}$—sometimes only a single cursive—differs from the ordinary LXX reading. By comparing extant Hebrew variants which confirm some of the Septuagintal variants, I have shown (p. 150 f.) that importance attaches to these. Has Dr. Skinner included all such cases in his forty-nine?

[1] The page references are to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January 1909 throughout.

4. It used to be thought that the M.T. usage as to the Divine appellations furnished a criterion for the analysis of Genesis. Dr. Skinner describes the point as one 'of considerable, though not of vital, importance in its bearing on the criticism of the Hexateuch,' though he also says that it is now 'but one element (and in the opinion of many critics a very subordinate element) in the analysis of the Hexateuch.' Now I think that by throwing various points into question form I can focus attention on essentials. I accordingly ask your readers to put to themselves the following questions:—

(*a*) Given the fact (proved in the passages of my article cited in 1, 2, and 3 above) that the Massoretic Text is manifestly insecure in an enormous number of places, and demonstrably wrong in at any rate some of these, is it possible to maintain that on the basis of that text Genesis should be divided (mainly) into three sources, one of which uses the Tetragrammaton, while the other two do not?

(*b*) Should redactors and glossators be postulated to help out that analysis by removing the Tetragrammaton from passages of 'E' and 'P,' or *Elohim* from passages of 'J' (p. 122 f.)?

(*c*) Should divisions into sources ever be made on this basis only (p. 123 f.)?

(*d*) Should 'J' be subdivided into a 'Je' and a 'Jj' on such a basis?

(*e*) Should the current analysis be maintained in cases where it rests on very little more than the Tetragrammaton? For instance, the bulk of Gn 20 is assigned to 'E.' But in v.[4] fourteen Hebrew MSS have the Tetragrammaton which is here obviously appropriate. The analysis is supported by the statement that of the two terms for 'maid-servant' the 'E' word is used (v.[17]). But the 'J' word also occurs (v.[14]), and is assigned to a redactor. Should such a piece of analysis be maintained?

(*f*) As already stated Dr. Skinner says that the clue is now 'in the opinion of many critics a very subordinate element in the analysis.' Is it possible to refer me to the expression of such an opinion in the published writings of Wellhausen, or Kuenen, or Dr. Driver, or in Gunkel's *Genesis*, or any other authoritative edition of Genesis by a member of the Graf-Wellhausen school?

5. Dr. Skinner's extreme modesty is responsible for my next point. He writes: 'I do not happen to know of any work which deals exhaustively with

the subject from the critical standpoint.' Then he proceeds to indicate generally what he 'imagines to be the view taken by adherents of the prevalent documentary hypothesis.' It must not be inferred that Dr. Skinner is a writer who has no resources save those of his imagination. On the contrary, he is one of the foremost exponents of the hypothesis in question, and when he says that he does not 'happen to know' any work, we may safely conclude that there is no such work. That is to say, although this particular clue has been used for a century and a half, those who used it have not considered whether or not it is textually sound. It is surely remarkable that by adopting Septuagintal readings in three or perhaps four passages the clue disappears altogether (pp. 158–170), for it does not exist in the Greek Bible. And in the test passage Ex $6^3$, the LXX is supported by the Syriac, Vulgate, Onkelos, and a Karaite MS. Do not these facts deserve consideration?

6. Dr. Skinner says that all that my arguments can ever accomplish is to demonstrate that a few of the facts which the hypothesis set out to explain are less certain than was imagined. My readers must decide for themselves whether or not this is so, but in view of Dr. Skinner's statement it is only right that I should draw attention to the point on p. 157. In Gn $10^{19}$ we read, 'As thou goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim.' It is obvious that nobody could define a boundary in these terms after the age of Abraham, when the places named were destroyed (contrast the language of $13^{10}$). It follows that the first composition of this passage cannot be post-Abrahamic. Is there any published presentation of the critical theory in which the existence of Abrahamic or pre-Abrahamic material in our present Pentateuch is recognized? Is it not the case that the current theory assigns this verse to 'J$^s$,' *i.e.* to a document composed at least 1000 years *after* the latest date at which it could have originated?

7. Lastly, Dr. Skinner tells us that the theory rests on a number of characteristic differences, and is not invalidated by my article. To attempt to discuss this in a monthly magazine would take me beyond the limitations that even the most indulgent editor is compelled to impose. In fairness to myself, however, I may be allowed to say that I have published this article not as an isolated attack, but as one of a series of papers that are appearing in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, so that anybody who desires to see whether the theory can survive tests on other points can do so by referring to those articles and to my other publications.

HAROLD M. WIENER.

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## Ear.

THE note in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for June on the obsolete word *ear* led me to look up the Welsh renderings of the passages referred to. I had no doubt beforehand that the equivalent of *ear* would be the common form '*aredig*,' obviously derived from Lat. *aratum*. But in the first passage cited, Gn $45^6$, 'neither earing nor harvest' appears as '*heb nac âr na medi*.' I know nothing of the history of the word *âr*, but it is probably the Celtic form of the common Aryan root of *ἀρόω*, *aro*, and 'ear.'

In 1 S $8^{12}$ 'to ear his ground' is represented by '*i aredig ei âr*,' in which the two forms appear side by side. The expression is obviously idiomatic, and would be literally rendered 'to plough his ploughing.' It should be said that in Welsh the forms of the infinitive and present participle are not distinguished.

'Ear' is used to render two Hebrew words, *ḥārash* and *'ābad*. But in Welsh a distinction is made. Wherever the latter is found (as Is $30^{24}$, Dt $21^4$), the Welsh Bible has the word *llafurio*, 'to labour,' which, when used with reference to land, is the Welsh idiom for *tilling*. Evidently the Welsh translators were anxious to preserve a distinction which they found in the Hebrew.

RICHARD ROBERTS.

*Westbourne Grove, London.*

## A Man under Authority.

I AM afraid neither Canon Carnegie nor Dr. Garvie can claim to have been the original discoverer of the significance of the centurion's word. How old the interpretation is I should not care to say, but it is at least to be found in the *Practical Commentary on Matthew* of that prince of commentators, James Morison.

ALEX. J. GRIEVE.

*Romsey.*

## Mark iii. 21.

THE editor in the June EXPOSITORY TIMES sketched for us an instructive phenomenon, the appearance of a first-rank scholar, Mr. F. C. Conybeare, among the writers for the R.P.A. I have observed a note in Mr. Conybeare's book (p. 72) which might be taken as an illustration of the proverb, *Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί*. The heading (p. vi) is 'The Pious Frauds of the English Revised Version,' which, by the way, we learn for the first time was 'recently issued by the Episcopal Churches of England and America'! The Revisers have 'falsified the text of Mk $3^{21}$' by retaining the rendering of the A.V. 'his friends,' where it should be 'his family.' That *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* does mean 'his family' here I showed by papyrus citations in my *Prolegomena* (p. 106 f.). But I mentioned there also the fact that the phrase is very much more common in the sense 'his agents' or 'representatives.' The translation 'his friends' happens to represent very well the ambiguity of the original; and, as a matter of fact, the evidence which makes 'his family' certain for Mk is its recent appearance in a minority of papyrus passages—all of them, of course, available only since the R.V. was published. The Vulgate *sui*, which is as inclusive as the English, may well have suggested the A.V. phrase. It may be added that 'thy friends' in Mk $5^{19}$ (Vg. *tuos*) is obviously intended to mean 'family.' There is absolutely no evidence that the A.V. or R.V. translators were influenced by bias, and the graceful imputation of fraud is a figment of the R.P.A. imagination. The epithet 'pious' does not mitigate it: a 'pious fraud' is a fraudulent impiety. Mr. Conybeare should read the papyri, and some elementary book on ethics, before he repeats this innuendo against men as honest as himself. As to the 'scandal' of this passage in Mk being still 'acutely felt by orthodox Christians,' I am more than doubtful. Those who have wholly or partially deified Mary may be troubled at the suggestion that she and her younger sons tried to put Jesus under restraint, as being 'beside himself.' But, apart from the absurd fiction of the Immaculate Conception, there is no reason why we should suppose Mary to have been other than one *ὁμοιοπαθὴς ἡμῖν*. Mark's faithful chronicle is to Protestants only the clearest evidence that Mary was no goddess, but very human, and even weak, in the ease with which she let herself be led into a deplorable and inexcusable misjudgment of her Son.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

*Manchester.*

[Those who have not seen Mr. Conybeare's book will want to read the whole passage in it to which Professor Moulton refers. Here it is. 'They (Matt. and Luke) both omit Mk $3^{19-21}$, for in their generation it was become scandalous to suppose that his own family could have set out to restrain Jesus as a madman. How acutely the scandal is still felt by orthodox Christians may be measured by the fact that the authors of the Revised English Version, recently issued by the Episcopal Churches of England and America, have falsified the text of Mk $3^{21}$, rendering the Greek words *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* by *his friends* instead of *his household* or *his family*. Yet the old Authorized Version of 1611 correctly sets in the margin Wycliff's rendering *his kinsmen*.'

Now as a supplement to Dr. Moulton's protest, let us remark—

1. That Dr. Moulton's father was a Reviser, and did not belong to an Episcopal Church either of England or of America.

2. That Professor Swete, who belongs to the Episcopal Church of England, and Professor Gould, who belongs to the Episcopal Church of America, are both quite frank in stating that the words probably mean *his relatives* or *family*.

3. That the word *friend* was practically equivalent to *kinsman* when the Authorized Version was made. In the very beginning of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan makes Christian say, 'Oh, my dear wife, and you the children of my bowels, I, your dear friend, am in myself undone.' This is still the meaning of the word among the Scotch peasantry. Only a few days ago the writer of this note met one of his parishioners and inquired for his son, who had recently gone to Aberdeen. 'He is lodging with a friend, is he not?' 'Oh no,' replied the farmer, 'not a friend, only an acquaintance.']

## Genesis xx. 17, 18 and Herodotus i. 105.

THE realistic explanation of the 'Emerods' in the number of April (p. 332) induces me to call attention here to the coincidence between Gn $20^{17.18}$ and Herodotus i. 105, which struck me some twenty

years ago, and which I have not found mentioned in any commentary either on Genesis or on Herodotus.

From Gn 20 we learn that Abimelech and his house at *Gerar* suffered from some female weakness. In Herodotus i. 105 it is told that the Scythians ascribed the θήλεια νοῦσος, from which their princes suffered, to the Aphrodite, whose temple at *Ascalon* they had plundered. Now *Gerar* is in the nearest neighbourhood to *Ascalon*, if it be not identical with it; in both cases mention is made of a θήλεια νοῦσος; surely there must be a connexion between the two narratives, even if it were only this, that such a weakness prevailed in these regions. EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

## 'Abraham rejoiced.'

STRANGE to say, the R.V. with references does not refer in Jn $8^{56}$ to Gn $17^{17}$, and no commentary of which I know notices the fact, that the Targum renders צחק, to *laugh*, in this verse not by חוק, *laugh*, as in $18^{12.\,13.\,15}$ $19^{14}$, but by חדי, to *rejoice*, to be *glad*; likewise in $21^{9}$.

That for the whole passage in John much is to be learned by a comparison of the *Book of Jubilees*, has been justly remarked by Th. Zahn in his new commentary. Compare in the translation of Charles (1902), 14, 21, 'And Abram *rejoiced*'; 15, 17 (= Gn $17^{17}$), 'And Abraham fell on his face and *rejoiced*'; 16, 19, 'And they both *rejoiced* with exceeding great *joy*'; further, §§ 20, 25, 26, 'for He'—must it not be 'he' (Abraham)?—knew and perceived that from him would arise *the plant of righteousness* for the eternal generations, and from him a *holy seed*, so that it should become like Him who had made all things.' Further, §§ 27, 29, 31, 'He praised and gave thanks to his God for all things with *joy*.' EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

# Entre Nous.

**'The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.'**

The Publishers inform us that they have just received a large order for copies of the *Encyclopædia* from Japan.

A letter has been shown us from South Africa, which says: 'I am looking forward to the receipt of my first volume of Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Quite a number of us in the Transvaal are getting it.'

A review of vol. i. appears in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for June 5, where it occupies the first place. The reviewer is Professor Lobstein of Strassburg. It is a thoroughly satisfactory review, capable and appreciative. Such a review in Harnack and Schürer's influential organ will make the Encyclopædia known throughout theological Germany.

The second volume is making good progress. It is now evident that the whole work can be completed easily in ten volumes or even less, and probably within the time that it took to issue the Dictionary of the Bible.

**Professor Driver.**

It is in every way fitting that Dr. Driver should be presented with his portrait. Not only his old pupils and friends in Oxford, but a wider circle of students and fellow-workers outside, have agreed that the time is come for marking in this way their appreciation of his immense services. Dr. Driver has been Professor of Hebrew at Oxford for twenty-seven years; and during that time he has trained a succession of Biblical students in the methods of exact scholarship and judicious criticism. But his teaching has travelled far beyond the limits of his own University. Throughout a period which has witnessed a revolution in the study of the Bible, he has been educating opinion all over the country; the whole weight of his learning has gone to strengthen the side of progress, and with a reassuring effect of incalculable value. For he is trusted as few teachers are; sobriety of judgment, reverence, and a scholar's appreciation of the importance of facts, are some of the qualities which have won for his work its widespread influence. A strong committee has been formed to carry out the proposed presentation; and it is hoped that the picture will ultimately find a permanent place among the portraits of Dr. Driver's predecessors in the official residence of the Professor of Hebrew at Christ Church, Oxford; the secretaries are the Rev. P. J. Boyer, Rothersthorpe Vicarage, North-

ampton, one of Dr. Driver's earliest pupils, and the Rev. Professor G. A. Cooke, Oriel College, Oxford, to whom subscriptions may be sent.

**A Summer School of Theology in Oxford.**

A Summer School of Theology is to be held in Oxford in September. It will be opened on the evening of Monday, September 13, with an inaugural lecture by Professor Percy Gardner. It will be closed on Friday, September 24. The complete course embraces about fifty lectures. The fee is £1. Application for tickets should be made to the Rev. A. J. Carlyle, University College, Oxford, or to the Rev. G. W. Thatcher, Mansfield College, Oxford.

What are the subjects of lecture to be, and who are to be the lecturers? The first batch of topics goes by the name of Philosophy of Religion. It is fitting. For religion, the philosophy of it and the experience of it, is now the great absorbing subject of study. Among the lecturers here are Count Goblet D'Alviella of Brussels and Mr. Marett. In the Old Testament department, Professor Driver will lecture on the Psalter. And in the New Testament section Professor von Dobschütz of Strassburg will lecture on the Eschatology of the Gospels. The last section returns to the first. Its title is the Relation of Christianity to other Religions. Dr. Estlin Carpenter will lecture here on Buddhist Parallels to Christianity, a subject of more than fighting value, and Professor Moulton on Comparative Religion as a Help to Religious Synthesis. If we could attend one lecture and only one, we should attend Dr. Moulton's.

**A Correction.**

Mr. G. H. Gwilliam wishes us to point out that he still holds his Fellowship at Hertford College. He was by a slip represented in last month's issue as *late* Fellow.

While we are confessing, we may add that there was a slip in the quotation of Mr. Maclean Watt's poem, 'The Soul Unveiled'—

> I have been away for a night and a day
> On (not *at*) the Lord God's judgment seat.

**Old Sermons.**

Burns found the cottar's wife trying to 'gar auld claes look amaist as weel's the new.' The process has been tried with sermons. But there are two volumes of sermons issued this month, as old as old can be. And they are sent forth just as they are, without an attempt to make them look as good as new. Dr. Walter Smith is the author of the one volume, Professor William Knight of the other.

How old Dr. Walter Smith's sermons are we find from such a sentence as this: 'An able and eloquent writer of the day labours, in a high heathenish sort of way, to exalt what he calls *conduct* into the place of chief moment.' Matthew Arnold was living and writing when the sermon was preached. Professor Knight makes no secret of the age of his sermons. He preached some of them before he became a professor, and that is three-and-thirty years ago.

But these old sermons are good reading still. They retain the life that belongs to literature. And one of them might have had as motto St. Paul's words to the Corinthians, 'I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified.'

Dr. Walter Smith's volume is called simply *Sermons* (Maclehose; 5s. net). Let us look at a typical sermon, quite typical though the text is unusual. The text is 'Mending their nets' (Mt $4^{21}$). It is a sermon preached before the preacher's holiday. Simon and Andrew when they were called were fishing; James and John were mending their nets. The preacher's holiday is the time for mending his nets. For the business of the fisherman is to catch fish, not merely to fish for them. And if he finds that the fish are slipping through he must sit down and mend his nets.

This is our supreme business, says Dr. Walter Smith. There are two figures employed, fisher and pastor. Both are employed by Christ and His Apostles. The minister of Christ must be both a fisher and a pastor, but the chiefest and foremost function is the fisherman's. To save the lost is more than to feed the flock. Therefore the Good Shepherd Himself did not scruple to leave the ninety-and-nine in the fold that He might go after that which was lost and find it.

Professor Knight calls his volume *Things New and Old* (Griffiths; 5s. net). The evangelistic note is not quite so persistent, but it is there, however unexpectedly. And how orthodox in doctrine every sermon is. In a day in which men no longer think it necessary to argue for the rigid uniformity of nature's laws, Professor Knight reprints a sermon which seeks to prove that the

effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man may secure a good harvest.

**Let us be Scriptural.**

The Churches of Scotland have been sitting in General Assembly in Edinburgh. To the General Assembly of the Free Church Major Greig submitted the report of the Psalmody Committee and moved its adoption. But unfortunately, in the course of his report, he used the word 'choir.'

The Rev. A. MacIvor from Elgin objected. The choir, he said, was not recognized in the Free Church. He moved that the word 'choir' should be deleted from the report and the word 'precentor' inserted in its place.

An elder seconded the objection, and the Rev. George Macleod from Stornoway supported it. But the Rev. S. L. Orr from Glasgow was as ill satisfied with precentors as with choirs. He wanted a 'leader of praise.' They all wanted a leader of praise. The question was, What should the leader of praise be called? Mr. Macleod might be content with 'precentor,' but Mr. Orr would have none of it. For 'precentor' was not Scriptural. Let us be Scriptural, he said, and call the leader of praise the 'Chief Musician.'

**Philosophy and God.**

Messrs. T. & T. Clark have published a new edition of their volume of *Selections from the Literature of Theism* (7s. 6d. net). Both without and within it is one of the most attractive books that they have ever published. It may seem a simple matter to make selections from the great philosophical writers so as to lay out in order their thoughts about God. But not as Professor A. Caldecott and Professor H. R. Mackintosh have done it. To see that the selections were long enough and short enough, to make sure that they sufficiently represented and did not at all misrepresent the writers' thought, and to prevent overlapping—it was no easy task. But in issuing this second edition the editors say 'various suggestions of the pieces have been offered, but none of them with sufficient force to justify the displacement of a present piece in its favour.' Still the second edition is not simply a reprint of the first. There are verbal emendations in it, and additions have been made to the bibliographies.

**Christian Science.**

We have received only the firstfruits of the literature of Christian Science. The harvest is yet to come. And for many a day it will be controversial literature, in which the wayfaring man will often err. This month presents us with two substantial volumes. And each volume deals with a special aspect of the subject. Mr. I. M. Haldeman describes *Christian Science in the Light of Holy Scripture* (Revell; 5s. net). Dr. Stephen Paget from the view-point of a physician gives an account of *The Faith and Works of Christian Science* (Macmillan; 3s. 6d. net). We have said Dr. Stephen Paget. The book is published as 'by the writer of Confessio Medici,' without the author's name. But the writer of *Confessio Medici* is quite well known to be Dr. Stephen Paget of the Middlesex Hospital, Secretary of the Research Defence Society.

When Christian Science is compared with Scripture it is found to be in direct contradiction to the teaching of Christ and of the Apostles on every single doctrine that the New Testament contains. We have gone through Mr. Haldeman's book and taken a note of the doctrines contradicted, and we cannot think of one that escapes. Mr. Haldeman is quite unbiased. He simply sets down side by side the words of Christian Science and the words of Holy Scripture (being careful always of the context), and we see for ourselves how absolute and without exception the contradiction is. Christian Science says, 'man is incapable of sin'; Scripture says, 'all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.' Christian Science says, 'man is never sick'; Scripture says, 'they brought to Him all sick people.' Christian Science says, 'the body cannot die'; Scripture says, 'it is appointed unto men once to die.' Christian Science says, 'God is not a person'; Scripture speaks of 'the express image of His person.' Christian Science says, 'Jesus is not the Christ'; Scripture asks, 'who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?'

Pass to Dr. Paget's book. Dr. Paget finds that Christian Science contradicts common sense. Its teaching about animals, for example, is that they are not real, that they are not there, that they are images, reflexions, manifestations, ideas. They have not in reality senses, for they are not in reality selves. The carnivora are not carnivorous, and the vipers are not venomous. Their pleasures and pains, instincts and passions, homing and mating and fighting, are not really in them, but in God, or in us. It does not matter which we say, God or us. Mind is the only I, or Us. Let the bad grammar pass; hold fast this happy assurance, that God is the only Us.

But Dr. Paget has most to do with the cures of Christian Science. He has written to a great many of those who say they were cured. He has thoroughly sifted such cases as he could get at. He does not believe that Christian Science can cure. Mental suggestion, of course, he holds by. But beyond what it does by mental suggestion he does not believe that Christian Science has ever done anything.

**The God of the Pluralist.**

Professor William James holds emphatic opinions about his philosophical contemporaries, and he expresses them emphatically. No considerations prevent him from saying just what he thinks about Mr. Bradley or Mr. McTaggart; and he has been endowed with an astonishing gift of explanatory language. What chance has an enemy, living or dead, with a man who can use up five different figures of speech within the space of seven successive sentences?

The book contains some Hibbert Lectures which were delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, on the present situation in Philosophy. Its title is *A Pluralistic Universe* (Longmans; 5s. 6d. net). The fourth lecture is on Fechner. Up to that point Professor James has been talking generally against Hegel and the Hegelians. But when he comes to Fechner he becomes serious and even sympathetic. He tells this story. 'Among the philosophic cranks of my acquaintance in the past was a lady all the tenets of whose system I have forgotten except one. Had she been born in the Ionian Archipelago some three thousand years ago, that one doctrine would probably have made her name sure of a place in every University curriculum and examination paper. The world, she said, is composed of only two elements, the Thick, namely, and the Thin.' Well, the Hegelians, the Monistic idealists, the expounders of the Absolute and all their tribe, are thin. They have no substance in their arguments, no reality, no satisfaction. But Fechner's arguments and illustrations are substantial, real, satisfying. Fechner is thick. Professor James believes in Fechner, as he seems to believe in no one else. 'Where there is no vision,' he quotes, 'the people perish. Few professorial philosophers,' he adds, 'have any vision. Fechner had vision, and that is why one can read him over and over again, and each time bring away a fresh sense of reality.'

And the reason why Professor James loves Fechner is that Fechner rejects Monism of every shade of opinion, as Professor James does, and rejoices with him in a frankly pluralistic universe. And what does a pluralistic universe mean? It means that there is a God, a personal God. But it also means that God is finite, either in power or in knowledge, or in both at once.

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**When I have time.**

When I have time, so many things I'll do,
To make life happier and more fair
For those whose lives are crowded now with care,
I'll help to lift them from their low despair
When I have time.

When I have time, the friend I love so well
Shall know no more the weary, toiling days;
I'll lead his feet in pleasant paths always
And cheer his heart with words of sweetest praise,
When I have time.

When you have time! The friend you hold so dear
May be beyond the reach of all your sweet intent,
May never know that you so kindly meant
To fill his life with bright content,
When you had time.

Now is the time! Speed, friend, no longer wait
To scatter loving smiles and words of cheer
To those around whose lives are now so drear;
They may not need you in that far-off year:
Now is the time.

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**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. E. Hutchinson, Wollongong, New South Wales, to whom a copy of Rutherfurd's *Epistles to Colossæ and Laodicea* has been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for August must be received by the 1st of July. The text is Rev $2^{10}$.

The Great Text for September is Rev $2^{17}$—'To him that overcometh, to him will I give of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.' A copy of Dr. Robert Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* or of Dr. W. G. Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for October is Rev $3^{20}$—'Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Oswald Dykes's *Christian Minister* will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for November is Rev $7^{9.\ 10}$—'After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands; and they cry with a great voice, saying, Salvation unto our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for December is Rev $7^{14}$—'These are they which come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.' A copy of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought*, or Dykes's *Christian Minister*, or Wilson's *How God has Spoken*, will be sent for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE difficulty of discovering a theory of the Atonement that shall command general assent is very great. But however great the difficulty is, we know that we must have a theory of the Atonement. We cannot think without it. We cannot hope and we cannot pray without it. It is not enough to know that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures. It is necessary to bring His death and our sins into contact by some working theory of the Atonement.

Now, in the search for the truth of things it is well, we are told, to see ourselves as others see us. It is also well to see others as they see themselves. The Jews do not believe that Christ died for our sins. Yet the Jews are sinners like as we are. How do they believe that they can get rid of their sins? The very word atonement has come from them. The Day of Atonement is still observed by them. What is the Jewish doctrine of atonement?

The answer to the question will be found in a volume which has been published by Dr. Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire, under the title of *Anglo-Jewish Memories* (Routledge; 5s. net). It is a volume of sermons. Some of the sermons were preached on memorable occasions, such as the centenary of Sir Moses Montefiore, Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the Russo-Jewish Martyrs, and so the title of 'Memories' has been given to the book. But the sermons are not all memorial. Some of them are exegetical or doctrinal. The sermon on the Jewish doctrine of atonement is an exposition of the way in which the modern Jew understands that he obtains the forgiveness of sin.

Well, whatever else Dr. Adler's exposition possesses, it possesses the first of all the virtues of an exposition. It is intelligible. The doctrine of atonement is described within eight pages of printing, and yet the meaning of it is quite unmistakable. How is it that Dr. Adler succeeds where the Christian expositor so frequently and so signally comes to grief? The explanation is easy. He has no doctrine of the atonement to expound. For the modern Jew, says the Chief Rabbi, there is no atonement. He is a sinner like the Gentile and needs forgiveness. He believes that he obtains forgiveness simply by repentance.

Does the Chief Rabbi not believe in the Old Testament? He does. But he does not believe that there is atonement in the Old Testament. Dr. Adler is courageous enough to begin his sermon with a reference to that memorable incident, as he himself calls it, which is recorded in the thirty-second chapter of Exodus. The wrath of the Almighty was roused against His

people Israel, because they had made themselves an idol of gold, and worshipped it. Moses, deeply moved, cries to the people, 'Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the Lord; peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin' (Ex $32^{30}$). What does Moses mean? Does he not mean that he is ready to sacrifice himself for his nation? Dr. Adler has no doubt that he means that. He even quotes the prayer which Moses prayed to God: 'Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written' (vv.$^{31, 32}$). It is the unmistakable offer of vicarious atonement. And Dr. Adler does not deny it. But he holds that the offer of atonement is one thing, and the acceptance of it another. The Lord did not accept the atonement of Moses. 'Whosoever hath sinned against me,' He said, 'him will I blot out of my book.' In that answer to Moses, Dr. Adler finds the answer to every one who says that there is a doctrine of the atonement in the Old Testament.

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But the Old Testament is full of sacrifice. If 'our own sincere repentance suffices to achieve for us Divine forgiveness,' for what purpose were the morning and evening sacrifices offered in the Temple court? On this also the Chief Rabbi is quite explicit. They were not offered for atonement. There was no thought of atonement in them. A man who sinned had to repent of his sin. Then he brought his trespass offering to the Lord. 'The only value and efficacy of the offering consisted in this, that it proved the sacrificer to be repentant; it was an outward test and sign of his sincerity.'

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And this, says Dr. Adler, and this only, is the meaning of the entire service in the Temple on the Day of Atonement. The high priest laid his hand on the head of the animal about to be sacrificed. He confessed successively his own sin, the trespasses of his household, and the transgressions of the house of Israel. Other rites were then observed, such as the sending of the scapegoat into the wilderness. But none of these things had any value in themselves; their value consisted entirely in the impression which they made upon the beholder. In the words of Maimonides, which Dr. Adler quotes with approval: 'All these rites were calculated to impress the soul of the worshippers and to stimulate them to repentance.'

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Nor was there anything else in the intercession of the high priest. If the intercession of the high priest had been able to procure for the people the forgiveness of their sins, the Day of Atonement would not have been the holiday that it was. It would have been an ordinary day of labour. The people would have been content to leave the high priest to purchase their forgiveness, and they would have remained at home to pursue their ordinary occupation. But the Day of Atonement was a day which had to be observed by the whole house of Israel. And this was done, says Dr. Adler, 'to impress the truth upon them that we have no mediator to save us from the effects of our sins but our own repentance and our own amendment, and that we have naught to help us but the infinite mercy of our Creator.'

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One thing remains. To the Chief Rabbi it is evidently the principal thing. He expresses it in the form of an objection to the doctrine of simple forgiveness which he is expounding, an objection on the part of his hearers. 'If it be true,' he imagines them saying to him, 'that you rely exclusively upon the Divine mercy and your own actions, how is it that you refer again and again in your prayers to the merits of your fathers, and to the covenant the Lord made with the patriarchs? How is it that in your litany you implore the Lord to have compassion upon you "for the sake of those who were slain for His holy name, and who went through fire and water to sanctify Him"'?

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The objection raises the whole question of the efficacy of prayer. And again Dr. Adler's answer

is intelligible. Prayer has no efficacy beyond the impression it makes on our own minds. To use Dr. Adler's own unmistakable language, prayer is simply a 'self-preached sermon.' Do the Jews beseech the Lord to remember the merits of the patriarchs? The purpose is to remind themselves of the pious deeds of their ancestors, that they may strive to tread in their footsteps. Do they pray that they may be saved for the sake of those who went through fire and water for the sanctification of His holy name? 'The purpose of our prayer,' says the Chief Rabbi, 'is to kindle in our hearts a spark of the devotion and enthusiasm which fired the hearts of the martyrs of old.'

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At the Chicago University Press, a handsome volume has been published on *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future* (Fisher Unwin; 13s. 6d. net). The author of the volume is the Rev. Henry Burton Sharman, Ph.D., Instructor in New Testament History and Literature in the University of Chicago.

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It is evident from the title that Dr. Sharman is not simply offering us another solution of the Synoptic Problem. He believes that the Synoptic Problem is already solved. On December 15, 1904, there appeared *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and their Application to the Synoptic Problem*, by Professor E. D. Burton of Chicago. Dr. Sharman had then completed his own book and the MS. was ready for press. But when he read Professor Burton's book, he sat down and almost entirely rewrote his MS. For he saw that, for him at least, the Synoptic Problem was solved.

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Professor Burton's solution is a simple one. It is surprisingly simple for such a complicated subject. These are the essential points in it. First, the present St. Mark, or a document generally identical with it, was employed as the source of both the First and the Third Gospels. Next, besides St. Mark's Gospel, Matthew and Luke both possessed in common a document which contained substantially the material standing in Lk $3^{7-15.\ 17.\ 18}$ $4^{2b-13\ (14.\ 15).\ 16-30}$ $5^{1-11}$ $6^{20-49}$ $7^{1}$–$8^{3}$. This document is referred to as G; its incidents took place in Galilee. Thirdly, Matthew and Luke used another document which is to be called P, because the locality of its occurrences was Perea. Its contents are found in Lk $9^{51}$ $18^{14}$ $19^{1-28}$. Last of all, Matthew had a document not employed by Luke, chiefly or wholly made up of discourses. It is presumably the Logia of Matthew, spoken of by Papias. Professor Burton's designation for it is M. Besides these there must have been some additional sources, some of which were used by Matthew and some by Luke, from which would be derived the Infancy narratives and the additions found in St. Matthew and St. Luke respectively to Mark's account of the Passion and Resurrection history. For so complicated a problem, we say, this is a remarkably simple solution. And, as it is independently worked out by Dr. Sharman in this volume, it works out very well. There is one very important passage, however, for which Dr. Sharman does not find it sufficient.

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It is the passage which contains that great controversy of the Christian Church, about St. Peter and the Keys. The controversy has been between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church. Is Dr. Sharman a Protestant or a Roman Catholic? We cannot tell. Dr. Sharman drops no hint. No doubt he has some Church connexion, and in that connexion he may be a keen enough controversialist. Here he is no controversialist. His discussion lies within the range of Synoptic criticism. If the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels is pursuing reliable methods, and there is neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant scholar who will deny that, this long continued controversy is seemingly at an end.

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The passage in question is found in St. Matthew's Gospel only. Its place is Mt $16^{17-19}$. The first question to ask about it, therefore, is, Where did it come from? It did not come from St. Mark, else St. Mark would have it. It did not come from the Galilean document (G), or from the

Perean (P), otherwise St. Luke would at least be likely to have it. Professor Burton thinks that it came from M, that is to say, from that collection of discourses which are usually referred to as the Logia of Matthew. But here Dr. Sharman departs from Professor Burton.

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Dr. Sharman does not think that Mt $16^{17-19}$ could have come from the Logia, because the passage cannot stand alone. When separated from its context it is not intelligible. In order that we may understand the situation, Dr. Sharman prints the passage together with its context, and alongside of it he prints the parallels, so far as they go, from St. Mark and St. Luke.

| Mt $16^{13.\ 20}$. | Mk $8^{27-30}$. | Lk $9^{18-21}$. |
|---|---|---|
| A. Now when Jesus came into the parts of Cæsarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Who do men say that the Son of Man is? And they said, Some *say* John the Baptist; some Elijah: and others, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. | A. And Jesus went forth, and his disciples, into the villages of Cæsarea Philippi: and in the way he asked his disciples, saying unto them, Who do men say that I am? And they told him, saying, John the Baptist: and others, Elijah; but others, One of the prophets. And he asked them, But who say ye that I am? Peter answereth and saith unto him, Thou art the Christ. | A. And it came to pass, as he was praying alone, the disciples were with him: and he asked them, saying, Who do the multitudes say that I am? And they answering said, John the Baptist; but others *say*, Elijah; and others, that one of the old prophets is risen again. And he said unto them, But who say ye that I am? And Peter answering said, The Christ of God. |
| B. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. | | |
| C. Then charged he the disciples that they should tell no man that he was the Christ. | C. And he charged them that they should tell no man of him. | C. But he charged them, and commanded *them* to tell this to no man. |

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Now it needs no more than a glance at these parallels to perceive two things. The first is that Mt $16^{17-19}$, here marked by the letter B, can be removed from its place leaving the narrative to read quite intelligibly. The second thing is that when it is removed the passage itself does not read intelligibly. Dr. Sharman concludes that the passage formed no part of the original narrative, but was drawn either by St. Matthew himself or by some subsequent editor from some extraordinary and at present unknown document, a document that must be distinguished from the four sources commonly used by St. Matthew—Mark's Gospel, the Galilean and Perean documents, and the Logia.

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We have already seen why the passage did not belong to St. Mark's Gospel, nor to the Galilean or Perean documents. But why could it not have belonged to the Logia? Simply because the Logia contained genuine Sayings of Jesus, and this document is not a genuine Saying. Dr. Sharman proceeds to give his reasons for believing firmly that the passage is not genuine.

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First of all, the thought of the passage is in direct opposition to the teaching of Jesus about rank. There is no doubt of the mind of Christ

on rank and power and recognition. He has left a wealth of teaching on the subject, probably exceeding in volume His instructions on any other single feature of His whole range of view. '*Thou* art Peter'; 'I will give to *thee* the keys'—these two statements are in flat contradiction to it.

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But these statements are entirely in harmony with the known historical development of the Christian community. That development proceeded along the lines of human ambition. There were no words of Jesus commending, there were many words condemning, the progress of the Church towards rank and power. In spite of all that, history tells us that the direction of its progress is well described in 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church,' and 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

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Next, the passage introduces a name for the Christian community unused by Jesus, and a conception of it as an organization unfamiliar to Him. 'Unused by Jesus,' for the other occurrence of the word 'Church' in the Gospels (Mt $18^{17}$), Dr. Sharman rejects on wholly independent grounds.

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Nor is it in the position assigned to St. Peter that the passage stands at variance with the rest of the Gospel narrative. It is equally at variance with the position assumed by our Lord Himself. 'I will give unto thee'—where in all the Gospels does He say anything akin to that? Elsewhere He says (Mk $10^{39.\ 40}$), 'It is not mine to give.'

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Once more, there is a little matter of style and language not to be lost sight of, though not to be felt equally by everybody. First, there is the curious 'interchange of courtesies'—'Thou art the Christ,' 'And I in turn (κἀγώ) say unto thee, that thou art Peter.' And then the more unexpected play of words, in the name Peter and the Rock (πέτρος and πέτρα).

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But the strongest of all objections remains. Cæsarea Philippi was the place, and this was the occasion, of the great confession. On that confession the convictions of the disciples were crystallized, and their attachment to Jesus secured. That He should have warned them against telling any outsider that He was the Christ was inevitable and full of meaning for the future. That He should have set one of them on high amongst themselves is incredible.

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In the controversy about the supernatural the Roman Catholic Church has an advantage. Matthew Arnold settled the controversy by simply saying miracles do not occur. By saying miracles do not occur he meant to say that they never did occur. But the Roman Catholic teaches that they occur still. And thereby he has a distinct advantage over Matthew Arnold and every other Protestant.

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Is it possible for a Protestant to obtain this advantage? The Rev. Percy Dearmer, Vicar of St. Mary's the Virgin, is a Protestant. He may not himself prefer that designation to every other, but at least he is not a Roman Catholic. He has just published a volume called *Body and Soul* (Pitman; 6s. net). It is 'An Enquiry into the Effects of Religion upon Health, with a Description of Christian Works of Healing from the New Testament to the Present Day.' Mr. Dearmer believes that miracles do still occur.

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Protestant theologians, he says, have assumed that miracles ceased with the Apostles. All the later miracles in the Church were superstitions. Or if they did not cease with the Apostles, then they ceased with the establishment of Christianity under Constantine. This, says Mr. Dearmer, would be 'a terrific argument in favour of Disestablishment.' And even although it was held by the great body of old English divines, including Dodwell and Tillotson, he will not have it. He says that at the present day we can hardly understand how miracles could have been confined to

a special age. What we can understand is their being confined to particular people in every age. For that, he says, is exactly what our Lord foretold.

Our Lord promised to be with His Church always. He promised the Spirit for all time. He promised that the works which He Himself did, His disciples should do also, and that they should do even greater works. Mr. Dearmer cannot understand how these works can possibly have been confined to the Twelve.

He casts his eye along the history of the Church. He comes to St. Francis of Assisi. He comes much nearer our own time than St. Francis of Assisi. He comes to Lourdes. He has no doubt whatever that miracles have taken place at Lourdes for the last fifty years, and that they are taking place there now. But the best example that he finds for his purpose is undoubtedly the example of St. Francis of Assisi and the stigmata.

Mr. Dearmer has himself passed through a mental revolution on the stigmata. Which of us, he says, was not brought up in the atmosphere that made him regard the stigmata of St. Francis as an instance of the picturesque mendacity of the Middle Ages? 'I well remember myself reading twenty years ago with astonished incredulity the statement in Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of St. Francis* that his stigmatization was one of the best attested things in history. So much the worse for history, I thought.' But now? Now Mr. Dearmer believes heartily in the stigmata. 'It is no longer a matter of historical evidence, but an admitted fact of scientific investigation.'

Has Mr. Dearmer any explanation to offer of the stigmata? He has. And that is just where the weakness of his argument lies. For as soon as you have explained a miracle it ceases to be a miracle. Mr. Dearmer explains the stigmata of St. Francis as due to the action of the mind upon the body. Just as a common act of thought may produce the familiar physical result of blushing, so concentration of thought, if it is only intense enough, may produce the unfamiliar physical result of stigmatization. That is his argument. For he says, 'If the conscious mind is in connexion with the vaso-motor system, there is nothing improbable in the fact that a man by thinking intensely about the wounds of Christ should come to have a physical representation of those wounds upon his body.'

'And greater works than these shall he do.' If the words were not addressed to the Apostles only, but after them to the Church, has the Church been able to do them? If it has, where are we to find them in the history of the Church? At Assisi? At Lourdes? Dr. P. T. Forsyth does not once look to Assisi or to Lourdes.

Yet the works have been done. Greater works have been done in the Church than all that Christ was able to do upon earth. But Dr. Forsyth finds them 'in the new creation by the Word, in the growth of faith, in the miracles of love, service, and sacrifice, in the spread of the Church, in the overthrow of paganism, in the making of a new Europe, in the rise of a new ethic and civilization, in the huge revolution in the core of society, in the inversion and conversion of moral values.'

Dr. Forsyth has written an article, which appears in the *London Quarterly Review* for July, on the 'Evidential Value of Miracles.' He does not think that miracles have much evidential value now. He quotes the saying, 'Miracles, which were once the foundation of Apologetic, became in time its crutch; and now they have become its crux.' And he quotes it sympathetically. He has even some sympathy with the saying of Rousseau: 'Get rid of your miracles, and the world will fall at Christ's feet.' For it is the saying of the modern mind, and he cannot shut his ears to it. He has no intention of getting rid of the miracles. But all the same he is keenly alive to the difficulties presented by the miracles to the mind of the

present day. He asks himself, as Mr. Dearmer does, what is to be done with them. Mr. Dearmer says, multiply their number. Find them at Assisi and at Lourdes. Dr. Forsyth says, leave them behind. There are no such miracles now. The gospel miracles as evidence served their day. They served their day as evidence, and ceased to be. Carry them with you as evidence now, and they will do more to embarrass faith than to support it.

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'And greater works than these shall he do.' Where are we to find them? Mr. Dearmer says at Lourdes and Assisi. Dr. Forsyth says in the conversion of Constantine, in the theses-nailing of Luther, in the night-shelters and farm-colonies of the Salvation Army. But there is a third answer this month.

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In the *Contemporary Review* for July there is an article on 'Our Unrealized Divine Sonship.' The author, Mr. E. Wake Cook, has this very promise in his mind. Greater works—it is just these greater works that are unrealized. He does not look to Lourdes. He does not consider Luther. He holds that nothing worth speaking of as 'greater works' has yet been done. But he believes in the promise as heartily as Mr. Dearmer or Dr. Forsyth. He believes that the greater works are yet to come. They will come as soon as we have discovered Andrew Jackson Davis.

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For the greater works which Jesus promised are not merely such works of bodily healing as Mr. Dearmer is content to believe in. Nor are they solely works of moral progress, such as Dr. Forsyth rejoices to recall. They are works in which body and soul go together. And they are works of the future. There will be healings, for the soul will gain incredible control of the body; and there will be the discovery of senses in the soul, senses which will reveal realities of existence yet undreamt of, and an entrance into worlds of goodness and of service which have not yet come within the horizon of our most exalted prayers.

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Now the hope of all this is Dr. Andrew Jackson Davis. Sixty years ago Andrew Jackson Davis, M.D. (he was no M.D. then, but a young man just out of his teens, who had had only five months' schooling), wrote a book on *The Principles of Nature: Her Divine Revelations.* In that book he treated first of the visible universe. He analyzed our social conditions and offered remedies for their defects, 'better adapted to human nature than the so-called "scientific" schemes of the Socialists.' And then he described a spiritual universe 'of unspeakable grandeur as the higher stage of the vast scheme of evolution everywhere in operation.' It was at once a higher and an after life, 'the most scientific, consistent, and convincing ever promulgated.'

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And how did the uneducated young man accomplish all this? By calling upon his subconscious self. It was a triumph of psychology. He was in a trance. His spiritual faculties were liberated from the prison of his body by mesmerism. And in that new liberty he made the discoveries which were embodied in his book. In trance he dictated, in daily lectures extending over thirteen months, this great book which gives 'a history and a philosophy of the cosmos, the whole range of material and spiritual existence.'

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Dr. Davis is now over eighty. Mr. Cook calls upon us to investigate his case ere it be too late. For, says he, the experience of the Ploughkeepsie Seer shows 'the vast range of faculty latent in each of us,' and is the hope and assurance that we shall yet actually do 'greater works than these.'

# M. Loisy and the Gospel Story.

By the Rev. Cyril W. Emmet, M.A., Vicar of West Hendred, Berks.

The publication of Loisy's *Les Évangiles Synoptiques* more than a year ago coincided with the wave of excitement which accompanied their distinguished author's excommunication, and the Modernist controversy as a whole. The sympathies of English students could only be on one side, and these extraneous and accidental circumstances made it difficult to appraise dispassionately the value of Loisy's commentary. By now perhaps the halo of martyrdom is a little less dazzling to our eyes, and it is more possible to examine the books in the light of common day. No one can refuse to acknowledge their exhaustive and scholarly treatment of their subject, or the lucidity and charm of their style, but there can be no doubt that to most readers they have proved a disappointment. When critics of the calibre of Sanday, Salmon, Ramsay, Burkitt, Allen, and Harnack had done so much to vindicate the general historical accuracy of the Gospels, we seemed to be moving towards something of a fixed position in their criticism, but here the whole question is thrown back indefinitely. With Loisy in one's mind, it is possible on hardly any point to speak of 'the unanimity of modern critics,' and it is safe to say that the Gospels have never received more drastic treatment from one who stood within the pale of historic Christianity.

Now the two volumes which comprise the commentary are somewhat terrifying in size, and probably more people are ready to talk about them than to read them. It may, then, be of service to attempt a sketch of Loisy's portion at somewhat greater length than has been possible in the ordinary reviews. For it is well for those who defend Loisy, sometimes with greater enthusiasm than knowledge, to realize clearly to what they are committed. We may sympathize with him sincerely and respectfully in the treatment he has received, and admire unreservedly his devotion to the truth, but most of us will probably prefer to pause before we accept his critical conclusions.

We need only state summarily his view of the Gospels themselves, as helping us to understand his estimate of their historical value and of their picture of Christ, which is the main theme of his book. Briefly, he throws back the three Synoptic Gospels to late dates, St. Mark to about 75, St. Matthew and St. Luke to at least the close of the first century. They are not, even in part, the work of their traditional authors; and what is more important, they are in no sense first-hand authorities. 'En ce qui concerne l'origine des Synoptiques, il paraît certain que pas un d'eux ne repose directement et complètement sur la tradition orale, qu' aucun d'eux n'est l'expression immédiate de souvenirs gardés par un témoin' (i. p. 81). Even St. Mark, the earliest, is 'une œuvre de second main,' 'une œuvre de foi beaucoup plus qu'un témoignage historique' (p. 84). They are all three composite documents, many stages removed from the original facts, and have been drastically edited under influences which we shall consider later. Loisy's main interest with the 'Synoptic problem' is to show that neither where our documents agree, nor where they differ, can they be regarded as resting on any sound basis of fact.

We proceed to outline the career of Jesus, as Loisy conceives it (i. pp. 203 ff.). The troubled state of Palestine under Roman rule and Herodian misgovernment had produced a prophet. A certain John appeared preaching the near fulfilment of the national hopes, and the approach of the Kingdom of God. Among his hearers there found Himself, more or less by accident, one Jesus, born at Nazareth some thirty years before. He already, as it seems, believed Himself to be called by God, to be the chief agent in the proclamation of the Kingdom, and was ready, like others, to be baptized by John. This experience deepened the conviction of His call, and on the prophet's imprisonment He decided to carry on his work. He adopted the idea of the Kingdom, as He found it, with its traditional Judaic setting (i. p. 225), and the one theme of His preaching was its imminence, together with the necessity of repentance for those who looked for a share in it. It meant the future rule of God and of righteousness upon earth, inaugurated by a resurrection, which need not be conceived of as sweeping away the material world. 'La notion évangélique du royaume n'est pas si spirituelle; les hommes qui y auront part seront en chair et en os; ils ne se marieront pas, parce qu'ils seront immortels,

mais ce n'est point par pure métaphore qu'on se les figure assemblés dans un festin' (p. 238). He Himself is to hold the chief place therein, and in that sense He is the Christ. But He is only the Christ of the future; He is not so yet; hence the reticence as to His claims. 'En fait, il n'y avait pas de Messie tant qu'il n'y avait pas de royaume' (p. 213). This is the central idea of His conception of His person; titles such as 'Son of God' or 'Son of Man,' if used at all, were vague and general, and of no real significance as explaining who He was. His ethical teaching was transitory, not having in view the normal requirements of social life of His own or any other period, but laying down the conditions for entrance into the Kingdom, which was soon to sweep away the existing order of things. 'Toute la morale de l'Évangile est donc subordonnée à la conception eschatologique du règne de Dieu' (p. 236).[1] This teaching was marked by a strong independence, an originality of selection; also by great simplicity; and both of these features attracted the people. Parables or simple metaphors played a large part in it; but were in no way designed to veil the truth from the unready, as our Evangelists have falsely imagined. Though we are told that the first three Gospels 'représentent fidèlement la substance de l'enseignement donné par Jésus' (p. 82), yet such large deductions must be made from this admission that we wonder where we can rely on finding the real meaning of Jesus, let alone His exact words. The parables have been much edited; some are entirely due to the Evangelists. Generally 'il est à présumer que les disciples mêmes ne firent jamais aucun soin pour retenir ce qu'ils entendaient, et que leur mémoire garda seulement ce qui les avait le plus frappés' (p. 187). Only striking fragments remain, and of these the meaning is often disguised by their setting and combination. Probably none of the 'words from the Cross' are authentic (ii. p. 684). A saying such as that of St. Mk 9[1] ('There be some here which shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power') is genuine because untrue; but as actually spoken, it was probably still more untrue, and Christ is presumed to have said, 'Those here shall not die, etc.' (ii. p. 28). We are reminded of the 'foundation pillars' of Schmiedel's article.

[1] Loisy here seems to adopt the *Interimsethik* of a recent German critic, Schweitzer; *i.e.* Christ's teaching was intended only for an interval which was expected to be short.

More or less against His will, Jesus appeared as a worker of miracles. Here the facts have been grossly exaggerated in our records, under the influence of 'faith,' 'symbolism,' and so on, and the details are quite unreliable, but He probably did work a certain number of cures in nervous diseases, particularly in those supposed to be due to demoniac possession. A few months was enough to attract the attention of the political authorities, Antipas in Galilee, and the ruling caste at Jerusalem, and Jesus retired for safety to the north. Here comes the crisis of the ministry; the disciples confess their belief in His Messiahship, and encouraged by this, their Master decides to declare Himself at Jerusalem. 'Là est le terme assigné à la préparation du règne de Dieu. Jérusalem est le passé, la ville des grands souvenirs; c'est le présent, le lieu des réunions nationales; c'est aussi l'avenir, car une Jérusalem nouvelle doit surgir à la place de l'ancienne' (i. p. 213). The decision was dangerous, and the disciples realized it. So did Jesus Himself. But He never lost His faith that somehow God would intervene by a miracle, and save Him. 'Jésus n'allait pas à Jérusalem pour y mourir; il y allait pour préparer et procurer, au risque de sa vie, l'avènement de Dieu' (p. 214). The events of the next few days accentuated the danger, but still there remained the hope. 'Jésus n'avait pas laissé de la (sc. *la catastrophe*) prévoir, mais il n'avait pas cessé non plus d'espérer le miracle' (p. 218). That indeed was the ground of the prayer in Gethsemane. No miracle, however, came; He was arrested, and at once hurried before Pilate, who condemned Him to death with little hesitation, as claiming to set up a kingdom. Jesus, in fact, could not deny the charge; for His mission, as He understood it, 'n'était pas l'institution d'une société spirituelle, compatible avec tous les pouvoirs humains, c'était l'instauration complète du règne de Dieu, à la place de la tyrannie des hommes' (p. 221). Of the crucifixion practically no details are known; He died with some loud cry on His lips, and was buried, probably by the soldiers, in the common grave. 'Ainsi finit le rêve de l'Évangile; la réalité du règne de Dieu allait commencer.'

Not unnaturally we exclaim 'how?' For to the historian the curious fact is that from this career, in no way unique, hardly out of the common, there has arisen a religion which has dominated the civilized world, and which still has some hold even

over educated minds. The Abbé himself believes in it sincerely. How then did it come about? Apparently because Jesus was followed by a succession of men of spiritual power and literary genius who proved able to develop in a most unexpected manner a somewhat unpromising material. A few of them are known to us by name, in particular a certain Paul of Tarsus; the majority are remembered only by fragments of their work. They include the series of writers to whom we owe the Gospels, the 'Christian prophets' who are responsible for their poetry (p. 256), or such men as the 'croyant de génie' who has given us the account of the Transfiguration (ii. p. 33).

The first step was soon taken. The impression made by Jesus on His followers was too strong to be effaced merely by His death. 'Le travail intérieur de leur âme enthousiaste pouvait leur suggérer la vision de ce qu'ils souhaitaient' (i. p. 223). The wished-for visions soon came, the earliest apparently to Peter by the lake of Galilee, in the half-light of the morning; a late and artificial version of this is preserved in St. Jn 21. Others followed; and it was of course quite a natural thing for simple folk to believe in a Resurrection, to stake their lives on the fact, and to find in the belief a force sufficient to renew the face of the earth. 'Nul ne contestait que Jésus fût mort sur la croix. Nul ne pouvait démontrer qu'il ne fut pas ressuscité' (p. 224). The need of some proof was, however, felt later on, and this was met in two ways. Nothing was known of the burial of Jesus; His friends had perhaps tried to find His body, and their failure gave rise to the legend of the empty tomb (i. p. 178; ii. pp. 721 ff.). To the final editor of the second Gospel this was in itself sufficient, and he concludes his narrative with its discovery, thinking it unnecessary to add details of any appearances of the risen Christ. Legend soon defined 'the third day' as the date. In popular belief the spirit haunted the body till this time, and a resurrection afterwards would be inconceivable. The 'third day' was further identified with the first day of the week, because Christians were in the habit of meeting together on that day, and pagan converts naturally fixed upon it as being 'the day of the sun.'[1] Possibly also, the influence of the Old Testament was at work, in the parallel of Jonah, or the 'third day' of Hos $6^2$ (i. p. 177; ii. p. 723). Loisy forgets to remind us that this passage is never quoted in N.T.

The second proof of the Resurrection itself was also found in the prophecies of the Old Testament. 'Il est de toute invraisemblance que les textes de l'Ancien Testament aient suggéré aux disciples de Jésus la résurrection de leur Maître; mais ce qui paraît certain, c'est que cette idée, aussitôt que née, chercha son appui, sa défense, sa preuve, dans les Écritures, et qu'elle les y trouva' (i. p. 176).

The crucial step of a belief in the Resurrection having been taken, further developments quickly followed, particularly under the influence of St. Paul. Dr. Sanday, in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (ii. p. 886), says: 'We need to examine with all the closeness in our power the nature of the relation between St. Paul and Christ, or—*what almost amounts to the same thing*—between the Epistles (as represented by their central group) and the Gospels.' But Loisy by no means regards these two statements of the problem as identical. For him, our Gospels are impregnated with Paulinism, St. Mark, the earliest, no less than the rest; in fact rather more. The author was probably 'grand partisan de Paul'; 'son évangile est une interpretation paulinienne, volontairement paulinienne, de la tradition primitive. Son paulinisme ne tient pas seulement à quelques expressions, à quelques lambeaux de phrase ou de doctrine qu'il aurait empruntés à l'Apôtre des gentils; il est dans l'intention générale, dans l'esprit, dans les idées dominantes et dans les éléments les plus caractéristiques de son livre' (i. p. 116). It was St. Paul who discovered a wide significance in the death of Jesus, as 'a ransom for many.' It was not so in His own view. 'Jésus a regardé sa mort comme possible, et, dans certain éventualité, comme la condition providentielle du royaume qui allait venir, mais non comme un élément nécessaire en soi de sa fonction messianique; il l'a envisagée comme un risque à courir, un péril à affronter, non comme l'acte salutaire par excellence auquel devait tendre son ministère, et duquel dépendait essen-

[1] This extraordinary argument should be noticed. All our evidence shows the 'first day' as established in the usage of the Church before Gentile influence had had time to make itself felt. No doubt later on, its appropriateness as 'the day of light' was realized (*e.g.* by Justin), but this could hardly have led to its choice. And to suggest that Christians fixed on Sunday as the day of the Resurrection, because for some unknown reason they were in the habit of observing it as a day of worship, may well stand as a classical example of hysteron-proteron.

tiellement tout l'avenir' (i. p. 243). Under similar influence the idea of forgiveness of sins has been introduced into a simple miracle such as the healing of the sick of the palsy, giving a new turn to the whole episode (i. p. 108, 476). It is to St. Paul that we owe the whole narrative of the institution of the Eucharist; the very words of consecration are derived from him: 'Ce doit être lui qui, le premier, a conçu et présenté la coutume chrétienne comme une institution fondée sur une volonté que Jésus aurait exprimée et figurée dans la dernière cène' (ii. p. 541). The only basis of fact was a supper held at Bethany, in which Jesus promised His disciples a share in the Messianic feast.

Under such influences the person of Jesus assumes a new importance; He was not merely the Messiah of the future kingdom; He was Christ on earth. He becomes the incarnate Wisdom of God; He will appear again as Judge. 'Jésus apparaît comme juge et non comme témoin; il ne présente pas les hommes à son Père; il vient dans la gloire du Père, et accompagné des anges. Cette mise en scène apocalyptique est aussi dans le goût et les idées de Paul' (ii. p. 26). He must then be supposed to have known of His approaching death and to have understood its necessity. Prophecies of it are readily placed in His mouth. The predictions we find in the Gospels 'sont visiblement dominées par une double préoccupation théologique et apologétique, à savoir, montrer que le Christ avait prévu sa fin' (ii. p. 16). He must be protected against the carping of unbelievers! 'La dignité du Christ est sauvée, dans le récit de Gethsémani, par un acte formel de résignation á la volonté du Père' (i. p. 181). Generally with regard to His knowledge of the future, 'on ne se borna pas à gloser les paraboles primitives, on en créa quelques-uns' (p. 190). Why, then, were the Apostles so completely taken by surprise? Simply because they were obtuse and unworthy of their Master. This explanation has the advantage of exalting the far-seeing (or imaginative?) Apostle of the Gentiles, at the expense of his Galilean predecessors. The second Gospel is dominated by this idea; examples may be found in the refusal of the thrones to the two sons of Zebedee, in the praise of the exorcist 'who follows not us,' in the rebuke to Peter after his confession[1] (i. p. 96, 117; ii. p. 20). The 'first shall be last, and the last first' is a vindication of the position of St. Paul. We seem to remember something of this sort in the criticism of fifty years ago, and had imagined it was somewhat out of date.

It remained to emphasize the sin and unbelief of the Jewish nation in rejecting its Christ. This result is attained not merely by a certain heightening of the opposition between Jesus and the Pharisees, or by an increased stress on their hypocrisy; the central facts have been manipulated in a startling way. The whole narrative of the trial before Caiaphas is due to a desire to transfer the guilt from the Roman to the Jew (i. p. 181). 'Le procès devant Caïphe est une fiction apologétique' (p. 111). The denial of Peter is the only solid fact between the arrest and a brief morning consultation of the Sanhedrin to prepare the charge which was to be presented before Pilate (ii. p. 595). St. Luke's account of the trial before Herod is a trace of another attempt to do the same thing (p. 640). The Barabbas episode is again a legend with the same tendency; possibly it has some slight historical basis.

Once more, when the Gospels took their present form an organized Church existed. In fact, Jesus had no idea of founding any society; it was unnecessary, if the Kingdom was so near. He chose the Twelve, as preachers of that Kingdom, not at all as the first of a long line of successors. This gap, again, was filled without hesitation, and we find much which contemplates a Church, with its officers, its organization, and its worship; all this is entirely unhistorical. This is particularly the case in St. Matthew, where ecclesiastical interests are strongest. We may instance the promise to St. Peter, which, we are told, represents accurately the position of the Church and of St. Peter's successors in the writer's time (ii. p. 12).[2] In other cases the details of the picture merely represent the later usage of the Church. In St. Luke's account of the Baptism, 'on croirait assister, et l'on assiste en effet à un baptême dans les premières communautés chrétiennes' (i. p. 411). The accounts of the feeding of the five thousand, and of the Last Supper are both largely coloured by the customs of the Agapé and the Eucharist, as actually celebrated in the Church of later days.

Generally speaking, Christian apologetic and

[1] We note that St. Matthew is supposed to be free from this tendency (ii. p. 7); yet he narrates the rebuke.

[2] The passage is one of the few which betray the Roman touch; cf. the remarks on the perpetual virginity in i. p. 290.

Christian faith have been everywhere at work, the former particularly in the first Gospel. Faith surrounded the head of its hero with a halo; He tends to become omniscient; claims are put in His mouth which express the later views of His followers. 'Dans tous ces développements, ce n'est plus seulement la foi qui domine le souci de l'exactitude historique: il en a été ainsi dès le commencement; c'est la dévotion, née de la foi, qui se satisfait dans les peintures qui lui semblant les plus dignes de son objet' (i. p. 182). The narrative of the Transfiguration, which is supposed to have been originally a legend of a post-Resurrection vision, is an example of this tendency. But fancy was particularly busy with the question of the origin of the Master. The first conception was that of a unique consecration in the Baptism. This was felt to be insufficient, and myths of the Virgin Birth arose, with which go the connected stories of the Magi, the visits to the temple, etc. It will be readily understood that the Abbé takes the most severely critical view of their origin. They are 'pieuses fictions'; 'l'ensemble des anecdotes, y compris celle de Jésus à douze ans, n'a rien qui dépasse les facultés moyennes d'invention des hagiographes populaires à toute époque et en tout pays' (i. p. 197; cf. pp. 139, 169). He differs from others of the extreme school only in the very low estimate he forms of their literary and imaginative value; of this more later. We note that he believes that their origin is to be looked for on Gentile soil, not so much in mythological ideas, as in the tendency to conceive of the Divine Sonship as something which must be materially realized (i. p. 339).

As in the Resurrection story, so here the influence of the O.T. has been strongly felt. Is $7^{14}$ did not, indeed, create the belief in the Virgin Birth, but it served as a valuable proof thereof. In *L'Évangile et l'Église* (p. 24), the Abbé laid down the principle with regard to the O.T. that 'il serait plus juste de dire qu'elle colore la plupart des récits, que d'affirmer qu'elle en a créé quelques-uns.' His present view seems to go beyond that. The story of the Magi is regarded as suggested by the star of Balaam's prophecy. The hymns of St. Luke are merely imitations, not very successful or appropriate, of O.T. songs. The announcement of the betrayal is probably inspired by Ps $41^{10}$; the flight of the young man naked, by Am $2^{16}$. Most startling of all, the fourth word from the Cross ('My God, etc.') has nothing of the crucial significance usually assigned to it; it simply expresses the Christian conviction that Ps 22 was Messianic, and could be applied to the Crucifixion (ii. p. 684).

We pass on to consider a further factor of which Loisy makes much, the influence of symbolism. The details of the Gospel story must have a meaning, and were freely, and more or less deliberately, invented to convey that meaning. Whole incidents, narrated as fact, are really only picturesque symbols of spiritual truth. Many of the miracles are explained in this way. The draught of fishes is an allegory of the success of the Gospel among the Gentiles, just as the rejection of Nazareth had figured its failure among the Jews (i. p. 439). So in the raising of the widow's son at Nain, 'la veuve désolée représente la fille de Sion, Jérusalem menacée de perdre Israël, son fils unique, et le perdant en effet, pour le recouvrer miraculeusement par la puissance de Jésus' (i. p. 655). The feeding of the five thousand is in origin the expansion of a metaphor about spiritual food; $5+2=7$, the perfect number; the 12 loaves are the inexhaustible treasures of the Gospel. 'A lire le premier narrateur, on se douterait à peine qu'il s'agit d'un miracle, le récit flottant, pour ainsi dire, et très consciemment, entre le symbole et la réalité' (i. p. 938). It is indeed not always clear how far the symbol was realized, or how far the miracle was literally understood by the Evangelists. But to Loisy the allegory is not something added to the fact; it has produced the fact—or rather the fiction.

The principle is not only called in to explain the miraculous; it accounts for much which to the ordinary reader looks like the most innocent detail. The 'after six days' of the Transfiguration is symbolic of a mystic week (ii. p. 30). Did Christ's friends mourn His death? It is an allegory of the universal mourning of nature (p. 698). Do we read of two thieves on whom the Crucifixion made an opposite impression? It is not fact, but 'le mauvais larron représente la judaïsme incrédule, la foi du bon larron représente la conversion du monde' (p. 677). We hear of two sisters, Martha and Mary; they are an allegory of the Jewish and Gentile sections of the Church, and Loisy feels himself unable to gainsay those who see in the story nothing more (p. 105). The 'mountains' of the first Gospel are all pure symbol

(p. 745). 'La pâque du dernier repas dans les Synoptiques, et, celle du crucifiement dans le quatrième Évangile, le sabbat de la sépulture, et le dimanche de la résurrection sont des données symboliques, dont il est maintenant difficile à l'historien de dégager le point de départ dans le réalite des faits' (p. 700). We cannot, indeed, distinguish between fancy and fact; the mysterious realm of the subconscious self come to our aid. 'Paul n'a pas pris pour traditionnel un récit où il avait mêlé sa propre doctrine; le mélange s'est fait de lui-même dans la région subconsciente de l'âme où se préparent les visions et les songes' (ii. p. 532, n. 1). We may compare an eloquent passage in i. p. 195, unfortunately too long to quote; the enthusiastic faith of the first century was not troubled to draw any distinction between vision and reality.

What are we to say of all this? Perhaps our first word would be that if the Roman Church is ever to excommunicate, it could hardly be expected to hold its hand here. But after all a man's views are not always to be received as truth, because he has been excommunicated, and sympathy with one whom we may regard as the victim of persecution must not be allowed to blind our judgment. In the first place, most Christians of every school will be with us in an amazed protest against the extraordinary lack of taste (to call it nothing worse) which marks these volumes. Sarcasm and irony are mercilessly invoked to call attention to the 'absurdities' of the Gospel narrative; phrases such as 'enfantin,' 'banal,' 'd'une invention très faible,' 'escamotage littéraire,' are continually applied to it. The raising of the widow's son is 'un récit sans originalité'; the Apostles were 'ni les êtres obtus que dit Marc, ni les personnages de vitrail que montre Luc' (i. p. 167); the details of the trial before Pilate are 'de traits qui conviennent mieux à la fiction légendaire qu'à l'histoire, et qui ressembleraient plutôt à un effet de théâtre, dans un mélodrame ou une pièce enfantine, qu'à la réalité' (ii. p. 644). A passage on the stories of the infancy has already been quoted; it by no means stands alone. 'Rien n'est plus arbitraire comme exégèse, ni plus faible comme narration fictive' than the second chapter of St. Matthew; nor is it much better to read that in St. Luke's account 'le merveilleux est moins banal et moins enfantin' (p. 169). He has, too, the lowest opinion of the Evangelists' style—St. Mark has 'aucun goût littéraire'; St. Matthew, 'une médiocre invention'; St. Luke's style is 'inégal, maniéré, on oserait presque dire truqué.' The dedication to Theophilus is 'pompeuse et banale' (i. pp. 257 ff.). The whole passage should be read with its sarcastic phrases of half-praise to get the full effect. Loisy realizes of course that his view is, to say the least of it, unusual, and he quotes Renan's well-known eulogy on the other side (p. 260, n. 3). *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*; and one who now attacks the Gospels as literature will not injure *them*. Probably such language has never before been used by a professed believer; when it is, it can hardly expect the mitigation of sentence which may be granted to a Blatchford.

With regard to the Abbé's general position, it is impossible here to enter into a discussion of the details of the commentary. Any one at all familiar with modern criticism will have noticed that on many points he can be answered completely from writers of the most extreme school. But one or two general considerations may be allowed. It is usual with English critics to insist on the fact that they approach the Bible with no prejudice against the supernatural as such. It is not so with Loisy. He states his fundamental assumption quite clearly. The author of the Acts cannot be an eye-witness because he narrates miracles. 'Ne serait-il pas inouï qu'un disciple immédiat des apôtres eût présenté comme a fait Luc les témoignages concernant la résurrection?' (i. p. 172; cf. p. 179). To him the miraculous is not to be marked with a query in the margin, as Sanday has suggested; it calls for the thickest of blue pencils at once. The Gospels as a whole cannot rest on the evidence of eye-witnesses, because they contain miracles. This *a priori* assumption is at least dangerous, some would say unscientific. We remember Harnack's argument. He gives a list of the miracles in the 'We-sections' of Acts: 'mehr Wunder in wenigen Versen kann man wohl doch nicht wünschen!' The eye-witness (and Loisy himself admits that in this case he was an eye-witness) who has recorded these was quite capable of the miracles of the rest of the Acts and the third Gospel (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 24).

Again, most readers will feel that the part assigned to symbolism is exaggerated. Few will deny that metaphor has sometimes been misinterpreted as fact, and allegory transformed into

history. With regard, *e.g.*, to such a detail as the darkness at the Crucifixion, most critics will admit that there is as much of symbol as of fact, and will approve the Abbé's delightful epigram, 'Le ciel est toujours sombre pour une âme désolée' (ii. p. 679). And his commentary on the Fourth Gospel has made us realize that the tendency may have been at work on a larger scale. But even if one admits the possibility with a mystical writing such as the Fourth Gospel, the case is very different with the first three. They read as a whole as simple, straightforward narrative, and to find subtle and hidden allegories in almost every detail, number, place, or saying, is surely a return to an exegesis long discredited. If the episode of the two thieves is merely an allegory of faith and unbelief, there are few incidents in history which cannot be explained as symbol rather than fact. We are reminded of the tyranny of the 'Solar Myth,' and of Tylor's amusing exposure of its possibilities in *Primitive Culture*.

The fact is that Loisy approaches the Gospels, as they have been interpreted by centuries of Christian teaching, and often reads into them far more than their writers, with all their Oriental mind, ever dreamt of. Naturally we believe that in many cases they selected their facts as typical and significant. But what is typical may none the less remain true as fact. We need no more regard Martha and Mary as symbolic personifications of the Jewish and the Gentile Church, than we regard the two daughters of Henry VIII. as fictitious embodiments of Romanism and Protestantism, because they happen to represent different elements in the English mind of the period.

It is curious, again, to note how with all his undeniable psychological subtlety, the Abbé again and again succeeds in missing the obvious, and discovering difficulties and contradictions, which it requires very little ingenuity to explain. He misses the exquisite appropriateness of the reproaches round the Cross, of St. Peter's remonstrance after the first announcement of the Passion and of Christ's subsequent rebuke, an incident which it is hard to believe invented. He fails to see how true to life is the same Apostle's dazed suggestion of the three tabernacles: 'il n'est pas croyable que les trois personnages célestes soient invités à rester pour le plaisir des trois disciples' (ii. p. 36). The pathetic irony of the 'Sleep on now' in Gethsemane is twisted into a literal command, frustrated by the unexpected arrival of Judas. Mary could never have kept the events of the childhood in her heart, because she could not understand them! 'On n'a pas coutume de retenir avec soin les choses qu'on n'a pas comprises' (i. p. 382). Difficulties of the most pedantic description are made much of, *e.g.* in the angel's word to Zacharias, 'thy prayer is heard,' because we have not been specially told that he had been praying for a child; or, in the murmurings of the scribes in the healing of the sick of the palsy, because St. Mark had not previously referred to their presence. In the same incident fault is found, because the crowd is represented as paying more attention to the miracle than to the forgiveness of sins—a trait altogether true to human nature. Similarly, in the insults before Caiaphas, we read 'les "quelques-uns" qui se mettent à frapper Jésus, arrivent on ne sait d'où' (ii. p. 612), as though every incident must commence with an exhaustive list of the *dramatis personæ*. With regard to the Jewish trial we are told no one could have known the details; 'aucun fidèle de Jésus n'était en état de les prendre sur l'heure; aucun ne songea sans doute à les prendre plus tard' (ii. p. 596); the events of the crucifixion remained equally unknown; 'aucun disciple n'avait souci de recueillir pour la postérité ce qui se passait' (i. p. 179).

Frankly, this is hair-splitting unworthy of the Abbé and his subject, and such arguments are enough to make even the most careless reader realize that negative criticism is not always the most scientific. The whole treatment is, in fact, *a priori* and subjective to a degree. The true method tries without *arrière pensée* to analyze the documents, to get to their sources, to estimate their authority. It allows to the full for the influence of all the factors on which Loisy lays so much stress, symbolism, idealizing of the past, Old Testament prophecy, and ecclesiastical interests. But it can set a limit to their influence, and as we study our authorities, the historical figure of Jesus, and the fact of His work stand out all the more clearly. As Harnack has said of the two sources of the Gospels, 'where they agree their evidence is strong, and they do agree in many and important points. Destructive critical inquiries . . . break themselves in vain against the rock of their united testimony' (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 172).

On the other hand, if we accept the drastic *a priori* treatment of Loisy, we are ultimately brought to the conclusion that we can know nothing of the historic Jesus. And if the figure and work of Jesus dissolve in mist, how can we explain the fact of Christianity or the consistent, lifelike narrative of the Gospels? The ascription to unknown men of genius will not do. If the story was in the main true, it required no very extraordinary power to tell it for us, as it has been told. The magic is in the facts, rather than in their presentation. But if the career of Jesus was only what Loisy imagines, the real founders of Christianity were those who developed the story and gave it the form in which it has appealed to the world. Where were such men to be found in the first century? As Professor Burkitt has reminded us, it is not an easy thing to write parables such as those of the Gospels, and after all, as we have seen, Loisy himself has no very high estimate of the abilities of the Evangelists.

But the last word in a discussion such as this will always be 'What of the Resurrection?' The Abbé's position is not clear. Were the visions true, *i.e.* were they consistent, veridical, objective apparitions of a living being, proving the persistence of personality after death in the sense desired by the Society for Psychical Research? If so, they form a fact as unique in the history of the world, as is the Resurrection as more popularly conceived. And then the story of the life that led up to it must be read once more in the light of its unique sequel. We lose the right to reject all that raises that life above the common run of human experience. If, on the other hand, the visions were merely subjective, the working of the (supposed) intense enthusiasm of the mourners, we are face to face with the old difficulty of explaining the rise of the belief, its persistence and general consistency, its vitality and value for the world. An immortality, such as that ascribed to Keats in *Adonais*, fails to meet the requirements of Christian history and of individual experience. It is a small point that the Abbé's treatment leaves his own position a psychological puzzle; the crux is that it leaves the fact of Christianity an insoluble historical enigma.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF REVELATION.

### Revelation ii. 10.

**'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.'—R.V.**

### The Situation.

It is the promise to the angel of the Church in Smyrna. This Church, faithful hitherto beyond all the others, was about to be sorely tried, tried with persecution even unto death. The promise is both a preparation and an encouragement. It is a preparation sent by Him who is the First and the Last (see the signature at the beginning). And it is an encouragement from Him who Himself was persecuted unto death and received the crown of life.

### The Language.

*Be thou faithful.* The same Greek word means 'believing' in Jn $20^{27}$. And no doubt faith is the foundation of faithfulness. But here the meaning is 'trustworthiness,' 'loyalty,' as in Mt $25^{21.\,23}$, Lk $16^{10.\,11}$, Rev $2^{13}$ $3^{14}$.

'*Thou*' singles out the 'Angel.' We know that one 'Angel' of Smyrna was faithful unto death—the great Polycarp.

*The crown of life.* Not 'a'; there is only one. Life in its perfection cannot be separated into portions. It is His life. 'Because I live, ye shall live also.'

### The Sermon.

There are two things in the text—Faithfulness and its Reward.

I. Faithfulness. 'Be thou faithful unto death.'

1. It is faithfulness, not all through life until death comes, but such as may issue in death. It is quite true that a daily martyrdom for Christ in the workshop or in the home may be more heroic than a single act of loyalty that causes death. But

the letter is addressed to the Church of Smyrna, where it was possible that fidelity to Christ might issue any day in a violent death. Within the next half-century this Church passed through a fierce persecution which culminated in the martyrdom of Polycarp. And it is to be noticed that the alternative to death was a very simple act. What harm is there, said even the friends of the aged Bishop of Smyrna, in calling Cæsar Lord and offering incense to his statue? 'Fourscore and six years,' he answered, 'have I been His servant, and He hath done me no wrong: how can I blaspheme my King who saved me?'

When I was serving as a chaplain in the army at one of the great training camps, I was summoned in haste to the butts. There had been an accident. One of my best helpers, a man strenuous in his profession of Christ and a warm advocate of temperance, had been shot. He had been acting as sergeant of the markers. Doubtful of one of the hits, he had raised the red flag to stop firing at that target, and had gone to the front to examine it. While there, a bullet meant for the next target struck him, and he fell, mortally wounded. The doctor was soon on the scene. After examining the poor fellow, he shook his head and said, 'Poor fellow! Give him some brandy.' The stricken man saw his glance—knew its meaning. He was not concerned about that. He was ready. But he had one question to ask. 'What is the brandy for?' 'To help you to bear the pain,' replied the doctor, as he offered him a flask. 'No, thanks,' was the reply, 'I would not like our fellows to think I had funked at the last.' A minute later he had gone to take his crown. He had been 'faithful unto death.'[1]

2. It is such faithfulness as a soldier owes to his sovereign. And we are soldiers. We have taken the *Sacramentum*, the oath of loyalty to our king. This is first. But loyalty to Christ involves loyalty to the things of Christ. Let us break it up into three parts—loyalty to the Person of Christ, loyalty to the Church of Christ, loyalty to our Conscience.

There is a reference to Smyrna's history in the words *Be thou faithful*, which every Christian in the city would understand. In the days before Rome became an Empire, while it was yet a Republic, and before the Eastern cities had learned that Rome was the supreme power in the world, Smyrna had taken sides with her against Carthage and the Seleucid kings. And in those early days, during one of the Roman wars, a Smyrnæan assembly, hearing of the distressed condition of Rome's army, stripped off their own clothes and sent them to the soldiers. And in the days of Rome's greatness the city which had taken her side in earlier days was not forgotten, but was known as *the faithful*.[2]

[1] P. Addison Devis.

[2] C. Brown, *The Letters of Christ*, p. 42.

1. *Loyalty to Christ*, as the soldier's loyalty to his sovereign. Great leaders have always exercised a fascination over their followers. Without it they could not lead successfully. A soldier will face death cheerfully for a general in whom he heartily believes. But he must believe that the general is himself willing to endure the suffering and face the death to which he sends his soldiers. There is this fascination in Christ. He died for us, and He died first.

This magnetism Napoleon exercised to the full over his soldiers. The most heroic piece of self-sacrifice perhaps known in history occurred in the disastrous Russian expedition of 1814. It was in the depth of winter, and the French army, pressed on all sides by the Cossacks, had to cross a river. The enemy had destroyed all the bridges, and Napoleon was almost at his wits' end. Suddenly came the order that a bridge of some sort must at once be thrown across the river, and the men nearest the water, of course, were the first to carry out the almost impossible task. Several were swept away by the furious tide; others, after a few minutes, sank through cold and exhaustion; but more came and the work proceeded as fast as possible. At last the bridge was completed, and the army reached the opposite bank in safety.

Then followed a dramatic scene, one of the most horrible recorded in the annals of any nation. When the men who had built the bridge were called out of the water not one moved. Clinging to the pillars there they stood silent and motionless. It was ultimately found that they had been frozen to death, their arms rigidly fixed against the woodwork, in the attitude of Caryatides—the Caryatid of Death. Napoleon, who witnessed the awful scene, could not, in spite of his impassive temperament, restrain his tears.[3]

2. *Loyalty to the Church.* The soldier is not only faithful to his leader, he is loyal to his regiment. He fondly speaks of it as 'Ours.' He reverences its flag. He rejoices in the comradeship of its members. He gives as well as takes.

At the battle of Sadowa, in 1866, the Austrians were defeated by the Prussians, and driven from the field. In the trenches lay a young Austrian lad—quite a boy. He was sorely wounded; but when the Prussian ambulance came round, he refused to be removed, and earnestly entreated to be left alone. As it was seen that he had only a few hours to live, his request was granted, and there in the trenches he lay and died. When they came next day to remove his dead body they found the explanation of his strange request. Concealed under his body were the colours of his regiment; and it was clear that in order to prevent these falling into the hands of the enemy while he had life he had thus bravely resolved to die above them. The news soon spread; and the young lad who had been faithful even unto death was lovingly buried with all the honours paid to a hero.

[3] George d'Espartes, *The Legend of the Eagle*.

3. *Loyalty to conscience*, to the Christ within us. This is the Christian's quotation of Shakespeare: 'To thine own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man.' But conscience means convictions. And sometimes convictions are formed too early and on insufficient knowledge. Loyalty to conscience is loyalty to that more light which is yet to come. But let us not despise our early convictions. God is great and despiseth not anything. There were certain Israelites, we are told, who despised 'that pleasant land.' Above all, let us see to it that we *have* convictions. There are times when we must say, with Luther, 'I can do no other.'

In February 1907, on a Saturday night, all passenger trains found themselves held up near Blackburn by danger signals. On going to the signal-box the signalman was found on the floor leaning against the levers—dead. Seized with sudden faintness he obviated any disaster by leaving his red lights on, but had no strength to warn the neighbouring signal-boxes of his illness.

II. The Reward. 'I will give thee the crown of life.'

1. A reward? But is not virtue its own reward? Yes, and this *is* virtue's own reward. For the crown of life in its simplest meaning is life crowned and fulfilled—filled to the full, with ever more of life to fill. Faithfulness is always its own reward. It gives a conscience as the noonday clear; it gives something, or let us rather say somebody, to live for, even Christ; and it brings augmented power—'to him that hath shall be given.'

One of the saddest, and yet perhaps brightest, cases is that of Chao Hsi Mao (30), his mother (57), sister (36), and wife, only 19 years old. Being a prominent and well-known Christian, he was advised by his friends to leave his own village and flee. This he refused to do, and in July all four members were arrested by the Boxers, and their house and all their belongings burnt. They were then bound and taken on a cart to the Boxer chief at Hsin Chou to ask for instructions. He said, 'I don't want to see them; take them back and kill them where arrested.' While on their way back they joined in singing the hymn, 'He leadeth me.' Arrived at a vacant spot outside their own village, they were taken down from the cart, and the man was beheaded first with the huge knife generally used for cutting straw. Still the women would not recant, and the old mother said, 'You have killed my son, you can now kill me,' and she too was beheaded. The other two were still steadfast, and the sister said, 'My brother and mother are dead, kill me too.' After her death there was only the young wife left, and she said, 'You have killed my husband, mother, and sister-in-law, what have I to live for? Take my life as well.' Thus all four sealed their testimony with their blood.[1]

2. But there is also a reward that is given. The winner of the race has the joy of winning, but he also receives the prize. And it is always something to him if the prize is given by some great personage. Who gives this victor's crown? He describes Himself at the beginning of the letter—'the first and the last, who became dead and lived.' The first and the last—that is sufficient. No one was ever before Him in rank or in time; no one will arise after Him to dispute His supremacy.

Faithful unto Death.

She stood alone at the judgment throne,
A maiden of noble birth.
To bear the test of a faith confessed
In the God of Heaven and Earth.
But none could make her the truth forsake,
And the maid was doomed to die.
She breathed a prayer for the strength to bear,
And she heard a voice reply:
'Trust me with thy latest breath,
I am with you in the strife.
Be thou faithful unto death,
And I will give thee a crown of life.'

That night in Rome, from his stately home
To the dungeon cold and dim,
Her lover came, and in Love's dear name
Besought her to live for him.
He pleaded long, for his love was strong;
She wept for the grief he bore;
He spoke of pain, but she prayed again,
And she heard that voice once more:
'Trust me with thy latest breath,
I am with you in the strife.
Be thou faithful unto death,
And I will give thee a crown of life.'

The long night passed, and she met at last,
The end by a tyrant planned.
Her latest breath, in the hour of death,
A prayer for her native land.
Then she sank to rest on her Saviour's breast,
To dwell in the Home above,
And receive her crown, for the life laid down,
In the strength of that voice of love:
'Trust me with thy latest breath,
I am with thee in the strife.
Be thou faithful unto death,
And I will give thee a crown of life.'

3. But why does He describe Himself as He 'who became dead and lived'? First, because he who is faithful unto death is associated with Him in dying. And next, because the crown of life

[1] *Fire and Sword in Shansi.*

which he receives simply means that he has fellowship again with Him in living. 'I will give him the crown of life' is just another way of saying, because I live he will live also; and the very life that I live he will live. And what is the life that He lives? He enters into the glory which He had with the Father before He came into the world. That glory, He tells us, consisted in loving and being loved (Jn $17^{24}$). And to that He has now added the glory of love suffering. The crown of life is fellowship with Him (for life is fellowship, as death is isolation); it is fellowship in love that suffers and wins.

> Of thirty picked servants who had started with me, twenty-eight had now abandoned me, and only two remained: faithful Chanden Sing and Mansing, the leper! The weather continued horrible, with no food for my men, and no fuel! I proposed to the two to go back also, and let me continue alone. I described to them the dangers of following me further, and warned them fully, but they absolutely refused to leave me. 'Sahib, we are not Shokas,' were their words. 'If you die, we will die with you. We fear not death. We are sorry to see you suffer, sahib, but never mind us. We are only poor people, therefore it is of no consequence.'[1]

And what are the means to be taken to maintain our faithfulness and obtain our reward? It is not in the face of stern death, it is mostly in the face of frivolous life that we have to maintain it. The means are prayer and the reading of the Word and some definite service.

> Forenoon and afternoon and night,—forenoon
> And afternoon and night,—forenoon and—what?
> The empty song repeats itself. No more?
>
> Yea, that is life: make this forenoon sublime,
> This afternoon a psalm, this night a prayer,
> And time is conquered, and thy crown is won.

[1] A. H. Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*.

# The Originality and Absoluteness of Christianity.

By the Rev. A. S. Martin, B.D., Aberdeen.

Times are changed since men affirmed without fear of contradiction that the Christian faith is the only true and the one perfect form of religion, underived from man, descended direct from God. To-day the charge is common that Christianity is on the general historical level of all religions, subject like the rest to the law of evolution, traceable to natural causes in its beginnings and course of development, in its characteristic novelties as in its more commonplace resemblances; in a word, that it is neither original nor final.

## I.

The charge demands investigation; and that the more so since it finds some real basis of justification in more than one region of thought in which the modern mind is at home. Three such quarters may be indicated. To begin with, as a matter of fact, Christianity is an *historical* religion; like other religions emerging at a certain time, taking origin among a particular people, and at a definite stage of human culture. Now, however new, it could gain footing only by association with its environment. Religion is a spirit, but it is not a disembodied spirit. It must clothe itself in form and speech 'understanded of the people.' The human mind can take in new thoughts only when it relates them to its former mental content. Of necessity, then, since a point of connexion with the known must be found, Christianity must have entered into relations with contemporary beliefs and practices. Then in the second place, Christianity is, like all other religions, a *rational* belief; nay, it claims to be *the* rational faith. It generates like them ideas, spiritual conceptions and convictions. But scholarly research, in the comparative study of religions, into the different kinds and different developments of the various religions of mankind, has to very many minds made it manifest that no absolute separation can be set up between the ruling ideas of the Christian and the ethnic faiths, that in particular those of the Christian are not so specifically distinctive as to be able to bear the full weight of the claim to be alone from God and as such definitive and normative. In the third place, in this department of religious experience and thought, the doctrine of *evolution* applies as elsewhere. Now

that doctrine brings inevitably with it a bias against the whole idea of special origins and revealed absolutes. These were compatible enough with the older view of the universe and life. But since that mechanical view of nature has yielded to the organic view, they are out of date. The unity and progressiveness of nature are no longer regarded as secured by some external Deity, but by forces resident within nature itself. As a consequence, everything that is or will be is related to its neighbours before it or around it. Evolution and revelation would seem to be contradictories.

Around such considerations as the foregoing recent learning has laboured in considerable detail. It has flashed a flood of light on all parts of the religious tradition whether of heathenism or of Christian times. It has prompted to a new criticism of both, and also to new appreciation of both which cannot fail to prove to the reflecting mind of intense, exquisite interest. In the 'sincerity of light' cast by it, the original and normative character of Christianity, though strongly contested, has not been disproved. It still lifts its face, if not without rebuke, without shame.

## II.

How may it vindicate its confidence? Along three lines. First, by making clear the *limits of evolution*. Secondly, by dispassionate investigation into the *historical relation of Christianity to other religions*. Thirdly, by penetrating insight into the *essence of the Christian Idea*.

1. There is in evolution nothing subversive of the idea of revelation. There are leaders of science who reject special creation, whether of matter or spirit, but not on the ground that evolution offers an alternative to it, but because it is 'literally unthinkable' (H. Spencer). In technical language, evolution deals with secondary, *i.e.* derivative, creation, but does not touch primary creation. The scientific idea of evolution is not, however, that always held in the popular understanding. There are in the popular view three grave features of error: (*a*) the idea that evolution explains origins; (*b*) that evolution is always a progress; (*c*) that evolution makes God needless. It has therefore to be enforced that evolution expresses simply the ruling conception by which to interpret and formulate the *process* of things. It has nothing whatever to do with origins. Recent science is as emphatic on this point as the older—James of Harvard and Lodge of Birmingham as sound as Huxley or Spencer. 'Of origins we know nothing'; 'Ultimate origins are inscrutable',—so they testify. Origins, we are free to claim, are the sphere of revelation. When evolution moves towards progress, it is by 'upward lifts,' or if we regard it as continuous, by 'upward lifting.' Whether those upward lifts come in at special points, the gaps in the evolutionary process, or the upward lifting is constant and immanent, a creative Power must be postulated, and a creative Power, limited in effort by His own laws and not by anything in the material on which He operates. There is nothing contrary to scientific evolution in the view that before from out of the primal mud and mist all creation up to man's mind and soul could arise, creative omnipresent force must have accompanied the process; in other words, that God made all things. 'Made' here means a mystic Act behind appearances; it never means that things have no physical parentage. From that Act all origin springs. The Christian origins likewise. The peculiar Spirit of Christ and of His truth while appearing in history, and having for their manifestation an historical setting and background, are no product of history, if from history itself we discover cogent grounds for the denial and for postulating a fresh incoming at that point, a new onward move, of that operation which, inscrutable to scientific method, we attribute to the Divine Being.

2. We proceed next to inquire whether the facts of history urge on us such a postulate. There is a reading of the evolution of religion which at once answers No. According to it religion began in a low and crude form, such as animism or fetichism. Man supposes that everywhere in the world there are souls like his own, which being potent or impotent require to be appeased and humoured and honoured. Gradually man attained to a deeper consciousness of the power around him. Out of these spirits arose the gods. Polydemonism led to polytheism. Later, mankind came to recognize that the multiplicity of powers is a united power. Then was born monotheism. Monotheism ran through several stages and shed various husks till it reached its highest in the Christian stage. That is a reading adopted by not a few. It is, however, as has been well said, more 'a series of historical hypotheses than any actual representation of an historical course.' It has no authority. It cannot prove its case. The religions of mankind are not to be conceived of as so many stages

and phases of faith all leading up to Christianity and passing on to it the truths which had been successively embodied in each. The religions of the races of mankind have no such common life, no common course of growth of culture through a series of stages which this theory demands. There is not the least trace of such. The heathen world has little inherent unity in its parts. It is essentially a complex or aggregate of coexistent peoples, with separate histories and no common spirit, each being isolated or in little more than external contact with each other, each acting on impulses or principles peculiar to itself, each proceeding on a different course from its neighbours. There can be no greater mistake than to imagine that evolution is always progressive. Huxley squashed that idea. You may evolve into degeneration as into regeneration. The history of religion exemplifies the remark. It does not witness to a straight line of progress. Fetichism is not wanting in high forms. Higher ideas are not wanting in fetichistic forms. From the lower forms, it is true, Christianity is never asserted to have come. But on the theory above mentioned, it is involved that the central principle of the lowest and the lower should appear also in the highest. Is this so?

3. To that question let us address ourselves: the distinctiveness of the central idea of the Christian faith. Without that distinctiveness Christianity would fail both in originality and absoluteness. Wherein does it consist? Religion consists in a personal consciousness, a rational, practical, and feeling consciousness. That is its content. The rank and worth of any religion will be determined by the measure in which it approximates to the realization of a content of that kind *perfect*, *i.e.* completely self-consistent in reason, completely satisfying to the heart, completely effective in working value.

Now the claim of Christianity here is that it alone of historical religions has exhibited the capacity referred to. The study of comparative religion brings out in this connexion matters of extreme interest. In the first place, you see in the ethnic development, everywhere increase and expansion of religious consciousness and religious conception. New gods are always being found, new modes of serving them come in, and these creations have an extraordinary persistence. The next feature we note is this—a constant accompanying movement, to reduce the mass of gathering material to simpler dimensions, to separate the main facts from the side issues. A third point observable is that at the end of an epoch of advance, a critical and philosophic spirit enters to contend with the positive constituents of the religion. A fourth fact is remarkable. Whenever that philosophic temper succeeds in so universalizing the positive content of the religious consciousness as practically to dissolve it, the further power of the religion in question disappears. With the positive goes *pari passu* the power of faith. Now what is the inner meaning of all this? The soul in seeking after God and the goal of life, why should it be so restless? why travel from god to god? The meaning is that in the storm and stress of life, the soul finds no strength and no increase of life, no firm stand, until it find the true God. It is life, 'more life and fuller,' the soul seeks. In these pagan religions, man's soul has sought God in every conceivable object, driven from one to the other, in the search for life and satisfying experience. To them all, as at last also 'to the gods of Greece,' the soul has put its questions. They could give no answer. It was the end of the gods. Their 'twilight' had come. These religions are not stages in one single successive long evolving experience. They are separate, each one a refuge from the insufficiency of the other, and from its inconsistency and irrationality. These religions die because their devotees grow in life.

Consider, on the contrary, the course of the Christian consciousness. Nothing of what appears in ethnic history characterizes it. It has never had a night, or even a twilight. It is old, yet ever new. It bears fruit in every age. It gives inspiration under every sun. It faces every faith and every philosophy, and although always modified in accidents, ever retains its own specialities.

How vast are the movements in the Western world alone the Christian religion has felt! Yet it has always ruled them. Interests changed, relations altered, new ideals crowd out the old, new needs rise, new tasks are received, but over the disappearance of old worlds and old cultures, over new worlds and new tendencies, over them all has continued to shine the light of the gospel. Within its own borders it has, like other religions, experienced in certain things decays, criticisms, reformations, but it is never destroyed. It is by them recalled to its first principles and pristine vigour, renewing men's lives, restoring men's souls. The heathenisms perished by their own principles: Christianity re-

vives by return to its principles, *that* is the amazing contrast. Paganism does not evolve, Christianity once started does. How shall we account for it but by the distinctiveness and the divinity of the Christian? It is a principle manifestly so exhaustless in rational and spiritual resourcefulness as adequately to meet every advancing increase of human reason and human aspiration—manifestly, therefore divine. The historical habiliments in which the Christian idea has clothed itself may, as has often been urged, have been borrowed, here from Mithraism, there from Greco-Roman civilization; its doctrines and ethics may have direct affinities, as it unquestionably has, with the Hebrews, and indirect with the Gentiles, but in all its borrowed raiment it has never lost itself; when seemingly buried, its own inexpugnable self-consciousness has shot up and passed to new triumphs. Everything that has exalted itself against it has been subdued. Christianity is in history the one independent, isolated, exclusive form. Face to face with other forms, it stands unaccountable and aggressive. Its deeper instincts have always been opposed to the idea of mixing in any eclectic fellowship of cult or philosophy; and wherever Christianity has followed its deepest instincts, its original ideas prevail. This, we submit, could never be, if these instincts and ideas were the result or synthesis of previous religious growth. It is, on the contrary, due to one fact, and one only, the advent and incarnation of God in Jesus of Nazareth, whose character has no pattern, pagan or Jewish, and who can be explained by no history but that of the influence He has so powerfully exerted on mankind.

# Recent Foreign Theology.

## Some Problems of the Prophetical Literature.

THE few pages of Habakkuk[1] 'have raised more questions than perhaps any other booklet of the same size in Hebrew literature.' Nicolardot offers no revolutionary solution. In the exegesis of Habakkuk, as elsewhere, 'revolutions are dangerous,' and serve little other purpose than to show 'the inexperience of the debutant.' Nicolardot prefers to traverse the good highway already made by the labours of older scholars, content if he be able to shed 'a little daylight' into nooks and crannies that still remain obscure.

A translation of Habakkuk into lucid, nervous French, with critical notes and an admirably full bibliography of recent studies of the problem, leads him to the main ground. The *Point de Vue Unitaire* is first discussed and disposed of (p. 33 ff.). Alike in its simple traditional form, and in the 'original, interesting, erudite,' but 'far from being proved, or even probable,' reconstructions of Peiser and Duhm, this view fails to do justice to the complexity of the problem. For Nicolardot the *point de résistance* is the 'Chaldean' application of $1^{6ff.}$. There seems to him no good ground for questioning the Massoretic reading הַכַּשְׂדִּים. But even apart from this, he is satisfied, the description can apply neither to the Persians, nor to the Greeks, nor to the Assyrians, but only to the Chaldeans. If so, 'no single date can satisfy the demands of every part of the book' (p. 61). We are thus inevitably led to the *Point de Vue Analytique.*

From this point of view, chap. 3 presents little difficulty. Nicolardot agrees with the great majority of modern scholars in pronouncing the chapter 'a true Psalm,' from some post-exilic Psalter (as is evident from 'the tone and sentiment' of the piece, as well as the musical directions at the beginning and end), which was composed, perhaps, about the middle of the fourth century B.C., during the persecutions of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus (p. 63 ff.). The historical setting of the triumphal Taunt-song in $2^{5-17}$ may also be ascertained with sufficient probability. The 'Woes' are directed against the foreign rulers of Israel, viz. the Chaldeans, on whom judgment is impending for their disregard of God and His righteous demands. The date must therefore be sought about the middle of the sixth century, when the victories of Cyrus opened prophetic eyes in Israel to the 'signs of the times' (p. 68 ff.). The thorniest problems gather round $1^{1}$–$2^{4}$. It

[1] *La Composition du Livre d'Habacuc.* Par Firmin Nicolardot, Dr.-ès-Lettres. Paris: Fischbacher.

is generally admitted that vv.[5-11] disturb the context. But how are they related to the rest of the chapter? Budde's ingenious suggestion that the verses formed the original close of the prophecy, $1^{1}$–$2^{4}$, naturally receives serious consideration. The gain in unity is admitted. But the 'Assyrian' complexion thus given to the prophecy involves the theory in insuperable difficulties (p. 76 ff.). Nicolardot is equally indisposed to accept Giesebrecht's view that an earlier prophecy has here been intercalated. He follows W. B. Stevenson and Marti, instead, in treating the two sections, $1^{5-10.\ 14ff.}$ and $1^{2-4.\ 13}$, as originally independent pieces—the former a true prophecy of impending judgment on Israel for its sins, dating soon after 604 B.C., when the Chaldeans first loomed large on the horizon of Israel's history; the latter a Psalm of much the same tone and age as chap. 3 (p. 82 ff.). Contrary to the prevalent opinion, he is disposed to find the genuine words of Habakkuk not here, but in the Taunt-song, $2^{5-17}$. Habakkuk would thus be a contemporary of Deutero-Isaiah (p. 88).

The most original part of the treatise, however, is found in chap. 4, which discusses the *Point de Vue Synthétique*. Though Nicolardot has broken the prophecy into fragments, he cannot believe that these have come together by mere blind chance. The Redactor, he maintains, was guided by a distinct ethical *motif*. The golden thread that runs through the whole is the thought of God's sovereign righteousness. Thus prophecy and Psalm form warp and woof of a splendid garment of praise. Israel has sinned. Therefore the righteous God must visit the people with fire and sword. The Chaldeans on their part also disregard His will. Therefore they too must be swept off. The first Psalm binds the two prophecies together in a 'grand unity.' The brilliant theophany in the second fitly closes the whole, 'showing God in Person behind the human instruments of His Providence, and above and beyond the fragmentary manifestations of puissant justice the figure of Supreme Judgment' (p. 88 ff.).

Nicolardot's work will command respect as much for its fine courteous spirit as for its critical acumen and careful scholarship. Bitter speech leads to controversy for its own sake. But when brethren live and work together in unity, as this gracious French writer seeks to do with all his fellow-labourers, the hardest problems yield their secrets, and the progress of Truth is hastened on. In future investigations of the question, this treatise must be reckoned with.

After an interval of seven years, Sellin returns to 'the riddle of the Deutero-Isaianic book,'[1] viz. the problem of the 'Servant of Jehovah,' confident that he can now win for his particular point of view 'not merely recognition alongside of other theories, but positive victory.' At the same time he is prepared to admit a measure of truth in other views. He has reached the 'higher unity' which embraces the half-truths of contrasted interpretations. In the 'large place' he offers them, therefore, all may find room. And thus at length 'an honourable peace may be concluded' (p. 4).

As the result of recent discussions, the integrity of the 'Servant' passages has been triumphantly vindicated. We may regard the poems, therefore, as genuine utterances of Deutero-Isaiah (p. 5 ff.). Sellin now follows Giesebrecht and Peake, however, in assigning the passages to a much earlier date than the main part of the book—in his view to the reign of Evil-Merodach (561–559), who showed favour to the captive Jews, and restored the fortunes of the hapless King Jehoiachin (cf. $2\ K\ 25^{27ff.}$). The passages can thus be interpreted independently of their prosaic frame-work. In the latter the 'Servant' is unquestionably the people of Israel; but in the poems he is an individual sharply opposed to the people (p. 17 ff.), a prince of the Davidic line, who has suffered for the sins of the people, and is thence called to be their redeemer and ruler, as well as a 'light to the Gentiles' to the uttermost part of the earth (p. 65 ff.). The 'Servant,' moreover, must be regarded as a contemporary of the prophet (p. 88 ff.). In his earlier studies, Sellin had thought of Serubbabel, Shealtiel, or Scheshbazzar. But his present dating of the poems enables him to find the solution of the 'riddle' in Jehoiachin, whose head was 'lifted up' from shame and suffering, and restored to the kingship of Israel (p. 131 ff.). The prophet was a disciple of Ezekiel's, who read in the changed disposition of the Babylonian king the signs of the Messianic times foretold by his master. His bright hopes, however, were dashed to the ground till the star of Cyrus rose, when poor Jehoiachin was no more. The prophet, therefore, transferred to the people

[1] *Das Rätsel des Deuterojesjanischen Buches.* Von Professor Ernst Sellin. Leipzig: Deichert, 1908. M.3.

the ideals he had formerly thrown as a halo around the head of the king. The individual interpretation of the 'Servant' thus passes to the national view (p. 144 ff.).

Few readers, we imagine, will share the author's confidence that the battle has now been fought and won. His separation of the poems from their prosaic setting does not relieve the main difficulty. The historical books of the Bible do, indeed, show many examples of poetic fragments embedded in the prose narrative. But in these we find underlying harmony. From a literary artist like Deutero-Isaiah we certainly expect consistency in so fundamental a thought as his conception of the 'Servant of Jehovah.' We find it difficult, too, to understand how so enthusiastic a disciple of Ezekiel as Sellin represents the youthful prophet of the poetic passages to be (p. 144 f.) could have looked for so speedy a dawning of the golden age to come. Jeremiah had foretold restoration after seventy years, and Ezekiel's great mission was quietly and slowly to prepare the people for this glorious future. A true disciple of Ezekiel would hardly have found in the raising up of Jehoiachin's head the signs of that glad time. But most unconvincing of all is the identification of the 'Servant' with Jehoiachin. Sellin admits, indeed, that the portraiture is not 'photographically true,' that the artist paints in colours in which are blended 'hymns, psalms, and myths' (p. 138). But even allowing for the fullest possible idealization, we fail to see in the 'despised broken vessel,' who 'did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father had done' (2 K $24^{9}$), and whom the prophet wrote down 'childless,' for 'no man of his seed should prosper' (Jer $22^{28ff.}$), any real likeness to the heroic 'Servant,' who 'did no violence, neither was any deceit found in his mouth,' and who, having made his soul an offering for sin, should 'see his seed, and prolong his days,' and find 'the pleasure of the Lord prospering in his hand.' Nor does history find in Jehoiachin's restoration either the salvation of Israel or the dawning of light to the Gentiles.

Rothstein's *brochure*[1] is directly a contribution towards the elucidation of Hag $2^{10-14}$, but it opens out far-reaching vistas. The author is dissatisfied with the current interpretation, which applies the 'uncleanness' to the people of Israel. It seems to him inconceivable that Israel should have been so soon interpenetrated with the evil leaven of their heathen or half-heathen neighbours (p. 11 ff.). He applies the prophecy, therefore, to עַם הָאָרֶץ, the Samaritans and the 'remnant of Judah' influenced by them, who were anxious to share in the rebuilding of the temple, but in the prophet's eyes were too 'unclean' to put their hands to the work of the Lord. The historical parallel to the prophecy is thus found in Ezr $4^{1-5}$, which Rothstein consequently brings into relation with the events of 520 B.C., instead of 537 (p. 15 ff.). On this reading of the main passage, the appeal to Zerubbabel in Hag $2^{20-23}$ finds its adequate place and explanation (p. 42 ff.). On the other hand, vv.$^{15-19}$ must be carried back to the close of chap. 1 as the original sequel to the prophecies of the 'twenty-fourth day of the sixth month.' A few alterations in the Hebrew yield a good context (p. 53 ff.).

The importance of Rothstein's interpretation lies in the consequences. This day on which the foundation-stone of the renovated temple was laid marks the opening of the cleft between Jew and Samaritan, and therefore the beginning of the era of Jewish exclusivism. It was, in fact, the birthday of post-exilic Judaism, 'with its stringent legal separation as a religious community or congregation from all that was non-Jewish' (p. 40 f.). The recognition of this, according to Rothstein, throws a flood of light on the historical character of Ezra and Nehemiah, as well as on the prophetic activity of Zechariah and Trito-Isaiah. Timely corroboration of the view is found in the recently discovered papyri of Elephantine. A full statement and discussion are promised in the near future. Much of the material is already in shape, and but awaits the completion of the plan in detail (p. 74 ff.). The critical examination of Rothstein's reconstructions is best deferred, therefore, until the whole position is laid before us.

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[1] *Juden und Samaritaner.* Die Grundlegende Scheidung von Judenthum und Heidenthum. Von J. W. Rothstein. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M.2.

## Primitive Christianity.[1]

THIS booklet is a remarkable example of the *multum in parvo.* In four lectures of equal length,

[1] *Das Urchristentum.* Von C. F. Georg Heinrici, D.D. Göttingen. Pp. 143. Geb. m.3.

the author, who is well known as a master of the subject, gives a most graphic picture of the rise and growth of Christianity as detailed in the New Testament. The style is terse and pointed. The salient features are artistically chosen and grouped. Not a word is wasted. The work embodies the research and conclusions of years of study. An English translation would be exceedingly useful. The first chapter sketches the life and teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics; the second discusses the Jewish Christianity of Jerusalem and the beginning of mission work; the third describes Gentile Christianity and St. Paul; the fourth pictures the amalgamation of the two forms of Church-life in the second generation of the apostolic age.

On the whole, the work maintains and vindicates the old positions. Not that the author abstains from all criticism. He speaks of legendary colouring in the Acts (p. 40), thinks that Ephesians may be the work of a disciple of Paul (p. 100), refers to 2 Thess as of doubtful authenticity (p. 132), would ascribe 2 and 3 John and Revelation to a Presbyter John, who worked with the apostle at Ephesus (p. 129), but holds the Gospel and one Epistle to be the apostle's work. We are reminded that 'much in the descriptions remains hypothetical.' Still, after all deductions, the main conclusions are unaffected. These conclusions are far away more probable than the alternative hypotheses. The Gospels, it is truly said, are not historical books in the ordinary sense; they were not written for historical purposes simply. They are 'religious books' (*Glaubensbücher*), written for edification and instruction. Still 'the classical literature of primitive Christianity collected in the New Testament contains in fact the sole trustworthy contemporary documents that we possess.' After all the sifting of modern inquiry, it becomes increasingly clear that 'the tradition recorded in these writings has not lost its historical character, and that these writings are all products of the first two generations of Christendom.'

A striking feature of the work before us is the way in which the history of early Christianity is brought into relation with the contemporary world. The description of society and religion in the Græco-Roman world, when Paul began his missionary career, is very masterly (p. 65). Gamaliel is referred to as a reader of Homer. Such allusions, which are numerous, make us feel that Christianity is part of the ordinary world. Not less striking is the clear description of the transition from Jewish to Gentile Christianity. 1 Peter and James represent the former. The Jewish Christian Church must have carried on missionary work, all traces of which disappeared in the final overthrow of the Jewish nation. The first twelve chapters of Acts belong to the Jewish, the rest to the Gentile, stage of the Church. The party of Cephas is one of several indications of activity on the part of the Jewish side of the early Church. Jude's Epistle and 2 Peter again belong to the same side. Mommsen's account of the Acts as 'a contemporary and trustworthy historical narrative, marked by only slight want of order,' contrasts favourably with many judgments passed in our day. Dr. Heinrici's chapter on Paul's work and personality is a wonderful specimen of condensed characterization. His description of John's Gospel is no less remarkable. 'The accounts of the activity of the Apostle John in Asia Minor are as well, if not better attested than any other historical tradition from antiquity. They can only be upset by violent assaults; and the objects to which their origin must be traced, if they are supposed to be fictitious, are assumptions' (p. 121).

The author's vindication of the miracles, and especially of the Resurrection of Christ, is eminently reasonable and cogent (pp. 22, 38). The Resurrection alone explains the triumphant faith of the apostles and the career of Christianity.

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# The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., D.Lit., Oxford.

**III. 1. The Serpent** was the symbol of Ea, 'the god of wisdom,' to whom the oracle tree was dedicated. He therefore was the true owner of the tree of knowledge, and consequently was naturally found beside it. He, too, would have had the right to allow his worshippers to eat of it and so obtain wisdom. But those who did so would be his servants and followers, and not the servants of another god. Hence in tempting the woman to eat he was tempting her, and, through her, her husband with whom she was 'one flesh,' to transfer their service and allegiance from Yahweh.

The Hebrew writer has taken the polytheistic sting out of the story, and given it a monotheistic and moral character. The serpent, so far from being a god or the symbol of a god, is declared to have been one of the beasts of the field 'which Yahweh-Elohim had made.' The 'good and evil' of the tree becomes moral good and evil, and the fall is the result of disobedience to the commands of the Deity to whom Adam owed his service. But the old framework of the story remained, and with it much of the old language. The original would have run something like this: *u tsiru ersu eli kal pul tseri u ana assati iqbi umma.* It is noticeable that *Elohim* is used, and not *Yahweh-Elohim*, by both the serpent and the woman. Does this mean that the writer had in some sense identified Yahweh with Ea, so that when the serpent appeared upon the scene, which was itself a form of Ea, the proper name had to be dropped? In early Babylonian names and documents *ilu*, 'the god,' very frequently takes the place of a specific deity. Thus in the Sumerian poem attached to the Epic of the Creation, we read, 'Towards thy god shalt thou be pure, for that is the glory of the godhead . . . the fear of the god begetteth mercy.' Similarly, Babylon is Bab-ili, 'the gate of the god.' Throughout the story of the Fall, the Hebrew writer is careful to indicate that the Elohim of $3^{1.3}$ is really Yahweh.

The prohibition to eat the fruit had been given to the man alone, but he and the woman were now 'one flesh,' so that it applied to them both. So in the Babylonian story of the Deluge Utu-napistim 'and his wife' are together made 'like the gods' and translated to paradise. That the serpent should have addressed himself to the woman rather than to the man is explained by the fact that the leading interpreters of the will of heaven were women. Thus we possess a collection of the oracles delivered to Esar-haddon by the prophetesses of Istar at Arbela.

**3. 'In the midst of the garden.'**—The Assyrian would have been *u inib etsi sa ina kirib gani—ilu iqbi-ma lâ tâkulú-su. Ina kirib* is literally 'in the midst of,' but in actual use signifies merely 'within.' The Hebrew translator, however, has understood it literally as in $2^{9}$, on which see note. The prohibition to 'touch' the tree and its fruit is new, and reminds us of Ex $19^{12}$, so that it may be an insertion in the original text.

Similarly Adamu was forbidden by Ea to eat 'the food of death.'

**4.** The serpent was right, since the eating of the fruit was not followed by death; see note on $2^{17}$. So, too, as noted above, the eating of the food offered by Anu to Adamu would have been followed by immortality and not by death.

**5.** When Zû stole the tablets of destiny he is said to have 'seized the sovereignty (of the world), the laying down of the laws (of fate).' As the god had knowledge of good and evil fortune, so man by gaining the same knowledge would become 'as the god.' The Babylonian original would have been *lû temû kî ilani mudê dumqa* (or *dhâba*) *u limutta.*

**7. Aprons.**—The fig-tree, called *nurma* in Sumerian, is not unfrequently mentioned in the Babylonian texts. The 'girdles' (E.V. 'aprons') would correspond with the girdle which Gilgames is represented as wearing. The verb תָּפַר, *tâphar*, 'to sew together,' seems to be connected with the Ass. *tipparu*, a garment which is also called *muqqu* ('the plaited one'?).

**8.** The Babylonian gods are similarly described as *aliki* or 'walking,' like 'the great gods' of Assyria who are said to 'march before the army' (*alikut pan ummanâtê*), or Nin-ip, Nebo, and Merodach, who in the story of the Deluge are described as 'marching in front' (*illaku ina makhri*). In *W.A.I.* iv. 24. 1, Rev. 42–43, we read of *Nergal*

*belu muttallik musi*, 'Nergal, the lord who walks at night.' With רוּחַ הַיּוֹם, *rûaḥ hay-yôm*, 'the cool of the day,' we must compare the Babylonian expression, *ilâni itsinu sâri-sa dhâba*, 'the gods inhaled its good breath,' a variant of 'the gods inhaled the good odour' (*irisa*), which occurs in the Deluge tablet.

**10, 11.** On Babylonian monuments of the early Sumerian period the worshipper is represented as approaching the image of his god completely naked, a custom which much offended the Semitic Babylonians of a later day.

**12.** The masculine pronoun הוּא for feminine הִיא is like the frequent substitution in Assyrian of the masculine for the feminine form of the suffixed pronoun. Perhaps the Babylonian original was *assatu sa tiddinanni emidu-sa* (or *-su*) *ina idiya*.

**14.** The verse implies that the serpent had previously walked upon legs like a man, thus indirectly pointing to the god Ea, who was depicted as a man, though his symbol was a snake. See note on v.[1], 'Thou shalt eat dust,' *ipra tâkul*, is Assyrian; in the introduction to the legend of the Descent of Istar into Hades it is said that the ghosts of the dead who flit about there 'like birds clad in a garment of wings,' have only 'dust for their nourishment and clay for their food' (*ipru bubuśśunu akal-sunu dhidhdhu*). Like the shades in Hades, the serpent also was 'a child of the earth' (IIdt. i. 78).

**15.** 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman.' This is translated from the Ass. *ayabata asakkin ina biri-ka u assati u ina birit zêri-ka u zêri-sa*. The verb שׁוּף, *shûph* (like the Ass. verbal forms *useppu* and *usippa*, 'I crush') points to an Ass. phrase containing *sêpu*, 'foot'; cp. the incantation against demons, *sepi-sunu ana sepi-su â iskunu*, 'their foot against the man's foot may they not set.' The original will have been *śû yuseppa resi-ka u atta tuseppa iqbi-su*.

**16.** In Ass., *ana assati iqbi umma*. The woman was no longer to be 'as the gods,' among whom the goddess Istar was mistress in her own right with no husband to rule over her.

**17. Adam.**—'The man' has become Adam, Adamu, through the gift of knowledge and the fact that his wife is to bear him children who will be distinguished from him by special names.

Since 'the ground' had not committed any fault there was no reason for cursing it. בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ, *ba'abhûreka*, 'for thy sake,' is the Babylonian *ina eburi-ka*, 'in thy working (of it),' *eburi* being the technical term for working the land and gathering in its produce. The sense given to בעבור by the Hebrew writer may have been due to the resemblance between אדם and אדמה. The statement that Adam should 'eat it' (not 'of it') is due to the fact that *eburi* also meant 'the harvest.'

**18.** The word קוֹץ, *ḳoẓ*, may be a play upon the Ass. *qitsu*, 'summer fruits'; '*qots*, instead of *qits*, shall it bring forth to thee.'

The 'herb of the field' was not 'thorns and thistles,' but the food which man was intended by nature to eat; see 1[29]. At first sight, therefore, it is not clear why eating this food should imply a curse, or why the growth of thorns and thistles should be followed by eating vegetables and cereals. In the original, however, the phrase was *tâkula esbi sa siddi* (or *tsêri*), where *siddi* (or *tsêri*) signified the alluvial plain of Babylonia, called *siddu* ('the bank' of the rivers) and *tsêru*, which were outside the precincts of the sacred garden. Moreover, as this garden was a plantation, the food eaten by man within it consisted of fruits—the ambrosia of the gods—not of the vegetables and cereals which were grown in the plain by human labour. Hence the next verse goes on to say: 'In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread.' Babylonia was the native land of wheat, from which the cultivation of the cereal was carried to other parts of the world. It has been found still growing in a wild state in the neighbourhood of Hit.

**19.** So in the Babylonian legend of Atarpi (?) the goddess Mami is described as moulding seven men and seven women out of 'clay.'

It will be noticed that the reason given to Adam for driving him out of Paradise is not that given by Yahweh-Elohim to his brother gods in vv.[22, 23]. Since vv.[22, 23] are polytheistic in phraseology and tone, they must be nearer to the original document than vv.[17-19]. Hence we seem to have evidence here of two cuneiform texts—(1) the original document, and (2) another document founded upon this by a Hebrew writer, but written in cuneiform and the Babylonian language.

**20.** This verse does not seem to have had anything corresponding with it in the Babylonian original.

**21.** Similarly, in the Babylonian story of Adamu, Adamu receives his clothing from the god Anu. A good many garments enumerated in the

Babylonian lists of clothing are described as made of leather, which, as in modern Egypt, would have been found useful in protecting the body against water when the *shadûf* was worked. The leopard-skin worn by the Egyptian priests is usually regarded as a survival from a primitive period of clothing. The 'tunic,' however, points to a time when linen had already been invented, leather tunics being more naturally copied from linen ones than the converse. The tunic was an old form of dress in Babylonia, as it appears also to have been in Syria, though some of the Beduin who entered Egypt in the age of the twelfth dynasty are represented as wearing kilts. Its shape was that of the Ionic χιτών—the name of which, as well as the dress, was borrowed from the Semites—and reached to the ankles; in early times the right arm was generally left bare.

**22.** For the Babylonian original of this, see note on v.[5] above. Here Yahweh-Elohim is identified with the Elohim of v.[5]. וְעַתָּה is the *u inanna* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

'As one of us' is a relic of the original which has been allowed to remain in spite of its polytheistic character, since to make Yahweh say that the man had become like Himself would have been even more offensive to the monotheistic Hebrew than the retention of the original expression. The Babylonian was *lû adamu emû kî ilâni nasi-ma* (which are the actual words used of Utu-napistim in the Babylonian story of the Deluge) *u inanna summa idâ-su yublamma ilaqqi inib etsi* (or *akal*) *baladhi u ikal u ibludh ana daris.* . . . The apodosis of the speech is not given, the translation breaking off in the middle of the sentence. But it is clear that what is intended is that if man becomes not only as well acquainted with the divine secrets —the '*pirišti*' and '*amat nitsirti* of the great gods,' as they are called in the Babylonian legends—but also immortal, the gods will no longer be able to control his destiny, and consequently the object for which he was created (to be a servant of the gods) would be defeated. Hence Yahweh-Elohim judged the sinner (*bel khidhi imnû ana karasi*) 'and banished him from the garden.'

**24.** 'So he drove out the man' is an alternative rendering of the original text, of which 'he sent him forth (from the garden of Eden) to till the ground from whence he was taken' is a paraphrastic version.

Since the land of Eden lay to the west of the garden (2[8]), the guard preventing man's entrance into the garden ought to have been on the west and not on the 'east' side of it. Hence קֶדֶם, *ḳedem*, 'east,' must be a transliteration of the Babylonian *qudmu*, 'in front of,' which has been erroneously supposed to signify 'east,' like the Heb. קדם, perhaps because the sun rose in the east, and on Babylonian seal-cylinders the sun-god is represented as stepping forth behind the twin mountains of the east with flames of fire issuing from his shoulders. The only alternative would be to regard גַּן as an interpolation, the original reading being 'eastward of Eden.' But against this is the fact that the cherubs always stood at the entrance to the place they were set to guard.

'Cherub' is a word borrowed from the Ass. *kirubu*, which is connected with *karubu*, 'powerful.' Dr. Pinches, however, adopts Rawlinson's derivation of the word from *qarâbu*, 'to be near,' supporting it by the use of *kirubu* in the sense of 'intimate friend' (*O.T. in the Light of Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 81). The *kirubi* were guardian spirits who were stationed at the entrance to a building or estate to prevent an enemy, whether earthly or spiritual, from entering it, and figures of them are frequently drawn on either side of the tree of life in Assyrian bas-reliefs and on Babylonian seals. In the description of the tree of knowledge which grew at Eridu, the two cherubs are the gods called Ka-khegal, 'the mouth of fertility,' and Si-tur-gal, 'the eye of the Prince.' They corresponded to the gods Tammuz and Nin-gis-zidda—'the lord of the upright tree,' the Yakin of 1 K 7[21]—who stood on either side of the entrance to the heaven of Anu, like the symbolic cones of stone or trunks of trees that stood on either side of the entrance to a Phœnician temple. It will be noticed that the Hebrew writer speaks of '*the* Cherubim'; the two, therefore, who guarded the approach to the terrestrial paradise of Babylonia must have been well known from pictorial and written representations.

The approach was also guarded by a 'sword.' Each of the 'great gods' of Babylonia was symbolized by a particular weapon which bore a particular name. The weapon is represented on boundary stones as stuck into the ground, and thus explains the sculpture of the sacred dirk at the entrance to the Hittite 'Holy of Holies' near Boghaz Keui, which is similarly depicted as stuck

in the ground, and must have been derived from Babylonia like the anthropomorphic representation of the Hittite deities in the same place. The name of the weapon which protected the entrance to the garden of Eden is given as לַהַט, *lahaṭ*, 'flaming sword,' without the article (like תְּהוֹם in $1^2$), and the explanation is attached to it that it is 'the sword which turned to this side and to that.' להט is the Ass. *la'âdhu*, 'to burn up,' and a title of the Assyrian kings is *laidh lâ-magiri* 'the consumer of the disobedient,' a title originally applied to the gods from whom the kings derived their authority. This indicates that we ought in the present passage to punctuate לֵהֵט, the name of the weapon which guarded Paradise being Lâidh (*Lidhu*), 'the consumer.' The description of the sword reminds us of that of the lightning-sword of Nin-ip—called 'the weapon of fifty heads,' etc.—in the hymns to that deity translated by Hrozny (*Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag*). The חֶרֶב, *ḥerebh*, was of the scimitar shape; such was the form of the *harpê* or חרב assigned by Greek mythology to Perseus, and the two earliest Semitic swords yet discovered—that of Ramman-nirari I. of Assyria, and another of exactly the same shape found by Mr. Macalister at Gezer—are both of them bronze scimitars.

The last words of the verse look back to $2^{15}$; man had been placed in the garden of Eden to 'watch' it; he had proved unfaithful to his master and been dismissed, thus becoming one of the enemies from outside against whom the *kirubi* were now set to keep 'watch.' In the Epic of the Creation we are told that Bel created man to take the place of the conquered gods who had joined the rebellion of Tiamât and fallen from their high estate,[1] and he too, as we learn from Genesis, proved rebellious in his turn. Was his offence in the original story that he had deserted the service of Bel of Nippur for that of Ea, the god of culture?

The archæological analysis of chapters 2 and 3 has thus shown—

(1) that a Babylonian document lies behind them which has been very closely followed;
(2) that the Hebrew text has been translated from a cuneiform original, the words of which have not always been rightly understood, and of which in one instance at least an alternative rendering has been preserved;
(3) that the geography of it goes back to a period before the rise of the kingdom of Assyria;
(4) that the point of view of the writer is purely Babylonian;
(5) that the polytheism of the original document has been replaced by monotheism;
(6) that a moral signification has been given to the Babylonian conception of the knowledge of good and evil conferred by Ea;
(7) that the account of 'the generations of the heavens and the earth,' which ought to have followed the first words of the introduction, has been omitted; and
(8) that between the original Babylonian document and the Hebrew translation or translations there probably lies an intermediate text written by a Hebrew author, but in cuneiform characters and the Babylonian language.

It results, therefore, that between $1^1$–$2^3$ and $2^4$–$3^{24}$ there is a wide difference, the first showing little trace of translation from a Babylonian text, and implicitly contradicting the polytheistic and materialistic elements in the Babylonian cosmology, while the other is little more than the translation of a Babylonian original with its more glaringly polytheistic characteristics suppressed. The point of view, moreover, in the second narrative remains Babylonian, while it begins with the introductory formula of a Babylonian cosmological work which presupposes that nothing had preceded it. Hence $1^1$–$2^3$ must have been a later addition prefixed to 'the generations of the heavens and the earth,' and intended not only to justify the institution of the Sabbath, but also to do for the current Babylonian cosmology what St. John in the introduction to his Gospel has done for the current Philonian philosophy; that is to say, transform the current system of philosophy into the expression of a purely monotheistic faith. In place of 'the generations of the heavens and the earth'—in which man, as made from the dust of the earth, was included—we have the creation of all things by the One God in a series of days. Whether the omission of what must have originally followed the words, 'these are the generations of

[1] Sixth Tablet of the Epic of Creation, ll. 9, 10 (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, i. p. 88).

the heavens and the earth,' was due to the writer of the first chapter or to the translator of the Babylonian text, there are no materials for deciding. But the geographical extract was composed at a time when the kingdom of Assyria had not as yet come into existence, and the geographical point of view throughout is that of a West Semite living in a Babylonian city, like Ur or Babylon, which stood on the Euphrates. After the disuse of the cuneiform system of writing in Palestine, the fact that Eden was 'the plain' of Babylonia would have ceased to be known.

# In the Study.

## Ears of Corn.

The places where ears of corn are mentioned are Gn $41^{5-7.\ 22-24}$ (Pharaoh's second dream); Lv $2^{14}$ $23^{14}$ (the meal offering); Dt $23^{25}$ (plucking the ears of standing corn); Ru $2^{2}$ (gleaning); 2 K $4^{42-44}$ (a gift for the man of God); Job $24^{24}$ and Is $17^{5}$ (illustrations from harvesting); and in the N.T., Mk $2^{23}$, with parallels, Mt $12^{1}$, Lk $6^{1}$ (the disciples plucking the ears of corn), and Mk $4^{28}$.

1. 'And there came a man from Baal-Shalishah, and brought the man of God bread of the first-fruits, twenty loaves of barley, and fresh ears of corn in his sack (mg. the husk thereof). And he said, Give unto the people, that they may eat. And his servant said, What, should I set this before an hundred men? But he said, Give the people, that they may eat; for thus saith the Lord, They shall eat, and shall leave thereof. So he set it before them, and they did eat, and left thereof, according to the word of the Lord' (2 K $4^{42-44}$ R.V.).

It was a time of famine in Israel when this incident took place. The famine was so sore that even the sons of the prophets were suffering seriously from it. The people must themselves have been at the last extremity before letting their ministers of religion suffer to this extent. If the event occurs at the same time as the one that precedes it in the same chapter, the prophets were driven to the use of herbs of which they were ignorant and were just saved from being poisoned. Elisha and some hundred men in the College of the Prophets at Gilgal were face to face with the possibility of starving of hunger when a man came from Baal-Shalishah, bringing with him twenty loaves of barley and fresh ears of corn.

The gift was timely. Elisha, who could not meet the famine single-handed, was able, when strengthened in faith and hope by this man's visit, so to use the contents of the sack that it served to satisfy all the men that were with him. But the gift was not only timely and abundant, it was an Israelite's sacrificial gift to God. Notice that it contained *fresh ears of corn.*

2. The ears of corn are the spikes which contain the flower or the seed. They are called sometimes heads of corn, and sometimes simply the corn, the stalk on which they grow being the straw. In old Scotch the form of the word was *icker* (not always spelt in one way). Murdoch Nisbet in his *New Testament in Scots* of 1520 translates Mt $12^{1}$, 'his discipilis hungrit, and began to pluk ekiris of corn, and to ete.' And Burns addresses the mouse whose nest he had turned up with the plough:

> I doubt na, whiles, but thou may thieve;
> What then? poor beastie, thou maun live!
> A daimen icker in a thrave
> 's a sma' request:
> I'll get a blessin' wi' the lave,
> And never miss't.[1]

3. The earliest occurrence of the word is in Pharaoh's dreams. His first dream was about cattle; the second about ears of corn. He thought he saw a stalk of corn upon which there appeared seven ears, one after another, that were rank and good. Then on the same straw there came up other seven ears, one after another, that were thin and blasted. And the thin ears made the rank ears disappear before them, so that it looked as if they had swallowed them up. Now one of the few things that are certain about dreams is that we dream by night of what we are thinking about by day. Pharaoh dreamed of cattle and of corn. He

[1] The thrave is two shocks or stooks, so that 'a daimen icker in a thrave' is an occasional ear of corn in every four-and-twenty sheaves.

was evidently interested in agriculture.[1] And that would make the story of his dreams one which the Hebrews would the more delight to relate. For they were agriculturists themselves. They proudly said of one of their own most glorious kings, Uzziah, King of Judah, that he 'loved husbandry.' To possess cattle and corn was to enjoy plenty; to have them swallowed up was to be faced with famine. And the best gift that they could give to God or man was always a gift of cattle or of corn.

4. They had their own way of giving. When they reaped their fields their custom was to leave the gleanings for the poor. Naomi returned from the land of Moab desolate and poor. But she brought Ruth the Moabitess with her. And Ruth said to Naomi, 'Let me now go to the field and glean among the ears of corn.' The gleaning was often good, and is so still (see the illustration below[2]). But Ruth was particularly lucky. Her 'hap' was to light on a field belonging to Boaz. And by night, when she had carried home her gleaning and beaten it out, she found she had an ephah, or almost a bushel, of barley.

The modern farmer's method is different. He carefully gathers up all the rakings and threshes it out with the rest. And then he gives to the poor in another way. That saves waste; and the poor do not suffer. But it is easier now for a Nabal to escape. And it is a well-known fact that except in time of famine, there were no poor in Israel who were quite so destitute as many of the poor in England.

Besides the harvest gleanings, the poor sometimes got a corner of the field with all the corn on it. And, again, if a farmer forgot a sheaf in taking his harvest home he could not return to fetch it. It was no longer his; it belonged to the poor.[3]

But the difference lies not so much in the different customs as in this. When the Hebrew farmer gave to the poor he gave to God. The law of the gleanings was God's law. More than that, the cattle and the corn were His. When the man came from Baal-Shalishah he brought fresh ears of corn with him. They were the firstfruits of his harvest. No doubt Elisha and the prophets were in urgent need of it. And the man was glad to cut the very first sheaf that could be cut and bring it. But in bringing it to Elisha he brought it to God. The first sheaf was his acknowledgment that the whole field was His, and the most obvious way of giving God His own was to relieve the want of Elisha and the men who were with him.

5. The gleaners did not have to glean the straw as well as the corn. For the Israelites did not cut their corn by the root as we do. They cut off

[1] Sir Thomas Browne has a famous essay on Dreams, in the course of which he says: 'However dreams may be fallacious concerning outward events, yet may they be truly significant at home; and whereby we may more sensibly understand ourselves. Men act in sleep with some conformity unto their awaked senses; and consolations or discouragements may be drawn from dreams which intimately tell us ourselves. Luther was not like to fear a spirit in the night, when such an apparition would not terrify him in the day. Alexander would hardly have run away in the sharpest combats of sleep, nor Demosthenes have stood stoutly to it, who was scarce able to do it in his prepared senses. Persons of radical integrity will not easily be perverted in their dreams, nor noble minds do pitiful things in sleep. Crassus would have hardly been bountiful in a dream, whose fist was so close awake. But a man might have lived all his life upon the sleeping hand of Antonius.'

[2] When a village possesses lands in common at some distance from the village, the whole of the inhabitants go there and build huts (*'arâish*), and live there for several months round the threshing-floor; the main village is then almost abandoned, and only a few guardians remain to take care of the things (generally of no great value) which are left behind. But whether it be far or near, all the women, rich or poor, go to glean behind the reapers. Though the name *lukata* (*ṭ*) is sometimes used for the gleaners, they are better known as *ṣeyâfât*, *i.e.*, 'summer-enjoyers or gatherers.' The ears, when gathered, are tied into small round bundles like a bouquet of flowers, and the bundles are carried home by the woman on her head, where she threshes out the wheat with a stone. A diligent gleaner can gather more wheat than would be her usual pay for a day, especially in a fertile field where many stalks are left. In the plains of Philistia the gleaners are more numerous than the reapers, and it is difficult to keep them away from the sheaves; a North African is therefore employed to watch and to remonstrate with them when they become too impertinent, 'but' (as a *nâṭûr*, 'watchman,' said to me) 'what can one young man do before so many young women? Besides, there is so much scolding and cursing, and where goes the blessing?'*

[3] See the beautiful story of the Boaz-hearted Hebrew farmer who is so delighted to have forgotten the sheaf, as it is told by Dr. Schechter in *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, and repeated in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for March, p. 245.

* P. J. Baldensperger, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, January 1907, p. 18.

the heads and left the straw standing. This agricultural custom provides two striking figures of speech which Job and Isaiah use. They are none the less striking that they are used for opposite purposes. Isaiah predicts the fall of Syria and of Israel, the two nearest enemies of the kingdom of Judah. It will be as clean and complete, he says, as when the harvestman gathers an armful of the standing corn and snips off the heads with his other hand. Job also has seen the process, and has been struck with the cleanness and the ease of it. It is an illustration to him of the death of the wicked, a death that is often quick and painless, when surely in all fairness it ought to be a long drawn out agony.

6. The only reference to ears of corn in the New Testament, beyond the use of the word in the Parable of the Corn (Mk $4^{28}$), is found in the account of a certain occasion upon which Christ and His disciples entered a field of standing corn, and the disciples plucked the ears and ate, rubbing them in their hands. The Pharisees challenged our Lord for allowing them to do it. Not, however, because they plucked the corn, but because they did it on the Sabbath day. For the law was laid down in Deuteronomy ($23^{25}$) that any one might walk into a field of standing corn and pluck and eat, the only restriction being that he must not use a sickle to mow it down.

The Pharisees were concerned about the Sabbath, not about the corn. We are more concerned about the corn than about the Sabbath. We allow hungry men to eat lawful food on the Sabbath, but we do not allow them to take what belongs to another on any day. Are we more anxious to render to man the things that are man's than to God the things that are God's? We may be. But let us remember two things: (1) It was Christ Himself that turned the law of the Sabbath into liberty. He said that the Sabbath was made for man. But He said also that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath. We may use the Sabbath, then, but not abuse it, because we must answer to the Owner for the use of it. (2) The modern farmer is concerned to prevent waste; not, if he is a good farmer, that his barns may be fuller, but that he may have the more to give to the poor. And if he recognizes, as the Hebrew farmer did, that what he gives to the poor he lends to the Lord, then he does not even make the distinction between what is God's and what is man's. He presents the cattle and the corn which he gives to the poor as an offering to God, and it is a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour.

7. Now return to the man from Baal-Shalishah. And notice two things about his gift.

1. It was a sacrificial offering. The sacrifices of the Old Testament may be most easily divided into bloody and unbloody offerings. They were either cattle or corn. The unbloody sacrifice, which is curiously called the *meal offering* in the Revised Version, and yet more curiously the *meat offering* in the Authorized, is described in Lv $2^{14}$ as 'corn in the ear parched with fire.' 'bruised corn of the fresh ear.' The official offering had oil poured upon it and frankincense laid over it. The man from Baal-Shalishah may not have seasoned his offering with oil or scented it with frankincense. For as he did not bring it to the priests, it may not have been an official offering. But it was an offering to God, an unbloody sacrifice. It cost him something to bring it; and he brought it to the man of God, who accepted it in the name of God.

2. He gave before he gathered. Our method usually is to gather in the harvest, including the gleanings, before we give to the poor. If we give it is because our barns are full. And then, just because it is all safely gathered in, we sometimes forget to give, or do not see the necessity. Sometimes we use the best for ourselves, and give to God the refuse. 'Don't wait,' says Thomas Champness, 'till you have churned and give God the buttermilk.' That is not the way the Hebrew farmer was taught to give. The unbloody offering had to be of the firstfruits. This is a point which the Israelite could not mistake, the law is so clear and emphatic. 'Ye shall eat neither bread, nor parched corn, nor fresh ears, until ye have brought the oblation of your God' (Lv $23^{14}$). The man from Baal-Shalishah did not make a mistake. He brought, we are told, 'bread of the firstfruits.' It was made of the very earliest ears that could be gathered. His gift consisted largely of the ears themselves, the first fresh ears that he could find. Thus he gave before he gathered, and was able to say with Burns:

> I'll get a blessin' wi' the lave,
> And never miss't.

## The Constraint of Love.

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF 2 COR. V. 14.

**'For the love of Christ constraineth us.'**

1. Is there anything that will enable a man to do what he knows he ought to do? 'I see and approve the better things, I follow the worse,' is an old saying, and it gives a picturesque expression to a wide human experience.

The literature of the nations is rich in the expression of moral truth, and in the vision of what conduct ought to be. The history of the peoples shows at every point that they have not realized their ideals. It is not necessary to illustrate this fact at any length. Take the writings of Confucius or the legends of the Buddha, take the Egyptian Book of the Dead, or the writings of the Stoics, and out of any of these a rich and full ideal of what human life ought to be may easily be drawn. In fact, man has never been left without a vision of what he ought to be, but the difficulty lay in the lack of moral power to carry out the ideal of what conduct ought to be.[1]

1. What motives have been tried to make men do their duty? Self-interest has been urged, in one or other of its many forms. Has it succeeded?

The drunkard knows that drinking will destroy him, and yet he gets drunk. The spendthrift knows that extravagance will ruin him, and yet he throws away his money. I do not believe, says Charles Kingsley, that self-interest ever kept any man from any *sin*, though it may keep him from many an imprudence. Will the hope of heaven do it? That depends on what you mean by heaven. What people commonly mean by going to heaven is not going to hell. Does the fear of hell, then, make men do right? How can it? The right thing is the loving thing, and neither the fear of hell nor the hope of heaven will teach a man to love.[2]

2. Another motive that has been tried is the love of Christ.

It is almost always 'love' which comes to the rescue of our otherwise wasted and aimless life, and binds its feeble and dissipated energies into one, banks up the channel of its scattered streams, and bids it flow in one strong volume on to the sea which lies before it. It may be love of school, or love of country; it may be love of science or of nature; it may be love of children; or that love of one for one which poetry and romance are never tired of celebrating. It is, as a fact, only when love comes to his help that a man can feel that life *is* worth living; only then that he attains to any depth or unity of purpose in living. Above all these, solitary, triumphant, never failing (as they do), never leading to disappointment, never misleading, never dying out, never altering in the least, is the love of Christ. That is *the* motive of all motives, *the* attraction of all attractions, *the* constraining principle which binds the life into one perfect and enduring unity.[3]

2. How does the love of Christ enable a man to do his duty?

1. Gratitude, the rarest of all virtues, and the most sanctifying, is brought to life within him. 'We love him because he first loved us.' 'The gratitude which our Lord desires above all else consists of a responsive affection, a humble, thankful devotion, which offers Him not so many duties and services but its own burning love in return.'

We find in the Heidelberg Catechism—one of the characteristic documents of Reformation theology—that the whole section concerned with Christian ethics is placed under the head of 'Gratitude.' The Reformers knew how 'good works' which are done in any lower spirit degenerate into a legal bondage, a painful, formal routine, until such works are not 'good' any longer, but 'dead.'[4]

2. The love of Christ not only awakens gratitude; it also brings us into personal sympathy with the living Christ. We recognize that we are surrounded by a great crowd of witnesses. But much more than that, we have the encouragement of the living Lord Jesus Christ Himself at every step we take, before every temptation we meet.

In a great fire a child was seen in an upper window. The fireman tried to save her, but was driven back by the terrific heat. Suddenly some one in the crowd cried out, 'Let us give him a cheer.' Up went the cheer, and up went the man on the wings of the cheer, and the child was saved.[5]

3. But the full explanation lies beyond the feeling of gratitude and beyond the sense of the sympathy of an ever-present Christ watching over us. It lies in the fact that the love of Christ, by bringing us into touch with Him, lifts us out of ourselves. For it is simply self-interest that prevents a man from doing his duty under all circumstances. And when a man feels the love of Christ take hold of him, he finds himself in fellowship with One who on every occasion pleased not Himself, and in response he also learns not to please himself, but to 'please his neighbour for his good to edifying.'

There are four kinds of life, says James Vaughan, which people live. There is the life entirely and almost confessedly

[1] J. Iverach, *The Other Side of Greatness*, p. 238.
[2] Charles Kingsley, *Sermons on National Subjects*, p. 230.
[3] R. Winterbotham, *Sermons*, p. 2.
[4] T. H. Darlow, *The Upward Calling*, p. 250.
[5] D. Hague, *The Life worth Living*, p. 66.

for self. It is excused on the plea of health or nerves. This is the lowest type of respectable life. Next, there is the life of those who have their work to do. They are kind in their families and considerate with their dependants. Yet it is self. Their family is their own; their servants minister to their self-interest. Thirdly, there is the benevolent section of society. They do good works; they are generous almost to a fault. Yet much of their conduct is selfishness. To relieve sorrow and to increase others' joy may be to some almost as much an indulgence as it is to others to spend their money upon themselves. The high motive is wanting, the motive that takes them out of themselves. The fourth class live for Christ. Their life is an unselfish life. They 'live not unto themselves' because they 'live unto Him.'[1]

3. The love of Christ makes itself felt in two ways. It is both *expulsive* and *impulsive*. It drives out the evil, and it introduces the good. 'There is a famous sermon by Dr. Chalmers on the expulsive power of a new affection.' Readers of that sermon will remember how that great preacher dwelt on this profound thought.[2] But the love of Christ is also positive. It gathers into itself all the forces of the man, directs them to new ends, and furnishes them for a larger growth. Especially does the love of Christ enlarge the operation of a man's interests till they are coextensive with the interests of Christ Himself.

A passionate attachment to wife and children will make it impossible for a man consciously to do anything inconsistent with their highest welfare. A patriot will never consent to do anything which would tend to injure his own country. So it is with all passionate attachments: they purify within their own range. But then, outside their own range they are powerless. A man devoted to his own household may not hesitate to do something inconsistent with the welfare of other households. Nay, in the interest of his own family he may not hesitate to injure the families of other people. A patriot devoted to the interests of his own country may, through the influence of that devotion, be the enemy of another country.[3]

4. The word which Paul uses for the operation of the love of Christ is a strong one. He says the love of Christ *constraineth* us. He means that it keeps us within bounds, prevents us from wandering to other objects than the service of God and man.[4] The only other occurrence of the word in the Pauline Epistles is Ph $1^{23}$, 'I am in a strait betwixt the two,' which Lightfoot paraphrases, *I am hemmed in on both sides, I am prevented from inclining one way or the other.* The figure is that of a road between two walls or of a river between its banks.

I often think of Paul and the great Yangtsze together. On its way to the sea the mighty stream has to encounter many obstacles, and flows in varied channels. In its upper courses, its bed in many places is uneven and narrow; but it never stops. Now it dashes against the rocks like a mad thing, and now it rushes through a narrow gorge at a mill-race speed. Then it emerges into a wide and even channel, and flows on quietly, calmly, and majestically to the sea. But its flow is ever onward, continuous, irresistible. Try and turn it back, and you will find it impossible. Tell it to stop, and it will tell you that it cannot. Ask it why, and it will reply: 'A mighty law has taken possession of me, and is carrying me onwards, ever onwards. The law of gravity *constraineth* me.' So it was with the great Apostle. The love of Christ, like a mighty law, had taken possession of him, and was carrying him onwards, ever onwards. He could not turn back, he could not stop, he could not help himself. The love of Christ constraineth *me*.[5]

5. But what is this love that constrains us? Is it our love for Christ, or Christ's love for us? There is no question that it is Christ's love for us. Of course we must respond to the love of Christ. Otherwise its sweetness is wasted on the desert air. But the love of which Paul felt the pressure was the redeeming love of Christ for him.

The genitive of the person after 'love' (ἀγάπη) is in St. Paul's Epistles always *subjective*.[6] The passages for the love of God are Ro $5^5$ ('the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts') $8^{39}$, 2 Co $13^{14}$, 2 Th $3^5$; and for the love of Christ Ro $8^{35}$ ('who shall separate us from the love of Christ?'), Eph $3^{19}$ ('to know the love of Christ'). St. Paul often uses the verb to love (ἀγαπάω) to express man's love to God, but never the substantive. St. John's usage, on the other hand, varies, the genitive being sometimes objective, sometimes subjective.[7]

The advantage of this is obvious. We are able to persevere in unselfishness. Many Christian men endeavour to rouse themselves into energy by the strength of their own devotion. Hence their energy is fitful, and depends upon excitements. The constraint of Christ's love suggests not an emotion in a man, but a power not his acting upon him—an atmosphere surrounding his spirit and pressing on it from every side.[8]

[1] See J. Vaughan, *Brighton Pulpit*, No. 839.
[2] J. Iverach, *The Other Side of Greatness*, p. 244.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 245.
[4] A. Plummer, in *Cambridge Greek Testament*.
[5] Griffith John, *A Voice from China*, p. 51.
[6] See Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lexicon*, p. 594.
[7] J. H. Bernard, in *Expositor's Greek Testament*.
[8] See E. L. Hull, *Sermons Preached at King's Lynn*, i. 102.

I cannot do it alone,
The waves run fast and high,
And the fogs close chill around,
And the light goes out in the sky;
But I know that we two
Shall win in the end,
Jesus and I.

Coward and wayward and weak,
I change with the changing sky;
To-day so eager and brave,
To-morrow not caring to try;
But He never gives in,
So we two shall win,
Jesus and I.

## Virginibus Puerisque.

### Ex Ore Infantium.

Little Jesus, wast Thou shy
Once, and just so small as I?
And what did it feel like to be
Out of heaven, and just like me?

Didst Thou kneel at night to pray,
And didst Thou join Thy hands, this way?
And did they tire sometimes, being young,
And make the prayer seem very long?

And dost Thou like it best, that we
Should join our hands and pray to Thee?
I used to think, before I knew,
The prayer not said unless we do.

And did Thy Mother at the night
Kiss Thee, and fold the clothes in right?
And didst Thou feel quite good in bed,
Kissed, and sweet, and Thy prayers said?

FRANCIS THOMPSON.

Francis Thompson had a hard life. He was at first intended for the priesthood. A Lancashire man by birth, he was educated at Ushaw. When he decided that he had no vocation for the Church, he turned his thoughts to the profession of medicine, and for some time studied at Owen's College, Manchester. This, however, was less satisfactory. He could not bear it. So he came to London and gave his life to letters. And if this life afforded him an outlet for his flights of thought and imagination, if in a large measure it satisfied the hunger of his soul and the thirst of his mind, it failed him altogether in his care for his poor body. He tasted poverty in its lowest dregs. Many and many a time he was on the cruel streets of London at night with nowhere to rest his head. He sold matches and held horses' heads to get a few pence to buy food. I will not dwell further on the sad picture, except to say that about the time of his thirty-first year a good Samaritan came to him who lifted him from the depths, and made him write; and published his work, and saw to it that he should always know where to find a meal and welcome.

But the poet ever lived alone, alone and yet not alone, alone with himself and God and Our Lady and the Saints. He always remained poor, though he did not again go down the deep pit of despair as heretofore. The fruits of his risen life of reason are now bequeathed to mankind in his three books of poetry: *Poems*, published in 1893; *Sister Songs*, in 1895; and *New Poems*, 1897. He also wrote a little book in prose called *Health and Holiness*, a Study of the Relations between Brother Ass the Body, and his Rider the Soul. This was in 1905. One more poem, contributed to the new series of the *Dublin Review*, completes the record of Francis Thompson's work. He died in 1907.[1]

[1] Thomas J. Gerrard, in the *Catholic World*, February 1908, p. 613.

# The Day of the Crucifixion.

BY THE REV. DAVID SMITH, D.D., BLAIRGOWRIE.

ALL the Evangelists agree that our Lord was crucified on a Friday and rose on the ensuing Sunday; and, were the Synoptics the sole records, it would be no less certain that the Friday was Passover-day, 15th Nisan, and the supper which He had eaten with His disciples in the Upper Room the previous evening, the regular Paschal meal (Mt $26^{17}$ = Mk $14^{12}$ = Lk $22^{7}$). But, turning to the Fourth Gospel, one finds what looks like a different representation. (1) Jn $13^{1}$ seems to put the Last Supper '*before the Feast of the Passover*.' (2) Next morning, when they

brought Jesus before Pilate, the rulers would not enter the Prætorium, '*that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover*' (18[28])—a clear evidence, apparently, that they had not eaten the Paschal meal the previous evening, but had it still in prospect. (3) Thrice over (19[14. 31. 42]) it is said that the day of the Crucifixion was παρασκευή, meaning, it is supposed, 14th Nisan, the day of preparation for the Passover.

Hence it would appear that, according to John, the Friday on which Jesus was crucified was not, as the Synoptists represent, Passover-day, the 15th of Nisan, but Preparation-day, the 14th; and the supper which He had eaten with His disciples the previous evening, if it was indeed the Paschal meal, had been eaten a day too soon, on the evening which closed the 13th day of Nisan, and which, according to the Jewish reckoning, ushered in the 14th.

Here is no mere question of curious scholarship, but one which involves great issues. Not only is such a discrepancy regarding that supremely sacred event painful to religious sentiment, but it touches the historicity of the evangelic narratives; and therefore it is no wonder that students of the New Testament have laboured, often with amazing ingenuity, to effect a reconciliation. Perhaps the boldest device is that of old Lightfoot, who identifies the Johannine supper, not with the Synoptists' Passover supper in the Upper Room, but with the supper in Simon the Leper's house (Mk 14[3-9] = Mt 26[6-13]), which, misled by Mk 14[1] = Mt 26[2], he supposes to have been held at Bethany two days before the Passover.[1] It is true that John says nothing about the Passover, and does not report the institution of the Lord's Supper; but a comparison of Jn 13[38] with Mt 26[34] = Mk 14[30] = Lk 22[34] suffices to establish the identity of the Johannine supper with that of the Synoptists in the Upper Room.

Reconciliation has been attempted along two main lines—

1. *John's account has been accepted and that of the Synoptists brought into harmony therewith.*

(1) *The supper in the Upper Room was not a Passover at all.* So Clement of Alexandria: In previous years Jesus had kept the Passover and eaten the lamb, but on the day before He suffered as the true Paschal Lamb He taught His disciples the mystery of the type.[2] So also, according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, Apolinarius of Hierapolis, Hippolytus, and Peter of Alexandria.

(2) *Since the Passover-day, falling that year on Friday, was reckoned as a Sabbath* (*Lev* 23[6. 7. 11. 15]), *the Jews, to avoid the inconvenience of two successive Sabbaths* ('*quia populo nimis duræ fuissent continuæ bidui feriæ*'), *postponed the Passover by a day: Jesus adhered to the day fixed by the Law.* So Calvin.[3] The Synoptists are therefore right in calling the Lord's Supper a Passover, and John also is right in saying that, when the Jews crucified Jesus, they had their Passover meal still in prospect. The objection to this is that, while in certain circumstances the Passover might be postponed to a later month, it had always to be celebrated on the 15th day; nor, moreover, would the priests have suffered any, least of all Jesus and His disciples, to sacrifice their lamb in the Temple on another day than that appointed by the Sanhedrin.[4]

(3) *Jesus anticipated the Passover*, knowing that at the proper time He would be lying in His grave. This is put forward by Chrysostom[5] as an alternative explanation of Jn 18[28]; and it is the theory of Grotius, who holds that there was no lamb at the Lord's Supper; it was a πάσχα μνημονευτικόν, not a πάσχα θύσιμον. Fatal, however, alike to this theory and to Calvin's is Luke's express statement (22[7]) that Jesus ate the Passover on the general Passover-day, ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα.

The supposed Johannine account is not without a certain attractiveness, since there are facts which

[1] The supper in Simon the Leper's house is unquestionably identical with the Johannine supper at Bethany six days before the Passover (Jn 12[1-11]). Mark and Matthew probably inserted it where it stands in their narratives as casting light on the traitor's action (Mk 14[10. 11] = Mt 26[14-16]).

[2] Fragm. in *Chron. Pasch.* See Dindorf's *Clem. Alex. Op.* iii. p. 498.

[3] On Mt 26[17]. Cf. Chrysost. *In Mt. lxxxv.*: The rulers spent the night waiting for the return of the arrest-party with Jesus, and therefore they did not eat the Passover. Next day they ate it and broke the Law διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ταύτην. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὁ Χριστὸς παρέβη τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Πάσχα, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πάντα τολμῶντες καὶ μυρίους κατα-πατοῦντες νόμους.

[4] See Lightfoot on Mk 14[12].

[5] *In Joan.* lxxxii.: ἤτοι οὖν τὸ πάσχα τὴν ἑορτὴν πᾶσαν λέγει, ἢ ὅτι τότε ἐποίουν τὸ πάσχα, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς αὐτὸ παρέδωκε τηρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σφαγὴν τῇ παρασκευῇ ὅτε καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐγίνετο τὸ πάσχα. This sentence, it has been remarked, writes the programme for subsequent discussion down to the present day.

seem at the first glance to tell against the Synoptic representation and to prove that the Lord's Supper must have taken place on the evening before the Passover-day. The Synoptists all record that after the Supper Jesus and the Eleven left the city and went out to Olivet (Mt $24^{30}$ = Mk $14^{26}$ = Lk $22^{39}$), whereas the Law required that no one should 'go out at the door of his house until the morning' (Ex $12^{22}$). This requirement, however, had been set aside in the time of our Lord;[1] and even had it been still in force it would hardly have restrained Jesus. 'Permit,' says Lightfoot, 'the Lion of the Tribe of Judah not to be bound by those spider webs.' Again, since the Passover-day was reckoned as a Sabbath, it has been deemed inconceivable that not merely should Judas, Joseph of Arimathæa, and the women have gone to market (Jn $13^{29}$, Mk $15^{46}$, Mk $16^{1}$), but above all that Jesus should have been crucified on that day. In fact, however, the Passover-day, though called a Sabbath, was less strictly observed than the ordinary Sabbath. Servile work was prohibited, but trade went on.[2] And, while the Athenian law forbade the execution of criminals during religious festivals,[3] Jewish sentiment, singularly enough, was less fastidious. Executions during the Passover season were in no wise uncommon, instances occurring from King David's time (2 S $21^{9}$) down to apostolic days: James the Apostle was executed during the days of Unleavened Bread (Ac $12^{1-4}$), and James the Lord's brother on the Passover-day.[4] The strict R. Akiba ordained that a certain criminal should be conveyed to Jerusalem and kept till the Passover, and then executed in sight of the people in accordance with Dt $17^{13}$.[5] The Talmud, indeed, asserts that Jesus was executed on the day before the Passover, but this is nothing else than an attempt on the part of the later Jews to eliminate an ugly fact by rewriting history and thus silence the taunts of Christian writers. 'O impia cæcitas!' exclaims Augustine, commenting on Jn $18^{28}$. 'Habitaculo videlicet contaminarentur alieno, et non contaminarentur scelere proprio.'[6] The assertion that Jesus was executed on the day before the Passover is of a piece with the other which accompanies it, that for forty days prior to His execution a herald went before Him proclaiming His offence and inviting any who could attest His innocence, to come forward and do so.[7] Once more, when Simon of Cyrene was impressed to carry the cross, he was coming ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, from his work, it is supposed; and he would not have been working in his field had it been the Passover-day. But Simon was not a resident in Jerusalem. He was one of the multitude of strangers who had come up to celebrate the Feast, and, lodging, as so many, including Jesus and the Twelve, were obliged or preferred to do, outside the gates, he was coming *from the country* (ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, *rure*) to worship in the Temple at the hour of morning prayer.

2. *The Synoptists' account has been accepted, and that of John brought into harmony therewith.*

Few nowadays will question that, if it be necessary to choose between them, the testimony of the Synoptists should in this instance be preferred to that of the Fourth Gospel; and recent criticism[8] rejects the latter as unhistorical, and explains it as originating in the idea, suggested by Paul (1 Co $5^{7}$) and expressly asserted by Clement of Alexandria, Apollinarius, Hippolytus, and Peter of Alexandria, that, since Jesus was Himself the Paschal Lamb, He must have been slain on 14th Nisan. In support of this theory it is pointed out that John, by way of proving Him the true Paschal Lamb, cites the legal requirement that the lamb's bones should not be broken (Ex $12^{46}$, Nu $9^{12}$), as fulfilled in the case of Jesus ($19^{36}$); that he throws the anointing at Bethany back to the 10th Nisan ($12^{1}$), the day on which the Paschal lamb was chosen (Ex $12^{3}$); and that, in opposition to the Synoptists (Mk $15^{25}$, Mt $27^{45}$ = Mk $15^{33}$ = Lk $23^{44}$), he represents Jesus as still before Pilate at the sixth hour, *i.e.* noon ($19^{14}$), with the design, it is alleged, of making the Crucifixion coincide with the sacrifice of the Paschal lambs, which were slain in the Temple from 3 to 5 p.m.[9] The theory is more ingenious than convincing. It takes no account of the probability that John reckoned the hours of the day, not, like the Synoptists, from

[1] See Wetstein on Mk $14^{26}$.

[2] Edersheim, *Life and Times*, ii. p. 508; Lightfoot, ii. p. 759.

[3] Cf. Plat. *Phæd.* 58A; Plut. *Phoc.* § 37.

[4] Hegesippus apud Eus. *H.E.* ii. 23.

[5] See Wetstein on Mt $26^{5}$.

[6] *In Joan. Ev. Tract.* cxiv. § 2. Cf. Chrysost. *In Joan.* lxxxii.

[7] See Lightfoot on Mt $27^{31}$.

[8] After Strauss: Keim, Schmiedel (in *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. 'John, Son of Zebedee').

[9] Jos. *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 9, § 3.

6 a.m. to 6 p.m., but, according to the alternative method, from midnight to midnight;[1] and since by the 'ninth hour' he means 6 a.m., he is in full agreement with the Synoptists (cf. Mt $27^{1-2}$ = Mk $15^{1}$). Moreover, Jesus was none the less the true Paschal Lamb though he was not crucified between 3 and 5 p.m. on the 14th of Nisan, but at 9 a.m. on the 15th. Although he spoke of Christ as 'our Paschal Lamb' (1 Co $5^{7}$), Paul regarded the Last Supper as the regular Paschal meal, calling the communion cup in the same Epistle ($10^{16}$) 'the Cup of Blessing.'[2]

While recent critics are right in accepting the Synoptic account, it may be questioned whether their rejection of the Johannine account as irreconcilable therewith be not a hasty verdict, due partly to a foregone conviction of the unhistoricity of the Fourth Gospel and partly to misunderstanding of the passages at issue. Let us consider these afresh:—

Jn $13^{1}$ is the crucial passage, and the difficulty connected with it is due to misapprehension of its significance. It is in truth an independent paragraph, and has no bearing whatever on the date of the Supper. What the Evangelist says is that, as the end drew near, the disciples observed a singular access of tenderness in their Master's bearing towards them. He had always loved them, but then He showed them His heart and demonstrated His affection as He had never done hitherto. 'Before the Feast of the Passover, Jesus, knowing that His hour had come that He should pass out of this world unto the Father, having loved His own that were in the world, loved them to the uttermost—loved them as He had never done before.'[3] It was the tenderness of imminent farewell. Then, beginning a new paragraph, the evangelist goes on to recount the story of the Supper (vv.$^{2\ sqq.}$), assuming, according to his wont, an acquaintance on the part of his readers with the details of time and arrangement given by the Synoptists (Mt $26^{17-19}$ = Mk $14^{12-16}$ = Lk $22^{7-13}$). Had he been dating the Supper, he would not have used so vague a phrase as 'before the Feast.' Had he differed from the Synoptists, he would, as in other instances, have corrected their error with a precise definition of the day.

Again, it is a false inference from Jn $18^{28}$ that on the day of the Crucifixion the Jews had the Paschal meal still in prospect, and that it was therefore the Preparation-day, 14th Nisan. They would indeed have been defiled had they entered a heathen house, but the defilement would have lasted only until evening, and then, after due ablution, they could have eaten the Paschal meal. The reply of Strauss, that they would nevertheless have been disqualified for the business of preparing the Passover on the afternoon of the 14th, overlooks the fact that it was not necessary for them to make the preparations themselves; according to the Law, they could have deputed the business to their servants, even as Jesus deputed it to Peter and John.[4] It was not the Paschal supper that they would have been unable to eat had they entered Pilate's prætorium, but the *Chagigah* or thankoffering, which consisted usually of a bullock. And not only was 15th Nisan the day on which the *Chagigah* should be offered,[5] but every worshipper had to present it in the Temple *in propria persona*.[6] To our minds the phrase 'eat the Passover' naturally suggests the Paschal supper, but on Jewish lips it had also a larger significance. Alike in the Scriptures and in the Talmud it is used of the celebration of the entire feast, including the *Chagigah*.[7] Nor should it be overlooked that elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel τὸ πάσχα is invariably employed in its larger sense, denoting not the Paschal supper as in Mt $26^{17}$ = Mk $14^{12}$ = Lk $22^{7-8}$, but the whole feast, τὴν ἑορτὴν πᾶσαν.[8] It is inconceivable that in this solitary instance John should have departed from his *usus loquendi*. It is noteworthy in this connexion that after the Crucifixion, ὀψίας γενομένης, Joseph of Arimathæa visited Pilate and requested the Lord's body (Mt $27^{57.\ 58}$ = Mk $15^{42.\ 43}$ = Lk $23^{50-52}$ = Jn $19^{38}$).

[1] Plin. *H.N.* ii. 79.

[2] τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, כּוֹס הַבְּרָכָה, the name of the third Paschal cup, so called because thanks were given over it.

[3] **εἰς τέλος**, not *to the end*, but *to the uttermost*. Chrysost. *In Joan.* lxix.: εἰδὲς πῶς μέλλων ἐγκαταλιμπάνειν αὐτοὺς σφοδρατέραν τὴν ἀγάπην ἐπιδείκνυται; τὸ γὰρ **ἀγαπήσας εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς**, τοῦτο δηλοῖ, οὐδὲν ἐνέλιπεν ὧν τὸν σφόδρα ἀγαπῶντα εἰκὸς ἦν ποιῆσαι. Euth. Zig.: ἀγαπήσας οὖν, φησὶ, τοὺς μαθητὰς ἄχρι τοῦ τότε καιροῦ τότε μᾶλλον ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς· τὸ γὰρ **εἰς τέλος** τὸ σφόδρα δηλοῖ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἤδη ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτους ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἀγάπην εἰς ἐμπύρευμα μνήμης αὐτοῦ σφοδροτέρας.

[4] See Lightfoot on Mk $14^{26}$.

[5] Lightfoot on Jn $18^{28}$.

[6] Lightfoot on Mk $15^{25}$.

[7] Dt $16^{2}$, 2 Ch $30^{1.\ 23.\ 24}$ $35^{1.\ 8-19}$, Ezek $45^{21-24}$. *Menach.* 3. 1: 'Vitulus et juvencus quem mactant nomine Paschatis.' *Nota illud*, says Lightfoot, *Vitulus est Pascha uti et agnus.*

[8] Cf. Jn $2^{13.\ 23}$ $6^{4}$ $11^{55}$ $12^{1}$ $13^{1}$.

He had no less reason than his colleagues in the rulership to dread pollution, and he went without scruple to Pilate's house, because, unlike them in the morning, he had already that afternoon celebrated the solemnity of the *Chagigah*.

Finally, with regard to John's reiterated statement that the day of the Crucifixion was Preparation, it is a hasty assumption that παρασκευή here means the day of preparation for the Passover, *i.e.* 14th Nisan. It is true that the word was used of the preparation for the Passover or any other feast, but it was also used by the Jews, alternatively with προσάββατον,[1] as the regular name for Friday, the day of preparation for the weekly Sabbath.[2] The term was taken over by the Christians,[3] and to this day it remains the regular name for Friday on the Greek calendar. It means Friday in Mk $15^{42}$, Mt $27^{62}$, Lk $23^{54}$, and a false presupposition is the sole reason for attaching to it a different significance on the lips of John. When he says ἦν παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ($19^{14}$), he means, not 'it was the Preparation for the Passover,' which would require ἡ παρασκευή, but 'it was Friday of the Passover-season.' And if by παρασκευή he means Friday in $19^{31}$, the reason of his statement is obvious. 'That Sabbath-day was a great one,' not because, being at once the weekly Sabbath and Passover-day, it was Sabbath in a double sense, but, as Lightfoot puts it, because (1) it was a Sabbath, (2) it was the day on which the people appeared before the Lord in the Temple (Ex $23^{17}$), and (3) it was the day on which the sheaf of the first-fruits was reaped (Lv $23^{11}$).

In his account of the Quartodeciman controversy Eusebius[4] quotes from Irenæus a remarkable story. The Christians of Asia Minor 'observed the 14th day of the moon in connexion with the Feast of the Saviour's Passover, ἐν ᾗ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγορεύετο': and when Polycarp, John's disciple and friend, visited Anicetus at Rome, he defended the usage on the ground that it had been the usage of John and the rest of the Apostles in the days when he companied with them. That is to say, Polycarp had it from John that the Lord had celebrated the Passover and instituted the Supper, agreeably to the Synoptic representation, on the 14th day of the moon, or, according to the Jewish reckoning, on 15th Nisan; and it follows either that, as Baur argues, the Fourth Gospel is not John's, or that, in accordance with our reasoning, the Johannine and the Synoptic accounts agree.

[1] Mk $15^{42}$, Epiphan. *Hæres.* 72, § 2.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6, § 2. Wetstein on Mt $27^{62}$.

[3] *Didache*, viii.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. § 75: τῆς νηστείας τὰ αἰνίγματα τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, τῆς τετράδος καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς λέγω. ἐπιφημίζονται γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης. Tert. *De Jejun.* § 14.

[4] *H. E.* v. 24.

# Literature.

## *REVELATION.*

How God has Spoken: Divine Revelation in Nature, in Man, in Hebrew History, and in Jesus Christ. By John Wilson, M.A., D.D. (*T. & T. Clark.* 5s. net.)

This is the work of a believer. It is the work of a believer in Christ, whose mind has been trained by the word of God, by the discipline of life, and by the literature of the world. This is his apologia. It is his answer concerning the hope that is in him.

Dr. Wilson has written on the great matter. There are thousands of little questions, and we lose ourselves in the wood. The great matter is that God has spoken. We lose ourselves in the wood till sometimes we doubt if God has spoken at all, and sometimes we stoutly deny it. Dr. Wilson is aware. He does not despise any. His answer to our doubt, to our fiercest denial, is a candid convincing history of the way in which God has made Himself known to men from the beginning until now.

The writing is extremely attractive. It is simple and suitable to its subject. It is an apologia, but there are no tricks of style to turn our attention upon himself. And the arrangement of material is as simple and suitable as the style. The book is in five parts. The first part describes the revelation of God in nature. It opens with a chapter which might have been called fine writing if it were not so unconscious. It is writing that uses the

imagination freely, but never loses touch with scientific fact. Dr. Wilson is a Darwinian. The second part is the revelation of God in man's nature. It is here that men are losing their heads most utterly now. Man, they say, is the maker of God as well as of himself. He chooses his religion, or refuses it, Buddhism to-day, Secularism to-morrow. Dr. Wilson takes the new attitude to Buddhism and to Secularism. He sees how God has spoken and is speaking even in Secularism. And then he comes to the Hebrews.

The third part gives the revelation of God in the Hebrew religion. It is the testing part. There are six things that distinguish the religion of the Hebrews as we have it in the Old Testament—distinct monotheism, the greatness of God, the Divine righteousness, the Covenant Alliance, the intense reality of God in the Hebrew consciousness, the sense of sin.

The fourth part is the revelation of God by Incarnation, and the fifth is the revelation of God in the Atonement. Incarnation is a difficult word: Dr. Wilson deals with Jesus. First he brings out the significance of Jesus' personality. Then he describes His early life and public ministry. God was in Christ. And that leads to the Atonement. The last part is the greatest part of a great book.

## *THE PHILOSOPHY OF WYCLIF.*

STUDIES IN EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY. By James Lindsay, D.D. (*Blackwood.* 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. James Lindsay of Kilmarnock has been called to the study of Philosophy, and no man has been more faithful in our time to his high calling. There is scarcely a professional teacher of Philosophy, there is certainly no minister of Religion, who comes within sight of him in the production of philosophical writing. We find his name every other month in one or more of the great magazines, English or American; and every other year we receive another substantial volume from his hand.

In the present volume he covers the whole history of philosophical speculation. His purpose, however, is not to write a systematic history of Philosophy. The volume consists of studies. But the studies are so arranged that we have an account of most of the great movements in Philosophy and many of the great men. Some of the chapters are inevitably mere sketches. But in the briefest and sketchiest of them Dr. Lindsay has been careful to emphasize what seems to him of most permanent value, or at any rate what he believes will do most to set the minds of the next generation athinking.

The chapter in which we have found most interest is the twelfth. Its subject is the philosophy of Wyclif. For that chapter, if for that chapter alone, the book is worth buying.

## *A NEW HISTORY OF METHODISM.*

A NEW HISTORY OF METHODISM. Edited by W. J. Townsend, D.D., H. B. Workman, M.A., D.Lit., George Eayrs, F.R.Hist S. (*Hodder & Stoughton.* Two Vols. 30s.)

It is the day of the subdivision of labour. The *New History of Methodism* has three editors and about twenty different authors. The Cambridge Press has set the fashion with its 'Cambridge Modern History,' its 'Cambridge History of English Literature,' and so on. It has set the fashion emphatically and almost aggressively. But the fashion is not altogether without its faults. The 'Cambridge Modern History' itself, though planned by the omniscience of Lord Acton, and executed by the omnipresence of Professor Prothero and his fellow-editors, is not an unquestionable success. And in so far as it is less than a success, that is due simply to the subdivision of labour upon it. The chapters do not dovetail; the stream of history does not run majestically; the country is covered by short rivers of varying depth and velocity which do not always flow into one another.

The History of Methodism is saved from that serious fault by the nature of its subject. It is a History of Methodism all the world over. Now, no single person could possibly write a history of Methodism in England and a history of Methodism in America. Such a history, if it were attempted, would carry no weight with it. But the subdivision in this History also has probably been carried too far. Thus British Wesleyan Methodism would have made a more consistent impression if it had all been written by one of the three authors between whom it has been apportioned. On the other hand, it is quite right that each of the great branches of Methodism should have its own historian. It is a distinct advantage to have the separate biographical chapters placed in the hands of separate men, each of whom has made a special

study of his subject. The chapter on the Oxford Methodists has been written by the Rev. David Brook, M.A., D.C.L., Ex-President of the National Council of the Evangelical Churches of England and Wales; that on John Wesley by the Rev. Thomas E. Brigden; that on Charles Wesley and the Hymn-Writers of Methodism by the Rev. Frederick L. Wiseman, B.A.; that on George Whitefield by the Rev. W. B. FitzGerald, Secretary of the Wesley Guild of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Except in this general way it is not easy to criticise the book or any of its chapters. The most difficult chapter to write must surely have been the chapter on the last fifty years. For here the historian has to rely on his own judgment; he has to gather the materials for his judgment from newspapers and pamphlets; and he has to avoid taking a controversialist's side on controversies which are still in existence. The chapter has been written by Professor Waddy Moss of Didsbury. We have just one question to ask about it. Has enough been made of the force which Methodism has been these fifty years on the side of social Christianity? And in that connexion it is curious that the *Methodist Times* is omitted from the list of authorities. All the same it is a great chapter. Dr. Waddy Moss has been able to rise to the height of his undertaking.

The value, and still more the interest, of this new History of Methodism is increased by the number of excellent illustrations which the book contains.

## The Books of the Month.

It is just time for another substantial volume from Dr. Edwin Abbott; it must be about a year since the last appeared. And here it is. It is a discussion of the title 'Son of Man,' a discussion involving endless research and the solution of problems which require the most delicate consideration. Yet here it is with all its learning and all its logic. And it represents only a fraction of the work which Dr. Abbott has accomplished throughout the year.

For he tells us that he has a much larger and more abstruse work in the press, a work which will contain the whole of the evidence. This volume contains but a summary of it. The title of this work is *The Message of the Son of Man* (A. & C. Black; 4s. 6d. net). The title of the larger work is to be simply *The Son of Man*.

Dr. Abbott is an old man now. But old age is not making him conservative. What he finds to be the meaning of 'the Son of Man' is seen as soon as the dedication is read. This is the dedication: 'To "the Sons of Man" is dedicated this attempt to help them to understand the Message of THE SON OF MAN.'

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The criticism of the Fourth Gospel is a subject of immense magnitude and exceeding difficulty. Few of us can find our way in it. But it is not necessary that every one of us should know it in all its details. The essential thing is the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics. And as that has been set forth by the Rev. F. W. Worsley, M.A., B.D., of Durham, in *The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists* (T. & T. Clark; 3s. net), it is easily grasped. For Mr. Worsley is a most accomplished student of the Gospels. He is thoroughly conversant with every detail of the controversy. It is out of his complete command of the whole subject that he selects this and sets it forth with perfect clearness.

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Messrs. Sonnenschein have issued a third edition of Mr. Stout's *Analytic Psychology* (2 vols., 21s.). The work belongs to Dr. Muirhead's Library of Philosophy. There is no alteration made in the new edition, and there is no occasion for a lengthened review. But what a wealth of material for the preacher's purpose the book contains. That at least is worth recording and repeating.

Take a topic that occurs near the end of the first volume, a topic of immense importance for the preacher, but marvellously misunderstood by him—the Formation of Habit. We preach about sin, and our preaching comes to nothing. For we preach as if our congregations were congregations of the children of Israel and we ourselves were psalmists. Let us learn a little of what habit is, and how habits are formed in our northern climate and our modern society. Let us know what methods to suggest for the uprooting of evil habits and the implanting of good. Let us learn a little scientific psychology.

How profitable, again, might the study become of the tenth chapter, on Thought and Language, or of the chapter which follows, on Belief and Imagination.

Dr. John Brown, of Bunyan fame, has been reading *The Sermons of Thomas Adams*, whom he calls the Shakespeare of Puritan theologians, and under that title he has published such of the sermons as appeal to him most forcibly (Cambridge Press; 1s. 6d. net).

It is the Mind of Christ that is attracting the student of the Gospels most imperatively at the present moment. This attraction is due to the entrance of Psychology into the sphere of Religion, and its present popularity. The latest student of the Mind of Christ is the Rev. W. Aylmer-Stark, M.A., who publishes what we think is his first book, *Mens Jesu Christi*, through Messrs. Duncan of Dundee. It is a book that reveals the author's acquaintance with the recent literature on the subject, and the independent powers of his own mind. There is independence in the choice of topics as well as in their treatment. Particularly fresh are the third and fourth chapters, the one on the Aspects of Style in the Sayings of Jesus, the other on Jesus and the Semitic Imagination.

Messrs. Wells Gardner have published *The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony*, with short Addresses, by the Rev. F. F. Kelly, M.A., Vicar of Camberwell (1s. net).

We have always read the Reports of the Scottish Church Society Conferences, and we are always ready to read another when it comes. We do not approve of all that is in them. It is probable that not one of the speakers approves altogether of what the other speakers have said. For the very purpose of the Conference is to present new aspects of truth and to suggest new channels of service. One of the subjects discussed at the Seventh Conference was entitled 'The Necessary Requirements of the Church of Scotland in any Re-Union.' The papers that were read on that topic, and on that topic alone, have been published under the title of *Re-Union* (Gardner Hitt; 1s. net). Just as before, the speakers are by no means wholly in harmony. And they will not be wholly in harmony with their readers. But the book is more than a party manifesto, and must be reckoned with.

Messrs. Macmillan have now published in one volume the first and second series of the *Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics* (3s. 6d. net). It may be convenient to have the whole in one cover, but this volume will never take the place in our affections of the much-fondled and attractive little volume which gave the 'Golden Treasury' series its start and impetus. It may be the counsellor and friend of the generation that is coming.

The Bishop of Michigan preaches with a purpose. And his purpose is the old-fashioned one — he preaches to convert souls to Christ. Now, he believes that souls cannot be converted to Christ by arguments in favour of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, or even by quoting the case of the Philippian jailer. Such arguments and cases have their place. But when you have proved the genuineness of the ancient springs and reservoirs, and even the unbrokenness of the aqueducts, the thirsting soul comes to you and says: 'What is the character of the stream which reaches *us* from these sources, and through these channels? Is it "the water of life" to-day as it was of old? Can it quench the thirst of *our* souls?' So Dr. Williams calls his new volume of sermons *A Valid Christianity for To-day* (Macmillan; 6s. 6d. net).

A delightful volume of Systematic Theology has been written by the Rev. G. H. Knight, and published by Messrs. Marshall Brothers (2s. 6d.). Its title is *Full Allegiance and the Holy Way*. Systematic Theology—and yet it is all in short chapters, with a list of texts at the head of each chapter—short sermons, indeed, and very likely preached from the pulpit. Yet it is Systematic Theology, the first chapter beginning at the beginning and the last chapter ending at the end, every chapter between in its right place, and the whole Christian doctrine of holiness set forth in such a way that it can be neither misunderstood nor misapplied. And it is all quite simple and practical.

'A Veteran in Revival' is a good sub-title for the biography of the late Richard Cope Morgan, of which the title is simply *R. C. Morgan: His Life and Times* (Morgan & Scott; 5s.). It is a good sub-title because the whole book is occupied with revival. The name is best known to the reader of books through Mr. Morgan's position as head of the firm of Morgan & Scott; and his

business abilities were not to be despised. But his heart and soul were in revivalism, and the book is quite as much a history of revivalism in the nineteenth century as it is a biography of Richard Cope Morgan. The biographer is his son, and family affairs are not forgotten, but this biography is of no private interpretation.

There are anecdotes, of course. There could have been ten times as many anecdotes, but the editor has taken care to have them well authenticated.

'An amusing incident, indicating the Scottish objection to the use of a musical instrument in public worship, occurred at Edinburgh, while a visit from the evangelists was in contemplation: Dr. Horatius Bonar, having gone south to investigate the new movement, returned with a glowing report, and advised that an invitation should be sent. "But what about Sankey's organ?" was a question instantly asked.

'"Ah, well," replied Dr. Bonar naïvely, "it is a *very little* one!" His testimony carried the day, and thereafter were seen the great meetings in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the North, in which so many turned to God.

'In illustration of the power of the consecrated singer: There were two men who attended the great London mission. On coming out, one said (referring to Mr. Sankey), "Well, what do you think?"

'"Why, he's a nice singer," was the reply.

'"Is that all?" replied the first. "he has *broken my heart*!" The man had become a Christian. Another man was a prisoner in a cell at Belfast, and through the open window came floating in the words: "Hold the fort, for I am coming," which Mr. Sankey was singing in a building near by. The poor prisoner there and then believed on the Lord Jesus and was saved; he afterwards became an active worker, bringing many to Christ.'

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Under the title of *Modern Spiritism* (Kegan Paul; 2nd ed., 6s. net), Mr. J. Godfrey Raupert has given an account of a popular modern pastime. Were it rightly managed it might be more than a pastime, it might be a profitable occupation. For the things which spiritism runs after are real things enough, and, as Mr. Balfour said so long ago as 1894, they have been quite unwarrantably denied or thrust aside by science. But in the hands of the medium the investigation has gone all wrong, till it is hard to say whether religion or morality is more outraged. Mr. Raupert knows the subject and has sympathy enough with it, but when he brings it into touch with the Gospel of Christ its condemnation is swift and unsparing.

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The name of Benedict Sauter, Abbot of Emaus in Prague, is one that is highly revered not only in the Order of St. Benedict to which he belongs, but throughout the whole Catholic Church. For many years he has been quite blind. But his blindness has given him only the more opportunity of becoming the expositor of his Order. One of his books has just been translated into English. The title is *The Sunday Epistles* (Sands; 16s.).

The work in the original has been edited by Abbot Sauter's own monks, who contribute the preface to it. This is what they say in the preface: 'The Epistles are certainly read to the people at the Sunday Mass, but less frequently explained, for they are much more difficult than the Gospels. The last contain incidents, actions, parables, maxims clothed in a symbolic form—all is obvious and comprehensible. In the Epistles the doctrines of the Faith are presented in the most concise manner. The same truths frequently recur. Now it is not easy to make highly abstract doctrines practically effective in their influence on the heart and will, and to apprehend and apply one and the same truth often repeated, and ever from a different and novel point of view. The Author has sought to do this, and with this aim has diligently sought the aid of the holy Fathers in his instructions. Now, as in a river the curves of the stream turn now to the right, now to the left, so as sometimes to give the impression of a lake or sheet of water, so is it, too, when "Master" and "Scholar," in the course of the instruction, for the sake of some fundamental explanation allow themselves to be invited by some holy Father to a delay, or to an excursion into a neighbouring department of spiritual truth. Certainly the waters in the windings of the river appear to have little to do with the general flow of the stream itself, but they are all flowing to an end—and that the one end of the river.'

The exposition is in the form of a dialogue between Master and Scholar. It is usually an uninteresting style of literary composition. For it is not expected that the Scholar will ever ask a really inconvenient question. Here, however,

there is interest of another kind. There is the exposition of the writer's own mind, a mind that will be new to many of us, devout, scholarly, and yet representatively Roman Catholic. The interest lies in observing the impression which the master mind of St. Paul makes on a mind so differently trained from our own.

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The Bishop of Vermont's volume on *The Doctrine of the Church* has been misnamed. It is a volume of Systematic Theology. It is the doctrine or teaching of the particular Church of which Bishop Hall is an accepted guide. It is in some sense a confession of faith, probably in a very representative sense. In any case it is the work of a careful scholar and competent theologian. It is published at the Press of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

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Dr. Gustav Krüger, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Giessen, is a great Church historian and a gifted writer. Mr. Fisher Unwin has published an English translation of his popular history of *The Papacy* (5s. net). The translators have preserved the life and 'go' of the original. And to the author's lists of literature they have added the references to English works.

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Messrs. Williams & Norgate have now issued the second volume of Pfleiderer's *Primitive Christianity* (10s. 6d. net). It completes the Pfleiderer shelf. That shelf of books will not be much disturbed in the future. For Pfleiderer's mind, although by custom called a broad one, was narrow and unsympathetic. His conclusions came too easily. They did not cost him the throes that gave the works of Strauss and Baur their influence. And he was too totally intellectual. The mystery of Christ was to him no mystery. The life of Jesus was the life of an ordinary Jewish peasant of limited education. All the rest was the invention of after ages. And when he brushed aside the mystery he denied the morality; and none of these things disturbed him. He had a philosophy into which he was sure that everything in heaven and on earth had entered, and it was all so ordinary.

# Contributions and Comments.

## 'Abraham rejoiced,' etc.

Dr. Nestle's interesting note on Jn $8^{56}$ (see The Expository Times for July, p. 477) gives me the opportunity of noting that though unfortunately in the R.V. marginal references we overlooked the reference to Gn $17^{17}$ in Jn *l.c.*, Dr. Greenup gave it in Gn. The omission will be rectified in the larger reference edition of the Revised N.T. (by Drs. Scrivener and W. F. Moulton), which Dr. Greenup and I have completed and are now seeing through the press. His other note on Gn $20^{17.18}$ and Herod. i. 105 reminds me that I meant to call attention earlier to the anticipation of the discussion on Emerods by Dr. J. C. Gibson in your own columns for May 1901. It happened that the same month Mr. A. D. Godley had a paper on Apollo Smintheus in the *Classical Review* (xv. 194), which led in the same direction, as I pointed out in the next issue (p. 284).

Sheriff Johnston's translation of Ac $14^{13}$ (p. 450) is, I venture to say, quite impossible: it looks like exegesis derived from the English. The participle ὄντος could not be used where the whole point is in a past tense; and πρό with a word denoting a locality would be intolerably harsh in a temporal sense. *Zeus Propolis* (Διὸς Προπόλεως) is the reading of Codex Bezæ, and is rather attractive: Zeus stands in front of the city as its guardian. At the same time the cult was older than the city: cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, *in loc.*, 'The "God before the city" had in almost every case been seated in his temple when there was no city; and he remained in his own sacred place after civilization progressed and a Greek or Roman city was founded in the neighbourhood.' (Ramsay accepts the Bezan reading.) So Mr. Johnston's facts are right enough: only they do not come out of the Greek.

May I add yet another ingredient to this *olla podrida*, and put in my word of hearty approval on Professor Goodspeed's reading of Mk $7^{11}$ (p. 471 f.)? Only I think he would do better to follow D, and let it be ὃ ἂν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφελήθῃς. It would be hard

to find support in the vernacular documents for a substitution of ἐάν for *conditional* ἄν. And OEAN, OAN are easily confused.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

*Manchester.*

## Desiderio Desideravi.

As 'the Breaking of the Bread' is the central rite of Christian worship, it may seem strange that there have been doubts about the origin and circumstances of the institution of that Sacrament; but the reason for such doubts is not far to seek. A wealth of tradition was lost in the early days of Christianity through the passing of the primitive Church of Hebrew believers. Greek Christianity engulfed, rather than absorbed, the Hebrew Gospel. It was inevitable; but some of the results were unfortunate. As regards the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ignorance of Jewish feeling and customs permitted opinions about the Meal in the Upper Room, which could have no basis in fact. In my article 'Last Supper,' in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, I have shown that the company of Jews, who assembled with their Master in that room, did not celebrate the Passover a day before the date, which would have been an impossibility, nor conduct an imitation of it, which would have appeared sacrilegious in the eyes of all concerned. The four accounts, rightly understood, contain no contradiction. We learn from the Evangelists that Christ sat down to a meal on the night of His betrayal, which became a sacred occasion by reason of mysterious acts and words. Amongst the latter was the saying, 'With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer.' The ancient title applied to the new rite indicates that the spiritual anticipations of the old were fulfilled in the evangelical grace inherent in the new celebration.

Notice has already been taken in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES of another exegesis of this saying. In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1908, Professor Burkitt and Mr. Brooke suggested that the desire was unrealized; that Christ had entertained the wish to keep the Passover for that year with the Twelve, but knew, at last, that it was impossible. In the October number of the journal, Mr. Box stated that he had already, and independently, adopted the same view. The arguments of these three writers afford interesting confirmation of my chief contention, that the meal on the Thursday evening was not the Jewish Passover; but their particular interpretation of the ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα seems to me unsatisfactory on theological and historical grounds. There are also difficulties in the way of accepting Mr. Box's explanation and rendering of the γὰρ in v.[16]. To this question perhaps I may be permitted to revert on another occasion; but the interpretation of Christ's saying seems to me to be ruled by considerations which extend beyond the force of a particle.

The explanation which has been suggested by the three writers, implies that Christ possessed a knowledge of the course of events which had not been attained by His disciples. It is superfluous to point out that the first three Evangelists represent the Twelve as looking forward to the celebration of the Passover, and desiring to make the usual preparations. [I may remark parenthetically, that there is no reason to doubt that they, as Jews, actually did eat the Passover on the Friday, although their Master was crucified; with the exception of any who may have contracted ceremonial defilement. This point is not generally noticed.] On the Thursday evening they sat down to a common meal, when, according to the new explanation, Jesus told the rest that He should not partake of the Passover for that year. His superior knowledge was either human, or supernatural. Where is the evidence to show that Jesus, *as a Man*, knew more of the intentions of His enemies than did the other men who sat with Him? This is an historical difficulty.

The alternative is that Jesus enjoyed a supernatural intuition into the future. So thought the author of the Fourth Gospel; but if we follow him in this, we encounter a serious theological difficulty. How could He, who came to submit Himself to the Father's will, have indulged an intense desire to do what He had long known was not in accordance with the purpose of the Father? Such a mental attitude has no parallel in the evangelic records. It may be suggested, that while Jesus did not actually foresee the future, He enjoyed occasionally, and eminently on that great night, a power of prescience. But the naturalist cannot, on his principles, admit supernatural agency; and we doubt whether the believer in a supernatural Christ would be content to recognize in Him only

fitful gleams of prophetic fire. Jesus was either God, or not God.

It is unnecessary now to point out that Christ is represented by the Evangelists as often using words in a mystical sense. So St. Paul uses πάσχα (1 Co $5^{8}$). If we take the same word also mystically in Lk $22^{15}$ (although the meaning in the latter passage is not quite identical with the application in the former), we secure an explanation which requires no unusual force in τοῦτο or γὰρ, and does not involve historical and theological difficulties.

G. H. Gwilliam.

*Remenham, Berks.*

## Revelation iv. 11.

The festivities for the centenary of Charles Darwin's birth have passed off most successfully; and the last of the scientific scholars who have flocked to Cambridge from all parts of the world to do honour to the greatest naturalist of the nineteenth century, are on the point of departing. We have read and talked of little during the past week except the origin of species, natural selection, adaptation to environment, and the survival of the fittest. The impression of Darwin's surpassing merit, both as a man and a scholar, will not soon fade from our minds. Of that there can be no dispute, nor of the fact that all departments of human knowledge have been affected by his genius; for even theologians, who, fifty years ago, were vehement in denouncing his theories, are now glad to trace the Law of Evolution in the Old and the New Testament; in the History of Israel as in the Epistles of St. Paul.

Yet, after a lapse of fifty years, while no one disputes Darwin's facts, his most ardent admirers have to confess that several of his theories still await full confirmation. The 'Missing Link' which should come between the monkey and the man, has not been found. And I understand, though I am too ignorant of natural history to verify the statement, that the intermediate stages, through which some of the lower species are supposed to have passed into those species just above themselves, are not to be found.

Yet naturalists are now almost unanimous in asserting that they have so passed. Are we to believe it, while the evidence is still so incomplete?

A possible solution of this problem has occurred to me, and I venture to submit it to your readers, though from my own imperfect knowledge of science, I am perhaps scarcely competent to do so.

In wandering through the Thiergarten at Hamburg, and contemplating the extraordinary forms of the reptile world, some of them clumsy, some of them repulsive, and none, so far as I could see, adapted to the use of man, nor, indeed, of any higher animal, the question occurred to me: *May not the Evolution be in the Thought of our Creator?*

I do not mean to suggest that Almighty power and wisdom are in the least degree susceptible of growth. But if we accept the statement in Gn $1^{27}$, that 'God created man in His own image,' we may be allowed to reason upwards from the finitely small to the Infinitely Great, and to suppose that if a skilled mechanic goes on improving the articles (watches, for instance) which he invents and fashions into shape, and derives real pleasure from each successive result of his own activity; so God, from whom man derives his creative faculty, experimented on the lower forms of animals in an ever-ascending scale till He produced the highest one, or guided their evolution. How far His creative hand touched them at each successive stage of this development, others, more learned and more gifted than I, may attempt to trace, though I fear the problem will baffle their utmost ingenuity.

The statement in Rev $4^{11}$, 'Thou hast created all things; and for THY PLEASURE they are and were created,' if accepted, gives us the solution of several problems. Why are so many flowers born to blush unseen? and why are so many animals and plants noxious to man, whom we sometimes call the lord of creation? Simply because it is not for his sake alone that they exist. We try to understand the Fatherhood of God from what we know of the fatherhood of man; why, then, should we not reason from our own creative instincts up to the possibilities of how God may use His creative power?

Agnes Smith Lewis.

*Cambridge.*

# Ezekiel and the Phœnician Script.

A RECENT writer in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*[1] has maintained that 'without a more comprehensive view of the significance of the Canaanitish elements, out of which, in no slight measure, Israelitish nationality appears to have been woven, we shall look in vain for a truly adequate conception of the evolution of that nationality.'

In this connexion it is interesting to note that the same writer has recently sought to explain the *Parallelismus Membrorum*, which has long been a mystery to Old Testament scholars, as a reflex of Phœnician religion, which he describes by the expression, 'Androgynistic Monotheism.'

Modern scholars seem to have neglected the study of Canaanitish, and especially of Phœnician, civilization, fragmentary though it be, and to have underestimated the importance of visualizing the actual environment in which the Biblical characters played their parts. On purely *a priori* grounds we should have expected that the influence of the Phœnician cultus and culture on the religious, political, and social life of the Israelites would have been enormous. This may be illustrated in a variety of ways; for instance, it is now becoming recognized that the Phœnician script no doubt contains secrets of which we have long been quite unconscious.

For example, Ezk $28^3$ has long been a stumbling-block to Hebraists, as such. I would suggest that in this case the solution is to be sought only in the Phœnician script.

הִנֵּה חָכָם אַתָּה מִדָּנִאֵל כָּל־סָתוּם לֹא עֲמָמוּךָ׃

'Behold, wiser art thou than Daniel; no secret do they conceal as regards thee.'

A.V. 'Behold, thou *art* (R.V. art) wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee.'

LXX. *μὴ σοφώτερος εἶ σὺ τοῦ Δανιήλ; σοφοὶ οὐκ ἐπαίδευσάν σε τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ αὐτῶν;*

Vulgate. 'Ecce sapientior es tu Daniele; omne secretum non est absconditum a te.'

The Syriac and Arabic versions give substantially the same reading.

And so with the Moderns:

Gesenius regards כָּל־סָתוּם as the *subject* of עֲמָמוּךָ.[2]

Berthelot reads קֹסְמִים, *diviners*, instead of כָּל־סָתוּם.

Similarly, instead of כָּל־סָתוּם, Toy reads חַכָמִים, *wise men*, and Cornill reads חַרְטֻמִים, *magicians*.

It is obvious from this imposing list of authorities that scholars have interpreted this verse in the same way. All have regarded the corruption as lying concealed in כָּל־סָתוּם, and have concentrated their attention on the latter half of the verse. The result is far from satisfactory, and apparently is a good example of the danger of confining attention to the *ipsissima verba* of the verse, without taking into consideration the context. An examination of the context, and especially of the early verses of the chapter, suggests the probability of a connexion between אל in the word מדנאל, and אל in the preceding verse. This conjecture is fully borne out by a transliteration of the verse into Phœnician script, and thus the difficulty seems solved at a glance. מְדָנִאֵל becomes מִבְּנֵי אֵל, and the psychological connexion between אל מדנאל and אל in the preceding verse is self-evident. On palæographical grounds there is no difficulty whatever in this assumption. *B* and *D* were so similar in early Phœnician script that they could easily be confused. That such confusion was common we know from frequent examples in the Old Testament; *e.g.*:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Confusion of *R* and *D*; | Gn $10^3$ | — 1 Ch | $1^6$ |
| ,, ,, ,, | $10^4$ | ,, | $1^7$ |
| ,, ,, ,, | $36^{39}$ | ,, | $1^{50}$ |
| ,, ,, | Dt $14^{13}$ | — Lv | $11^{14}$ |
| ,, *B* and *D*; | 2 S $23^{29}$ | — 1 Ch | $11^{30}$ |
| ,, *B* and *M*; | 2 K $20^{12}$ | — Is | $39^1$ |

The omission of the letter *Yod* also points to an early Phœnician script.

Hence *Daniel* (דנאל) disappears. The fact that Daniel is mentioned in Ezk $14^{14}$ presents no argument in favour of the reading in Ezk $28^3$ having been originally *Daniel*. A cursory glance at the context in chapter 14 shows that there Daniel is selected along with two others as eminent types, not of *Wisdom*, but of *Righteousness*.

It is perhaps more than a coincidence that in the fourteenth verse of chapter 28, some authorities, according to Kittel, read בְּנֵי אֵל instead of אַבְנֵי אֵשׁ.

The verse now reads:

'Behold, thou art wiser than the sons of God; no secret do they conceal from thee.'

[1] January 1909, p. 437.

[2] Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 145, 2*b*.

This gives such a splendid climax to the preceding verse, and is so vastly superior to the other rendering, that it is difficult to believe it is wrong. From it we have another welcome suggestion of the fact that Ezekiel was written originally in Phœnician script, which *ex hypothesi* we should have supposed.

The concluding words of the verse present no inherent grammatical or philological difficulty, though the last word עממוך is of rare occurrence. Even should any one divine a superior reading for the final words, it is improbable that this would materially affect the interpretation of the passage as a whole, or invalidate my conjecture.

The passage receives so much illumination from this conjecture that it seems a grievous pity that scholars have not yet prepared a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures in Phœnician script.

In the light of this and similar conjectures, based on the assumption of an original Phœnician script, it becomes increasingly probable that such a transcription would be most helpful to Biblical interpretation of the future.

CHAS. E. SCRIMGEOUR.

*McGill University, Montreal.*

## 'Abba, Father.'

FROM my recollections as a student in the New College, Edinburgh, I am able to supply an interesting instance of the influence of strong, deep feeling towards a polyglot expression. One morning in the course of his opening prayer in the Senior Hebrew Class, the late Rabbi Duncan was led to use the expression in Ps $68^{35}$, 'O God, thou art terrible out of thy holy places,' adding in the same breath, 'Thou art Nōra' (נורא), 'venerandus.' Indeed, the Rabbi had something of a habit of 'polyglotting' (if I may coin a word) his ideas.

A. THOM.

*The Manse, Tullibody.*

# Entre Nous.

**Professor Warfield.**

There is not a more painstaking reviewer to be found than Professor Warfield of Princeton. Nobody ever agrees with all that he says in a review, but nobody ever overlooks him. His is in every respect the strong hand on the *Princeton Theological Review*. But even if he had nothing in it but his reviews of books, that quarterly would be indispensable.

In the number for April he reviews the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and misses nothing. He does not miss even an omission. There is no mention in the list of cross-references of Religious Accommodation. It is a slip undoubtedly. But the subject was not forgotten. It will be dealt with under Casuistry, to which the reference should have been made.

His conclusion on the volume is that it is comprehensive, learned, and interestingly written. 'It is already evident,' he says, 'that the completed work will be a welcome and valuable addition to our Encyclopædic Literature.'

**The New Septuagint.**

The reference to Swete's edition in the review last month of the new critical Septuagint was not clearly made. As everybody who has seen it knows, Swete's edition contains the Vatican text (B), supplemented by the Alexandrine (A), and by the next uncial in importance in the places where both these MSS are defective. Still it is the best working edition of the Septuagint we yet have.

**Is Weismann a Materialist?**

He delivered an address at the University of Freiburg on the occasion of the Centenary of Darwin. The address is published in the *Contemporary Review* for July. Here are two paragraphs from the middle of it:—

'The discovery of the principle of selection is the greatest achievement of Charles Darwin and his contemporary, Alfred Wallace, and it alone, in my opinion at least, affords a secure basis for the theory of evolution. It reveals to us how the

apparently impossible becomes possible, how what is adapted to its purpose can have arisen without the intervention of a directing power.

'The principle of selection shows us how the thousands of adaptations in living beings which arouse our constant admiration may have arisen in a purely mechanical way. And they must necessarily have done so if the evolution of the living has resulted from the same forces and laws as the not-living; in other words, if, in explaining natural phenomena, we can leave out of account altogether any forces outside of or beyond Nature. The principle of selection enables us to do this, and therein lies its far-reaching significance. It is, I believe, the discovery of this principle that will make the name of Darwin immortal. Wallace, too, deserves a full share of the credit, although he did not base his theory on such a broad foundation of facts, and did not apply it in so many directions.'

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### The Calf Path.

'One day, through a primeval wood,
A calf walked home as good calves should,
And left a trail all bent askew,
A crooked trail, as all calves do.

Since then two hundred years have fled,
And I infer the calf is dead,
But still he left behind his trail,
And thereby hangs my moral tale.

The trail was taken up next day
By a lone dog that passed that way;
And then a wise bell-wether sheep
Pursued the trail o'er dale and steep,
And led his flock behind him too,
As good bell-wethers always do.

And from that day o'er hill and glade,
Through those old woods a path was made,
And many men wound in and out,
And bent and turned and crooked about,
And uttered words of righteous wrath,
Because 'twas such a crooked path.

But still they followed—do not laugh—
The first migrations of that calf,
And through this winding woodway stalked,
Because he wobbled when he walked.'

### The Great Text Commentary.

The best illustrations this month have been found by the Rev. T. J. Pennell, Coseby, Bilston; and the Rev. G. C. Gould, Kettering, to both of whom copies of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought* have been sent.

Illustrations for the Great Text for September must be received by the 1st of August. The text is Rev $2^{17}$.

The Great Text for October is Rev $3^{20}$—'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Oswald Dykes's *Christian Minister* will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for November is Rev $7^{9.\ 10}$—'After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands; and they cry with a great voice, saying, Salvation unto our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for December is Rev $7^{14}$—'These are they which come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.' A copy of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought*, or Dykes's *Christian Minister*, or Wilson's *How God has Spoken*, will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for January is Rev $14^{13}$—'And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works follow with them.' A copy of Geden's *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, or of Scott's *Pauline Epistles*, or of Wilson's *How God has Spoken*, will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

## Notes of Recent Exposition.

It seems as though we should have to revise our estimate of Herod. What is our estimate?

The Herod of our infantile imagination is a composition. It is a creature that is scarcely human, compiled from the criminal record of the whole family. It is a sort of ogre who massacres the babes of Bethlehem, to whose table the head of John the Baptist is brought in a charger, who stretches forth his hands to vex certain of the Church, who kills James the brother of John with the sword, who, 'because he saw it pleased the Jews,' proceeds further to take Peter also, and whose proper and exquisitely hideous end is to be eaten of worms and give up the ghost. We must revise that.

And more than that. We must revise our estimate of one of the Herods who go to make up that picture. Dr. A. W. Verrall says that we must revise our estimate of Herod Antipas. Dr. Verrall has sent an article to the *Journal of Theological Studies* on 'Christ before Herod.' He has made an independent study of what we call the trial of Christ by Herod, and of all that is said about the relation of Herod to Christ elsewhere in the Gospels. And he comes to the conclusion that Herod was never anything but friendly towards Christ, friendly and even deferential, and, in particular, that there never was such a thing as a trial before Herod.

Dr. Verrall says that there never was a trial before Herod, and never could have been. For Herod had no jurisdiction in Jerusalem. He had jurisdiction in Galilee, it is said, though even that is a mistranslation in our Authorized Version. What St. Luke ($23^7$) says is that Jesus was from the *dominion* of Herod. He does not say that He belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, which might mean that Herod could carry that jurisdiction with him wherever he went, even into Jerusalem. He could not carry it into Jerusalem. For Pilate was ruler in Jerusalem, and it was not in his power, even if he had been willing, to allow any man to occupy the position of judge in Jerusalem, or shift to any other man's shoulders his own responsibility for a judgment.

This simple but irremovable circumstance is enough of itself to end the idea of a trial before Herod. Pilate did not send Jesus to Herod for judgment; he sent Him simply for examination. He wanted to get at the facts of the case. He learned that Jesus was of Galilee, part of the dominion of Herod. It was probable, then, that Herod knew something about Him, or at least that he would be able to elicit such information regarding Him as would make it easier for Pilate to pass judgment. He therefore sent Him to Herod. And he sent some of His accusers with Him.

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Dr. Verrall says that the historical representations of Jesus before Herod are altogether wrong. In Jerusalem Herod was a private person. He was perhaps lodged in the very building in which Pilate held his court. When Jesus came to him it was still early morning. In whatever condition it was customary for him to spend a private morning in his lodging, in that condition Jesus and His accusers found him.

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But if the visit was not an official one, it was a visit of much interest to Herod. For a long time he had desired to see Jesus, and he hoped to see some miracle done by Him. It was not vulgar curiosity. It was not mere savage delight in the marvellous. Herod was a religious man. There was a time when he had heard John gladly, and he had done many things which John bade him do, going out of his way to do them. Now when at last he came face to face with Jesus he was deeply disappointed in Him. For not only did Jesus refuse to work a miracle before him, He even refused to reply to one of the many questions which he put to Him. He was deeply disappointed, but Dr. Verrall does not believe for a moment that he expressed his disappointment in contemptuous abuse of Jesus.

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Certainly it is said that Herod with his men of war set Him at nought and mocked Him and arrayed Him in a gorgeous robe. But Dr. Verrall does not believe that that statement represents the facts. For, in the first place, Herod could not have had men of war with him. He could scarcely have had any very imposing bodyguard in Jerusalem, far less troops or 'armies,' as the Greek word literally signifies. He could scarcely have had more than one or two soldiers in waiting. Dr. Verrall thinks it possible that St. Luke's word means no more than that. And if so, we must see that we do not put more into it.

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But it is said that Herod set Him at nought. This Dr. Verrall calls a 'dexterous modification' of the meaning on the part of the Authorized translators to suit the prevalent idea. He believes that what Luke actually says is that Herod 'thought nothing of Him'—that is to say, as a political prisoner. But again, it is added that he mocked Him. And again Dr. Verrall says that it is a mistranslation. What St. Luke says is that Herod jested—not at Him, but at *it*; that is to say, at the whole absurdity of making this man out to be a dangerous enemy of the Empire.

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But once more, it is said that he arrayed Him in a gorgeous robe. Was not that in mockery? For was it not a royal robe? And was it not put on in derision of His claim to be King of the Jews? It was not, says Dr. Verrall, exactly a royal robe, but it was a robe worthy of a king. And it was put on Him in all seriousness, that Herod might testify to his own reverence for Jesus, and at the same time enable Pilate to understand more unmistakably than any message that might be carried to him the estimate which he had formed of His character and His claims.

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Dr. Verrall's translation of the whole passage is, 'But Herod "with his forces" thought him not important, and jested thereupon, and, having clothed him with fine apparel, sent him back to Pilate.'

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Professor Paul Haupt of Baltimore is a great Orientalist. He astonished the Congress of Orientalists held at Copenhagen in 1908, by arguing that Jesus was not a Jew. He repeated his argument at Oxford in the end of the year, in a paper which he read at the Congress of Religions. And now, after full reflexion, and after having the benefit of the frank criticism of both these learned Congresses, he publishes an article in the *Open Court* for April 1909 on 'The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus,' in which he repeats his argument and endeavours to strengthen it by many forbidding footnotes. He declares that Jesus was not a Jew but a Persian, not a Semite at all but an Indo-European like ourselves. What are the proofs he produces?

In the first place, he is quite sure that Jesus was born at Nazareth, and not at Bethlehem. The 'tradition' that Jesus was a descendant of David and born at Bethlehem he dismisses easily as 'not original,' and finds the evidence in Jn $7^{41}$. He says that the Census referred to in the Third Gospel took place in 7 A.D., 'that is, at least eleven years after the Nativity.' And he approves of Wellhausen, who begins his translation of the First Gospel with the third chapter. The first two chapters, he says, with the Davidic genealogy of Joseph, the Virgin Birth, the star of Bethlehem, the wise men from the East, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the innocents, are simply not worth considering.

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Now, if Jesus was born at Nazareth, Dr. Haupt's argument is that He was not a Jew, because the inhabitants of Galilee were not Jews at the time He was born there. Once there had been Jews in Galilee. But in the year 164 B.C., Simon Maccabæus had transferred them all to Jerusalem. It is true that in the year 103 B.C., Simon's grandson Aristobulus had gone to Galilee, and had forced the inhabitants to adopt circumcision and the Mosaic Law. And from that time forth the Galileans were Jews by religion. But to be Jews by religion is not to be Jews by race. A negro who joins the Church of England, says Dr. Haupt, does not become an Anglo-Saxon. The Galileans became Jews by religious profession, but the very speech of a man like Simon Peter 'bewrayed' his non-Jewish extraction.

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Where, then, did the Galileans come from, and who were the ancestors of Jesus? They came from Assyria, says Professor Haupt. They were descendants of those colonists whom Tiglath-Pileser IV. and Sargon II. had sent to Galilee after the inhabitants had been deported to Assyria in 738 B.C. They were accordingly called *Itureans*, which is simply a corruption of *Assyrians*.

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But if they were Assyrians, were they not Semites? No, Dr. Haupt does not think they were Semites. At least they were not all Semites. For Sargon II. relates that he deported the Median chief Deioces, 'with his kinsmen,' to Hamath. Now Hamath was the capital of Galilee. This is a discovery that Professor Haupt has made. And we may just as well express our belief that this discovery is the origin of the whole argument about the ancestry of Jesus.

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Hitherto it has been the universal opinion that Hamath was the royal city of the Hittites, and that it was situated on the Orontes in Northern Syria. But the boundary of Israel never reached so far north as the Orontes, and the names of the kings of Hamath mentioned in the Cuneiform Texts are not Hittite but Hebrew. Hamath was the ancient capital of Galilee, and was to be found at the famous hot springs half an hour to the south of Tiberias on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. Professor Haupt's conclusion is that the inhabitants of Galilee, or at least some portion of them, were descendants of Deioces and his kinsmen. 'It is extremely improbable,' he says, 'that Jesus was a son of David; it is at least as probable that He was a scion of Deioces or even a descendant of Spitam, the ancestor of Zoroaster.'

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One of the first rules which the study of History has taught us is that there ought to be no surprises there. An event happens, like the crossing of the Channel by an aeroplane, which takes the world by surprise. But the world ought not to have been taken by surprise. That event was one of a long chain of events. It came to pass, not because some one suddenly said, Go to, let us fly across the English Channel, but because many experimental failures had preceded this first experimental success. A book has at last been written which explains our Lord's resurrection from the dead by means of Psychology. If it is successful it is a greater event than the crossing of the Channel by an aeroplane. But we need not be surprised at it. There has been plenty of preparation. Some man was bound to come who would at last run the risk

of a deliberate attempt to explain the resurrection of Christ from the dead by telepathy.

Origen led the way. 'I am of opinion now,' said Origen, 'that the statements in this passage (1 Cor. $15^{5ff.}$) contain some great and wonderful mysteries, which are beyond the grasp, not merely of the great multitude of ordinary believers, but even of those who are far advanced, and that in them the reason would be explained why our Lord did not show Himself, after His resurrection from the dead, in the same manner as before that event.'

But the first open encouragement seems to have been given by the present Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. In the volume known by the title of *Cambridge Theological Essays* there is an essay by Dr. J. O. F. Murray, formerly Fellow and Dean of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and now, as we have said, Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, in which the difficulties of belief in the resurrection are not belittled though the fact is affirmed; and in that essay there occur these significant words: 'The physical laws in obedience to which, the particular force by the operation of which, this result was attained, are at present unknown to us, and it is possible that they may remain unknown. No one can wish anything but God-speed to those who press onward in the hope that a fuller knowledge of the constitution of matter and a closer study of psychic phenomena may enable them in the end to lift the veil.' This essay was published in 1905. Then in 1907, Professor Kirsopp Lake of Leyden, laying down his pen at the end of an effort to estimate the historical value of the evidence for the resurrection, gave it as his opinion that the next stage of resurrection criticism would be the study of the narrative in the light of psychical research.

The book which opens that stage in the study of the resurrection is anonymous, and we know not who the author may be. He seems to be a clergyman of the Church of England. He is manifestly a student, both of Psychology and of the Gospels. He is well acquainted with the work of the Abbé Loisy, and recognizes at least its suggestiveness. His book, of which the title is simply *Resurrectio Christi* (Kegan Paul; 3s. 6d. net), is sure to take the theologian by surprise. For the theologian is more familiar with the progress of aeronautics than with the progress of the science of Psychology.

But if it is a surprise it need not be a disagreeable one. It is extremely probable that a great revolution is about to take place in our theological thinking. But the revolution is coming without the agony of previous revolutions. For the study of Psychology has been made popular not by men who welcome it as a new weapon in the warfare of Science and Religion, but by men, like Professor William James and Professor Albert Coe, who are not ashamed of their own personal faith in Christ and their conviction of the supernatural. The anonymous author of this book is a Christian. If he endeavours to explain the resurrection by the use of telepathy, he does so in order to get rid of its difficulties and establish its fact.

Now, one of the most serious difficulties belonging to the narratives of the resurrection is the apparent discrepancy regarding the place or places in which our Lord appeared to His disciples. Did the appearances take place in Jerusalem or in Galilee? St. Luke says Jerusalem, and he seems to exclude the possibility of Galilee. St. Matthew says Galilee, and rejects the appearance to apostles at Jerusalem. The author of this book holds that the contradiction is absolute. He holds that every attempt at reconciliation persuades its own ingenious author and no one else. But he claims that the contradiction is one of the strongest supports of his own psychological explanation.

For in actual fact, he says, the appearances all took place in Jerusalem. And yet those who say that they took place, or that some of them took place, in Galilee are not false witnesses. They or their informants actually saw them there. They

saw them there in vision. Not, however, in a subjective vision. Not in such a vision as could be called a mere hallucination. Let us admit that there were disciples in Galilee who believed that they saw Christ making Himself known to the Twelve assembled with them in Galilee, at the very time when the Twelve were actually in Jerusalem and were seeing Him there. Their belief was not a hallucination, it was an actual experience. It was due to the telepathic power possessed and exercised by Christ.

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But we must go back a little. When the resurrection took place, where were the disciples? It is probable, says our author, that they were in Galilee. They had gone back to their homes. They may not all have gone to their homes, but at least the majority had done so. It may be that the Twelve and some others were only on their way to Galilee, or were even in hiding quite close to Jerusalem. But, wherever they were when the resurrection took place, they had a vision. Or, to speak more psychologically, there was made upon them a subconscious impression. The effect of this subconscious impression upon some of them, upon those who were still within easy reach of Jerusalem, was to induce them to repair thither. For it was the purpose of Christ to 'concentrate at Jerusalem the floating material which went to form His Church.'

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When they repaired to Jerusalem, in obedience to this subconscious impression, the disciples had their visions of the risen Christ. Again, these visions were not mere dreams or begotten of an ardent desire to believe that their Master had risen from the dead. They were actual appearances to them of an actually risen Master. But they were made, not to their ordinary consciousness, but to their subliminal self. They were made to that subconsciousness which is as real and as reliable as consciousness, although it may not be so directly at command.

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At this time the rest of the disciples were in Galilee. They too had had their subconscious impression. But in their case the telepathic impulse had directed them to a mountain in Galilee. There they also were enabled to see the Lord. And not only the Lord Himself, but, as St. Matthew has it, the Lord surrounded with the Twelve, although the Twelve were at that very time in Jerusalem. For if the personality is strong enough, there is no limit to the impression which a telepathic force can make. In course of time these disciples also found their way back to Jerusalem. And when the Day of Pentecost arrived they were all with one accord in one place. For the purpose of these communications of the risen Lord was to recover them from their disappointment and prepare them for the gift of the Holy Ghost, on the reception of which they would be ready to go forth and make disciples of all the nations.

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But if the appearances of Christ to the disciples were subconscious, how were they able to recollect them when they returned to consciousness? That they did recollect them, we know. We know how necessary it was that they should recollect them. For they were to become witnesses of the resurrection and of the power of it. The difficulty, says our author, simply points us to Pentecost.

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The main feature of Pentecost on the human side was just this, that the subconsciousness of the believers came to the surface. 'All that we know of Pentecost and its subsequent repetition in the exercise of spiritual gifts shows that Pentecost was simply the exhibition of subliminal activity by persons in a state of trance.' Pentecost and its subsequent phenomena have certainly, as the author says, presented some difficulty to us. The meaning of Pentecost and all that followed it is simply that the hidden memories of the disciples were then, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, brought to the surface. They realized what they had seen and their hands had handled. And they were sent forth to the ends of the earth as witnesses of Christ and the resurrection from the dead.

# The Preaching of Doom.

By the Rev. J. M. E. Ross, M.A., Redhill.

It can scarcely be denied that in the pulpit of to-day there is a conspiracy of silence upon eschatology in general and upon its darker side in particular. When the present writer was timidly preaching some of his earliest sermons, it fell to his lot to preach upon a certain day in a church in the West Highlands of Scotland. After service he was visited by a retired minister who lived in the place, an old man, with white hair and beard and a countenance somewhat stern and severe, who placed his hand upon the young preacher's shoulder and said, 'My young friend, I should like to hear you preach a sermon on some of the fundamental doctrines: I should like to hear you preach from the text, *He that believeth not shall be damned*.' It would be interesting to know how many sermons have been preached in Christendom during the last decade from that text or from kindred passages. And there is an uneasy feeling beginning to stir among some of us, who, even while we know that we cannot return to the thought and speech of our forefathers on this matter, are beginning to wonder whether we really declare the whole counsel of God. Retribution in this life is often enough touched upon, but we have become agnostic in regard to the things beyond the veil. And the emphasis and proportion we give to the idea are scarcely those of the New Testament.

There are reasons for this silence. One is a healthy reaction against the extremes and exaggerations of the earlier exponents of retribution. From Loyola and Jonathan Edwards to C. H. Spurgeon, at any rate in his earlier years, all schools and sections of the Church seemed to speak in a kind of delirium upon this theme. It would be easy to gather together, as Farrar and others have done, a collection of lurid passages which have now lost their power to convince: they only sicken us and create a mood of revolt. The point now raised is the question whether this revolt has not gone too far, and whether we are not silent about some themes on which we ought to speak. There is another reason for silence. There has grown upon us, with the passing of the years and a fuller understanding of the mind of Christ, the feeling that a man ought to be at his holiest and best when he is handling the threatenings of the Divine Love and the ultimate possibilities of evil. When a preacher handles the Divine promises and invitations, he can do so in all humility as one who himself clings to them and lives by them: the deeper the sense of his own unworthiness, the more true and tender is his tone. But when he handles the threatenings, it is difficult to avoid the appearance of taking a seat beside the Judge: if a man attempts it at all, it must be under an exceeding sense of responsibility and pressure of conviction; and he requires for it a mood more selfless than any that we can commonly attain. Dr. Dale's son notes that his father's sermons on future punishment were never preached a second time. 'He seems to have felt that utterance upon a theme so terrible must come fresh from the preacher's heart, forced out of it by an overpowering sense of duty.' There are some preachers who have in their desks half-finished sermons upon eschatological subjects: we began them; we shuddered at them; we left them,—until the tides of the Spirit should carry us out of the more frequented waterways and bear us in under the shadow of these precipitous and terrible thoughts. But perhaps the chief reason for silence is just the difficulty of finding a satisfactory doctrine to preach. There is no need to discuss here in detail the three theories that divide the field of possibility: the orthodox doctrine of final loss and endless separation; the restorationist doctrine, whether held absolutely or in vaguer fashion as 'the larger hope'; and the half-way house, the doctrine of relief, known as 'Conditional Immortality.' Each builds on Scripture and claims its own array of proof texts. Each has its own difficulties. The first and last seem to involve in one form or another the final defeat of the Almighty Love; it is difficult for faith to accept that as the issue of the travail of the ages. The second embodies ideas which must be the wish of all, but when we begin to hammer out the wish into a creed, our difficulties begin. There is the tendency of character to set and harden. There is the fact that pain in itself has no remedial power, sometimes the very opposite. There is the urgency of the Divine Love in its insistence upon To-day. And so, finding

difficulties in all the theories, one is tempted to be agnostic, and to veil one's ignorance in silence. The impression left by reading the advocates of rival theories is that, if Scripture does not give an uncertain sound, it gives at most a verdict that hangs upon the niceties of interpretation, *e.g.*, the precise shade of meaning to be read into the word αἰώνιος. Such an impression does not tend to produce either prophetic firmness of conviction or prophetic frankness of speech.

These things, then, make for silence. But there are other things that press for speech. To begin with, one learns by experience that our hearers are by no means uninterested. A certain minister had recently a series of monthly conferences with men: the first time the members of the conference were allowed to choose their own subject, they unanimously chose future punishment, and the theme brought the largest gathering of the series. The average man is a much more theological animal than is sometimes imagined. It is true that if we preached to him the old doctrine of hell in the old-fashioned way he would no longer believe it; it has been subjected to a long undermining process from many quarters and has gradually crumbled away. Yet he is still asking for information, if we have any to give, and meantime he is not inclined to dismiss eschatology as a department with which he has no concern. Further, there are the uses of the doctrine,—though one is timid about enlarging on this, lest one should be accused of holding a doctrine for the sake of its uses. Men as far apart as Sir Thomas Browne and Professor James acknowledge the usefulness, and in some cases the necessity, of the appeal to fear. God's threatenings, says the former, are 'the secondary method of His wisdom, which He useth but as the last remedy and upon provocation, a course rather to deter the wicked than incite the virtuous to his worship.' The words are part of a depreciation of the appeal to fear, but it is admitted that wisdom may sometimes use it, even if in a secondary way. 'Of all the criminal human beings,' Professor James says, 'the false, cowardly, sensual, or cruel persons who actually live, there is perhaps not one whose criminal impulse may not be at some moment overpowered by the presence of some other emotion to which his character is also potentially liable, provided that other emotion be only made intense enough. Fear is usually the most available emotion for this result in this particular class of persons. It stands for conscience. . . . Old-fashioned, hell-fire Christianity well knew how to extract from fear its full equivalent in the way of fruits for repentance and its full conversion value.' Now it is impossible for us to use the appeal to fear as our forefathers used it. But the point remains,—has the sinful and unrepentant soul anything to be afraid of? *If so, what?* And *how can it be presented so as to take its full practical effect?* The deepest reason for speech upon the subject is the need of teaching men to face facts, and to face all the facts. The old doctrine, however crude it was, was an attempt to state one of the great tendencies of life and the issue of that tendency. The statement becomes antiquated, but the tendency remains; and in handling the issues of it, if Christ and the Scriptures are our guides at all, we face realities and appalling realities. It may be useful that men should face these realities, yet the deepest argument for helping them to do so is not usefulness, but honesty: it is Paul's *Be not deceived.* That is why some of us are uneasy lest, in our avoidance of eschatological preaching, we fail to declare the whole counsel of God; and the question that haunts us is this—how can we restate the doctrine of doom in a way that shall be free from superstition and exaggeration, and yet full of real impressiveness and practical fruitfulness?

Some suggestions towards such a restatement are here offered with humility.

1. In future conceptions of this doctrine *experience* will play a larger part than it did in the thoughts of our fathers. For we have discovered that retribution, instead of being a thunderstorm rolling and flashing on some far horizon, is a wolf crouching at the very door, a shadow following men down the street, a pain throbbing and stabbing in the soul,—something, in short, that is not far away but close at hand. Dante felt this when he made Virgil, symbol of human reason, the guide to hell: recompense was a reality that even reason unaided could discover and lay bare. There is great gain to credibility here,—if we can show men that hell in the essence of it is visible to the naked eye. Men have learned now that the universe is one; and it may help them to believe in the working of a law of retribution far away if they can be brought clearly to see it working now and close at hand. If we can see anything at all, we can see that. We can see it in the reality of remorse;

in the coarsening of human nature by persistence in sin; in the gradually increasing impossibility of entrance into higher and purer joys when baser and coarser satisfactions have been chosen and loved; in the swift flight of opportunity and the vast difficulty in the moral world of making up for lost time. These things are realities, and no dream of Catholic or Calvinist ever created anything more terrible than the doctrine which is the shadow of these things projected on the future.

2. The revised doctrine will also draw a good deal from *science*. For science is but experience widened and deepened and made more accurate, experience with a spade, experience with a microscope, experience with a pair of balances, slowly getting at the thoughts of God and thinking them after Him. And science tells men with a grim convincingness, such as perhaps theology never acquired, about the endlessness of consequence; about the survival of the fittest and the going of each type of life to its own place; about the gradual wasting of unused function; about the reality of degeneration, and the possibility that a man who might have evolved into a hero may revert to an earlier type and reel back into the beast. Men are slowly being trained to understand truths like these and to feel the force of them. And if a man wants to know what he has to be afraid of, in God's name, here it is! We can read Jonathan Edwards now and remain unimpressed except by way of revolt; but here are things which are happening, and one cannot face them without an aching heart. They are almost enough to make an atheist kneel: new meanings pour into the old prayer, 'Deliver me from going down to the pit.'

3. And having found the beginnings of our doctrine in science and experience, we shall turn to *Scripture* for confirmation and enlargement. The confirmation of course is abundant. We have all the texts that theologians were wont to hurl at the heads of sinners, though they realized but poorly that they were handling some of the nearest and commonest facts of life. The gain of starting with science and experience is that we thus handle demonstrable realities. But the realities are broken and incomplete. Scripture, with all its lights and shadows of the eternal world, shows us a larger stage on which these tendencies will have room to work themselves out, and a God, who, though He may seem for the present to be 'a magnificent Laodicean,' careless about many things, has nevertheless His day of reckoning and the will and power to enforce His laws. In three respects, however, our handling of Scripture will differ from that of most who proclaimed the older doctrine. (*a*) Greater justice will be done to *the character of God*. Whatever may be the meaning of the darker and more terrible words of Christ and His Apostles, it must all be seen in the light of His revelation of the Father, the perfect holiness and the perfect Love. We may admit that the Father-God may have ways of working which we cannot comprehend; but we cannot proclaim anything as of the essence of the faith which seems to us out of harmony with that master-thought of all our thinking. (*b*) We shall have,—thanks to F. D. Maurice and other teachers, or, shall we rather say, thanks to a more careful reading of the New Testament itself?—a much less quantitative and a much more qualitative interpretation of the word *eternal*. We shall not so demean that magnificent word as to imagine that it only implies endless length of days: we shall take as our standard of interpretation such a saying as this, '*This is life eternal, to know thee*.' If that be life eternal, then the missing of that knowledge is death eternal; and the more loving and gracious we know our God to be, the more ethically terrible does the thought of such a doom appear. (*c*) And we shall have a keener sense of the limitations of *metaphor*: we shall not find a literal fire and a figurative worm in one and the same clause; we shall realize that sombre figures of speech cover realities still more dreadful because they were dreadful to the heart of Christ. We ask ourselves what order of experience was most terrible to Him. It was not physical suffering: it was the loss of the Divine fellowship: it was what we have just seen to be the opposite of eternal life. Whatever else is involved of environment or consequence, God knows: we do not know. But it was this that was terrible to the heart of Christ, and it is this that ought to be most terrible to the minds of reasonable men.

These things, then, converge. Science and experience bear witness to the reality of degeneration and the endlessness of consequence. Revelation shows the vastness of the scale on which consequence works out, and the separation from God in which it essentially consists. The two confirm and support each other. The strange thing is that

when the two are set side by side it is from the Scripture side that any alleviation comes, any lightening of the gloom; for there the character of God is central, and all things are conditioned by that. He is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Can there be place in His universe either for an endless exile or an endless pain? Shall He teach His human children to make their punishments remedial, and fail Himself to learn the secret of that wise device? May the darkest hour of the eternal night not turn to daybreak in this that, when souls have tasted to the uttermost what separation from God means, they will begin again to hunger for Him, even as He, the Changeless, is hungering for them? But these are questions only, wishes and hopes. We have to try to preach the certainties, and some things are certain enough.

> If we miss one life we shall not find
> Its lesson in another; rather, go
> So much the less complete for evermore.

The things which are somewhat less than certainties we do well to leave quietly under the shadow of the Throne,—all the more because it is the vision of that Throne which creates our questions and our hopes. It is the Throne of a Law which in time and eternity works itself out to the uttermost and certainly cannot halt while sin endures: it is also the Throne of a Mercy which is infinite and everlasting. Who is sufficient to fuse these two thoughts into one?

There arises the question of the effectiveness of the restated doctrine. Will it be of use? Will it keep men in awe and in order? Will it appeal to the imagination and to the conscience? Undoubtedly there are risks in restatement. But perhaps they are not as great as the risks of silence, or the risks of adhering to old ways of statement. And our business is with the truth, whatever the risks of it be: Luther took the risks when he said, 'The just shall live by faith.' The restated doctrine can scarcely be more futile or more fruitless than the old doctrine has often been; and one hopes that it may be more powerful, because it is closer to life and points out in time the laws that complete themselves in eternity. Any loss in the mere sensationalism of preaching will be made up for by the gain in personal conviction, and in the closeness of the message to the realities of experience.

# The Great Text Commentary.

## THE GREAT TEXTS OF REVELATION.

### Revelation ii. 17.

**'To him that overcometh, to him will I give of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.'—R.V.**

### The Circumstances.

The Book of Revelation needs study, and repays it. In the Letters to the Seven Churches the two most obvious difficulties are (1) the frequent reference to *local circumstances*, and (2) the constant use of *symbols* for the expression of moral and spiritual truth. In this promise to the Church in Pergamum we have both of these classes of difficulties to deal with. The trials of the early Christians had mostly to do with food or with pleasure, and some knowledge of the customs connected with these two elements of life is necessary, if we are to understand the promise contained in the text. The symbols employed refer to these customs, although they are themselves taken from the familiar language of the Old Testament. They are (1) the *manna*, in reference to food; and (2) the *new name* on the white stone, in reference to the games.

1. *Food.* When an animal was sacrificed it was customary to burn only a small portion of it; the remainder was given back to the worshipper, who then either sold it or invited his family and friends to feast on it. Much of the food publicly sold in the shambles had been offered in sacrifice to some god, while most banquets and even social meals were probably sacrificial feasts. What were the Christians to do about this? St. Paul deals with the difficulty in 1 Cor $8^{1}$–$11^{1}$. His decision is

that Christians may eat sacrificial meat, provided their own conscience is clear in the matter and they do not injure the conscience of others. But they are on no account to take part in the sacrificial banquet. This involved, however, a complete change of life. To the very poor it was a serious privation, for they were often fed with sacrificial meat at the public expense. But rich and poor alike must have felt the loss of that fellowship to which they had been accustomed, while they laid themselves open to the charge of being unsocial and unpatriotic. Persecution often followed; and, even where it did not, the trial must have been severe and incessant, returning upon the Christian every morning and pursuing him throughout the day. In the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles the eating of meat offered to idols became the mark of a heretic, and to take part in a sacrificial feast (although the Gnostics did it) was almost equivalent to denial of Christ. To those who are thus tempted but who steadily overcome the temptation, the promise is made, 'I will give to eat of the hidden manna.'

2. *Pleasure.* The chief form of pleasure at this time, even in the Asiatic cities, was attendance at the public games, or participation in them. The Christians were denied both. They could not be present as spectators at a form of sport which was cruel, immoral, and pagan. It must be remembered that the very games were usually held in honour of one or other of the gods or goddesses. Still less could they take part in the games as gladiators or even athletes. Now it was customary for the victor in a gladiatorial contest to receive an ivory tablet with the letters SP. inscribed upon it. These letters stood for the word *spectatus*, *i.e.* honoured, distinguished. It was a new name, and the victor was proud of it. Moreover, this tablet with the new name upon it gave him the right of entrance to public meetings and a place at all great public banquets. The Christian must still be an athlete, a gladiator, though his adversary now is the devil in the shape of daily trial and bitter persecution. But he has his reward. 'To him that overcometh will I give a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.'

In the manhood-initiation rites of the native Australians a long series of ceremonies is followed by the conferring of a new name on the youth, and the sponsor, who may be said to correspond to a godfather among ourselves, opens a vein in his own arm, and the lad then drinks the warm blood. A curious addition to the New South Wales ritual consists in the giving of a white stone or quartz crystal, called 'mundie,' to the novitiate in manhood when he receives his new name. 'This stone is counted a gift from deity, and is held peculiarly sacred. A test of the young man's moral stamina is made by the old men trying, by all sorts of persuasion, to induce him to surrender this possession when first he has received it. This accompaniment of a new name is worn concealed in the hair, tied up in a packet, and is never shown to the women, who are forbidden to look at it under pain of death.'[1]

## The Sermon.

The subject of the text is overcoming and its rewards. The rewards are hidden manna and a new name known only to the receiver of it.

**1. Overcoming.**—However we may explain the fact, and even though we fail to understand it at all, we shall find all real living a struggle. In our babyhood we learn to walk with countless stumblings and with many falls; we receive our education poring over hard lessons and perplexed with many problems; when we start in business we find ourselves battling for a livelihood or struggling to obtain a position in the keen competition with rivals; in middle age we still carry the burdens and responsibilities of life upon our shoulders; in old age we find that the promised rest still 'remaineth.' There are two classes in the world, the Davids, who master life, and the Esaus, who let life master them.[2]

A rich man's son was lamenting to me some time ago that he could not hold himself to his tasks as the poor boys could. He remarked with unconscious wit: 'It would have been money in my pocket had I been born poor.' His witticism is worthy to become a proverb, for it contains a profound truth. The elder Vanderbilt and Stewart and Peabody, our Lincolns and Washingtons and Grants began life with very few external advantages. But their very hardships forced upon them the necessity of struggle, and, grasping this central law of life, they triumphed over obstacles.[3]

Christ does not deliver us from the struggle of life, though He alters the nature and the conditions of it. 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.'

[1] Edward Clodd's *Tom Tit Tot*, pp. 146, 147, the latter part quoted from Trumbull's *The Blood Covenant*, pp. 336, 337.

[2] See J. W. Bashford, in *Homiletic Review*, October 1904, p. 295.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 296.

There is a legend that after the burning of Rome, for which Nero threw the blame upon the Christians, St. Peter was urged to leave the city to save his life. Alfred Austin, the poet laureate, has turned the legend into poetry. St. Peter replies—

> Do lords of spear and shield
> Thus leave their hosts uncaptained on the field?
> Nay, my task is plain.
> But weak I stand, and I beseech you all
> Urge me no more, lest at a touch I fall.

But he is still urged, and he hears two voices, one saying Stay, the other Go.

> And louder every moment, 'Go,' it cried;
> And 'Tarry' to a whisper died.
> And as a leaf, when summer is o'erpast,
> Hangs trembling ere it fall in some chance blast,
> So hung his trembling purpose; and fell dead.

He starts to flee, pleading, Can I not do more alive than dead? But he is unhappy. He falls upon his knees in the Appian Way—

> 'Master, who judgest, have I done amiss?'
> Lo, in the darkness breaks a wandering ray
> A vision flash along the Appian Way,
> Divinely in the pagan night it shone,
> A mournful face; a figure hurrying on:
> Though haggard and dishevelled, frail and worn,
> A King, of David's lineage, crowned with thorn.
> 'Lord, whither farest?' Peter, wondering, cried,
> 'To Rome,' said Christ; 'to be recrucified.'
> . . . . . .
> Into the night the vision ebbed, like breath,
> And Peter turned, and rushed on Rome and death.

Christ does not deliver us from the battle of life. But He promises strength to fight it and a reward for every victory. The strength is expressed by the symbol of the manna, and the reward by the symbol of the new name.

**2. The Manna.**—While the customs referred to in the text belong to the paganism in the midst of which the Christians are living, the symbols are taken from the familiar language of the Bible. The manna is the food which was miraculously provided for the Israelites in their wanderings through the wilderness. The symbol was quite familiar to them as it is to us. But what does it stand for? It stands for the example of Christ: as a man He had His own battle to fight. It stands for His sympathy in the struggle: He was tempted in all points like as we are; we shall therefore obtain grace to help in every time of need. It stands for victory, His victory and ours in Him, seeing we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. It stands, in short, for the grace of God obtained for us by Christ and ministered to us, on every occasion of trial, by the Holy Spirit. Notice three things.

1. *It is food for the wilderness.* We misunderstand this promise, and indeed the whole Book of Revelation, if we think that the manna is laid up for us in heaven. It is hidden manna, but that is not the idea in the hiding. It is not when the battle of life is at an end that the manna is given. It is upon every forward step of it. 'To him that overcometh'—it is the present participle that is used, and the present participle is never past. The manna *ceased* on the very morning after the Israelites entered the land of Promise and had eaten of the old corn of the land.

2. *It is bread from heaven.* It is not to be eaten in heaven, but it comes down from heaven. 'As it is written, He gave them bread out of heaven to eat' (Jn $6^{31}$). It is of God's providing. It is not given by Moses, as the Jews seemed to think (Jn $6^{32}$). It is not given by any rich pagan in Pergamum. It is given by God. And who is God? 'My Father,' says Jesus: and then, 'I and my Father are one'—'I am the bread that cometh down out of heaven.' It is Jesus Himself, in all that He has done for men and in all that He is now to them.

3. Now *food promotes growth.* Eaten and assimilated, it increases the stature, it adds to the strength. Every victory gained by feeding on the Bread of life reveals the presence of new battles to fight and the possession of new powers with which to fight them. Thus the manna and the new name are linked together.

**3. The New Name.**—The new name is also a Biblical symbol. We are familiar with the significance attached to names throughout the Old Testament and the New. We know that new names were given to Abram, to Jacob, to Simon. And now we may drop the symbol of the white stone, which belonged to the customs of the place and the time, and was simply used as the vehicle of the new name. Again, there are three things which the symbol of the new name carries.

1. *New knowledge.* This was the meaning of the new name given to Abram. He had left Ur of the Chaldees to seek a country, to build a house and found a family. But no family is given him. Then Ishmael comes, the son of a bondwoman but yet the possible foundation of a family, and 'Oh that Ishmael might live before thee.' At last Isaac is given, the son of the free

woman. But this is not the family of which Abram is to be the head. 'Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac whom thou lovest, and offer him.' And now Abram, by the surrender of himself (for it was himself he offered upon that altar on Mount Moriah, not Isaac), has learned the meaning of God's purpose for him. He has become the father of the faithful, and his name is changed to Abraham.

2. *New powers.* This is the meaning of the new name given to Jacob. The supplanter becomes the prince of God. Clever enough as Jacob, fit easily to outwit Esau, his cleverness is nothing. He will find even in Laban a match for him in mere chicanery. But the love which is seen in the seven years' service for Rachel has possibilities in it. When Jacob relies on God for the exercise of it, as he does there by the brook Jabbok, both in prayer and in wrestling, he will be able to overcome the enmity of Esau, although 'a brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city' (Pr $18^{19}$).

3. *New responsibilities.* This was the meaning of the name given to Simon. It came after new revelation—'Blessed art thou Simon Bar-Jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.' It came after the development of new powers. For before Peter enters upon his responsibility as the Rock he must tarry in Jerusalem until he be endued with power from on high. But then how great is the responsibility. And it is not Peter only that is to be called the Rock and to carry responsibility. In this at least the Roman Catholic Church is right, that every member of the Church must share the honour and bear the burden of carrying the Church of Christ.

One thing remains. The manna is *hidden*; the new name inscribed on the white stone is a name which *no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.* The immediate reference is perhaps to the publicity of the banquets from which the Christians were excluded, and to the open boast and exhibition which the gladiator made of his ivory tablet.

1. Christ preserves the individuality of His followers. The athlete is trained in such a way that every faculty of body and mind is subordinated to the one purpose of making him victorious in the games. He becomes a footballing or cricketing machine. But every victory which the Christian wins is the recognition of new power and responsibilities, and it is the preparation of every faculty he possesses for the best use of these powers and responsibilities. Christ had much to do with individuals in His earthly life, and there was much variety of character among the Twelve, which the three years' intercourse only brought out in bolder relief. He had compassion on the multitude, but He saw them as individuals, not in the mass. 'Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, but I have prayed for *thee*.'

2. And just as each individual has his own individuality developed by the conflict, so is he drawn individually closer to Christ. The Jews had a fancy that the manna just suited the palate of each individual Israelite in the Wilderness; it tasted as the food which each of them most particularly relished. It was every man's own food sent direct to himself from heaven. And in like manner the white stone is a love token. It is given and taken. 'My beloved is mine, and I am His.'

You have heard of the kola nut that is so extensively advertised just now, from which preparations of food and drink are made, that are said to have a wonderful power in keeping away the craving of hunger and supporting the strength. It is very much prized in Africa, where it grows, especially by the Mahometans, who call it 'the blessed kola,' and consider it to be the true forbidden fruit. This nut, or bean, consists of two halves which lock into each other in a very curious fashion. No half of one nut will tally with the half of another nut. Only the two halves of the same nut will correspond. This peculiarity is taken advantage of in the betrothal of lovers in Africa. The young couple divide a kola nut between them, and the youth takes the one-half, and the maid the other; and each carefully keeps the half as a pledge of faithfulness, to be given up when they are married.[1]

## Literature.

**On Manna.**—Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i. 75, 115, 590; A. Macalister in Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. 236; N. Maclean and S. A. Cook, in *Ency. Bibl.*, iii. 2929; H. F. B. Compston in Hastings' *S.D.B.*, 576.

**On the White Stone.**—J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 154; W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 302; E. C. Selwyn, *The Christian Prophets*, 65; *Expository Times*, i. 1.

**On the Text.**—L. A. Banks, *The Great Promises of the Bible*, 324; J. M. Foster, *The White Stone*, 1; R. S. MacArthur, *The Calvary Pulpit*, 67; A. Maclaren, *Sermons Preached in Manchester*, 75, *The Unchanging Christ*, 223, *The Victor's Crowns*, 21; H. Macmillan, *The Daisies of Nazareth*, 125; J. Thomas, *Myrtle Street Pulpit*, iii. 268; *Homiletic Review*, xlviii. 295 (J. W. Bashford).

[1] H. Macmillan, *The Daisies of Nazareth*, p. 125.

# Recent Oriental Archaeology.

By Professor A. H. Sayce, Litt.D., LL.D., Oxford.

M. de Morgan's new work[1] is the most important that has appeared of late on the early history of civilization. The explorer and excavator of the Caucasus and Northern Persia, the discoverer of prehistoric Egypt, and the revealer of primeval Elam, is better qualified than any other living archæologist to write with authority upon the subject. M. de Morgan stands in the forefront of Oriental archæology; no one has had greater experience of practical work in the field, and his earlier training as an engineer and geologist has given him advantages which the archæologist does not always possess. It is to him that we owe the revelation of prehistoric Egypt, and the revolution in our conceptions of Egyptian history that the revelation brought with it; and, from an archæological point of view, the only really scientific work that has yet been done in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates is that which he is still carrying on in the ancient Elam. To what, therefore, he has to say about the origin and development of civilization we are bound to listen.

Rather more than half the volume is occupied with what is usually called the prehistoric epoch, but what would more correctly be termed the pre-literary period. The length at which it is treated is by no means disproportionate. As M. de Morgan remarks: 'The prehistoric period must necessarily occupy at least nine-tenths of a work on the history of culture.'

The earlier progress of humanity was exceedingly slow; how slow may be gauged from the fact that even when man had advanced to the neolithic stage, it lasted long enough to allow the spread of a particular kind of pottery from Elam in the east to Spain in the west, and of the so-called 'celt' over the greater part of the Old World. M. de Morgan has done good service in classifying and criticising the various sources of our knowledge of the pre-literary period, geological, palæontological, botanical, ethnographical, anthropological, sociological, and linguistic, to which of course archæology proper must be added. Like most recent investigators he is inclined to place the beginnings of humanity in the pre-glacial age and to accept the 'eoliths' as evidence of the existence of a being like man. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how man could have first come into existence in the glacial epoch; it was as much as he could do to prevent himself from being exterminated by it.

The glacial epoch is naturally discussed by M. de Morgan at considerable length, though the causes of it remain as much a mystery as ever. But he points out that we are still living under the conditions of the last glacial age; the glaciers have merely retreated to the north for a while, and thus allowed civilization the chance of developing, but they may return at any time, and the struggle for existence that would then ensue in an overcrowded world between the fugitive races of the north and the inhabitants of a warmer region would be such as 'the most fertile imagination fails to picture.' The marvellous drawings of the Magdalenian period show what the race that achieved them could have accomplished in the domain of art and culture had it lived under more favourable conditions, and how in the west of Europe, at all events, man seized the first moment that the retreat of the glaciers allowed him to produce works of the highest artistic character.

But nature has ever been at war with culture. The gifted races have been very few, and they have had to struggle against all the destructive elements of nature—cold, earthquake, flood, and volcanic eruption—and the even more destructive assaults of brutal and uncultured man. The history of civilization, so far as we know it, is a history of slow development followed by destruction—a process which has been repeated time after time. According to M. de Morgan, literary history begins with the expansion of the Semites at the expense of more cultured but less hardy populations; then comes the period of Egyptian preponderance with the Asiatic conquests of the Pharaohs, and then that of the Assyrian preponderance which was distinguished by brute force and abominable cruelties. In the Assyrian conquests M. de Morgan sees little else than the successes of organized bandits who did their best to destroy the cultures of the past. They were followed by

[1] *Les Premières Civilisations.* By J. de Morgan. Paris: Leroux, 1909.

a brief era of Iranian preponderance, which in its turn made way for that of the Greeks.

Not the least valuable part of *Les Premières Civilisations* are the numerous maps and plans with which it is enriched. For the pre-literary period of human history they are specially important, and enable the reader to see how the Mediterranean was gradually prepared for becoming the centre of the civilization of which we claim to be the heirs.

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The Reader in Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology at Oxford, Dr. Langdon, has just published a work which will enhance the credit of Anglo-American scholarship.[1] To the student of Babylonian religion it will be found indispensable. The liturgical compositions of ancient Babylonia, as far as they are accessible, have been all arranged and classified in it, as well as translated and explained. The introductions with which they are furnished are full of new facts and suggestions from which Assyriologists, Old Testament scholars and students of Comparative Religion will alike receive profit and instruction. On the philological side also the book is of great value. Important additions are made in it to our knowledge of both the Sumerian and the Assyrian languages, and it is a pity that Dr. Langdon has lessened the usefulness of his work by not giving alphabetical indices of all the words found in the documents he has translated.

The first paragraph of the general Introduction explains briefly the nature of their contents. They consist of temple liturgies, and 'by temple liturgy,' says Dr. Langdon, 'I mean services of public praise and penance. A sharp division must be made between public services and private services, a distinction which was observed by the Babylonians themselves. Religious literature in Babylonia originated from two distinct sources; on the one hand, the priest of incantation exercised the mystic rites of magic over afflicted persons in huts in the fields; on the other hand, the psalmists had charge of the public services of the temples. In the earliest period the Sumerians, who created the entire form of Babylonian religious literature, had only these two classes of religious literature.' I need hardly say that a thorough study of the volume is necessary for any one who is interested in Old Testament criticism. Among other things he will find there a full discussion of the origin and meaning of the Babylonian *sabattu* or 'Sabbath,' the primitive signification of which Dr. Langdon believes to be 'wailing.' I am glad to see that respect for these early liturgies has not prevented Dr. Langdon from criticising their texts and separating the earlier from the later elements in them. My attempt to do this in my Hibbert Lectures unfortunately found no imitators for many years.

While Dr. Langdon has been scientifically editing the whole of the liturgical literature of early Babylonia, M. Combe has been devoting a very complete study to the cult of a single deity.[2] What he has thus done for the Moon-god, I hope he will do for the other chief divinities of the Babylonians. Only in this way shall we come to know what the Assyrians and Babylonians really thought about their gods, and clear away misconceptions which are the result of imperfect evidence. Thus M. Combe points out that the use of the numeral xxx to designate the Moon-god is not earlier than the age of Khammurabi. He has done his work well: it is clear and well arranged, and nothing relating to the Moon-god and his worship seems to have been omitted. Of particular value is the use he has made of names involving that of Sin, a complete list of which is given so far as they are known. But I cannot agree with him in his refusal to include among these names that of Sinai: at all events, the alternative origin proposed for the latter name (which I believe was first suggested by Dr. Neubauer) is inadmissible. The second part of the book consists of translations of the hymns addressed to the Moon-god.

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The latest volume included in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* is a very valuable commentary by Dr. Ungnad on the cuneiform tablets from Dilbat (the modern Delem), which have been published by the Asiatic Society of Berlin. In the introductory remarks he discusses the documents belonging to the age of Khammurabi, which contain Mitannian names, and show not only that a considerable Mitannian population must have existed in Babylonia, but also that they enjoyed equal rights with the native Babylonians. Still more surprising is the fact that the earliest rulers of Assur bear Mitannian names.

[1] *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms.* By Dr. Stephen Langdon. Paris: Geuthner, 1909.

[2] *Histoire du Culte de Sin.* By Et. Combe. Paris: Geuthner, 1908.

Assyria, in other words, was Mitannian before it became Semitic. Dr. Ungnad quotes two passages from the great work on astrology, which in its present form belongs to the Khammurabi age, that make this pretty clear. As is well known, Assyria was once included in Subartu, the name under which Mitanni went in early days, and archaizing documents of the neo-Babylonian period insisted upon so calling it. Now in one of the astrological passages quoted by Dr. Ungnad we read: 'Subartu will devour the Akhlamâ; a foreign tongue will rule over the land of the Amorites: we (*i.e.* the Assyrian scribe and his fellow-countrymen) are Subartu.' The other passage reverses the situation: 'The Akhlamâ,' it says, 'will devour Subartu; a foreign tongue will rule over the land of the Amorites.'

Dr. Ungnad calls the Mitannians Hittites, but the Hittite and Mitannian languages are not the same, though they are probably distantly related to one another. Moreover, the Hittites are distinguished from the Mitannians, both in the great astrological work as well as in the documents of the Tel el-Amarna period. It was an invasion of Babylonia by the Hittites, and not by the Mitannians, which put an end to the dynasty of Khammurabi. But the fact remains that up to the age of Abraham, Assyria was still Mitannian rather than Semitic, and that the earlier high priests of Assur, and therefore presumably the founders also of the city, were of Mitannian origin. This would appear to settle the controversy as to the correct translation of Gn $10^{11}$. It must read: 'out of that land he went forth to Assur,' and Nimrod would be the representative of the Semitic invader from Babylonia. Hence it is that in Mic $5^{6}$, Assyria, and not Babylonia, is called 'the land of Nimrod.'

M. Boissier has just published an interesting little *brochure* on *Les Éléments babyloniens de la Légende de Cain et Abel*, in which he points out that 'the Yahvist has merely paraphrased a Babylonian augural document.' The sacrifices of Cain and Abel presuppose a knowledge of 'the divinatory rites' of Babylonia, and the address of Yahveh to Cain comes from a Babylonian source. I think M. Boissier must be right in his explanation of the land of Nod: it is the Babylonian *nadû*, the 'wasteland' of the desert to which the evil spirits are banished by the exorcist. In Gn $25^{23}$ he notes that the Hebrew words, 'the elder shall serve the younger,' are a translation of the common Babylonian augural phrase: 'the great country shall serve the small.'

# Literature.

## *CHOPPER HANDLES.*

THE STONE AGES IN NORTH BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By the Rev. Frederick Smith. (*Blackie & Sons.* 16s. net.)

AMONG the things which men make a hobby of are snakes' tongues and chopper handles. For snakes' tongues, inquire at the residence of the Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Cambridge. For chopper handles, go to the Rev. Frederick Smith.

The Rev. Frederick Smith has written a volume on *The Stone Ages in North Britain and Ireland.* It is a handsome volume. It gives an account of all sorts of stone implements which the Stone Age man made for his own use, and then left behind him for our enjoyment; and it is generously illustrated by over five hundred drawings of typical specimens. But while the Rev. Frederick Smith has an interest in all kinds of stone things, provided they have come down to us all the way from the Stone Ages, his enthusiasm is for chopper handles. He has three long chapters on handles. And that is not enough. The third chapter has an appendix nearly as long as itself. He calls the handle a fascinating and convincing feature. And, of course, there are many kinds of handles besides the chopper handle. Mr. Smith gives an account of almost innumerable weapon handles, and he even acknowledges that the weapon form of the handle was long retained in flayer and chopper. But he is manifestly a man of peace. Before he is half through the first chapter on handles he has arrived at the chopper. And he does not forget the chopper, that great instrument and evidence of civilization, to the very end. The appendix to the third chapter on handles deals entirely with choppers.

Now no man is ever worth reading except the man who has a hobby. Of course he must ride his hobby, and not let his hobby ride him. Mr. Smith makes his chopper handles quite as fascinating to us as they are to himself. And, like pansies, they are 'for thoughts.' Why is it, for example, that so many chopper handles have been found in Scotland, and that Scotland is at the same time so far forward in the van of civilization? This is not coincidence. It is cause and effect. The only question is, which is the cause and which the effect?

More than that, Why is it that the Scottish and Egyptian examples are so very like one another? Mr. Smith shows us specimens side by side. They are 'like as brithers,' while the English specimens are not within the comparison. Is there something after all in the antiquity of that language which is still spoken in some glens in the North of Scotland? The workmen who made these choppers were manifestly of one speech, for clearly they taught one another to work in stone, and it would be a far-fetched explanation to call that speech Egyptian.

The volume is introduced to the reader by Dr. A. H. Keane, who vouches for its scientific accuracy.

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## *THE HOLY EUCHARIST.*

A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. By Darwell Stone, M.A., Pusey Librarian. (*Longmans*. Two Vols. 30s. net.)

What is Mr. Darwell Stone's doctrinal attitude towards the Holy Eucharist? Those who know his articles in the *Church Quarterly Review* from 1901 to 1904, and know that they are his, or even those who know his book on the Holy Communion in the Oxford Library of Practical Theology, will not require to be told. To the rest let us answer by quoting his own summary of the doctrinal teaching of the New Testament on the subject.

1. An essential element in Christian life is such communion with our Lord as is described as eating His flesh and drinking His blood.

2. At any rate a pre-eminent way of eating His flesh and drinking His blood is the reception of the Holy Communion.

3. In view of our Lord's words, 'This is My body,' 'This is My blood,' and St. Paul's words, 'The cup of blessing which we bless,' and 'The bread which we break,' the gift of our Lord's flesh and blood is to be connected with the acts of the minister, and not only with the reception by the communicant.

4. The Christian Church is in a supernatural and sacramental relation to Christ; Christians are a priestly body; and Christian life and worship have a sacrificial element.

5. The spiritual sacrifices in Christian life and worship must be in union with the one, abiding, heavenly sacrifice of Christ.

6. The language used about the Eucharist and the position assigned to it suggest that, as communion with Christ is pre-eminently granted by means of it, so the sacrificial aspect of Christian life and worship have their centre in it, and are thereby brought into relation with the heavenly offering of Christ. As a memorial of Him, it is a memorial in some special sense of His death, which formed an essential element in that dedication of His life which led on to the presentation of His risen and ascended manhood in heaven.

Now Mr. Stone has written this book, consisting of two large volumes, in such a way as to show that his own account of the teaching of the New Testament on the Holy Eucharist has been and is the doctrine of the holy Catholic Church from the beginning even until now. We do not hint that Mr. Stone has chosen his quotations or twisted them in order to prove his own propositions. But he does not for a moment hide his leanings. And it would certainly have been a great perplexity to him if he had found that the historical doctrine of the Church differed from his interpretation of the doctrine of the New Testament. And the field is large. The opportunity for choosing this and rejecting that quotation occurs at every turn of the page. Another author might have found a different doctrine in the New Testament. And if he had, he would certainly have been able to show that representative Church theologians agreed with him.

But however that may be, this, at least, will be admitted by everybody. These volumes contain a magnificent selection of passages bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist, admirably arranged, and competently commented on.

### *PROGRESSIVE CREATION.*

PROGRESSIVE CREATION: A RECONCILIATION OF RELIGION WITH SCIENCE. By the Rev. Holden E. Sampson. (*Redman.* Two Vols. 21s. net.)

Many a book has been written for the purpose of reconciling Religion with Science. But we must be near the end of them now. For this one thing we have discovered, that Religion and Science cannot be reconciled, since they never were at enmity. But here is one book more. And if it is to end the output it will end it handsomely.

The first question that we have always to ask about a book of this kind is: What is the Science that is to be reconciled with Religion, and the Religion that is to be reconciled with Science? We have room for the answer to only one-half of the question, and that inadequately. But it will be sufficient to test the book with. Let us ask, then, what is the Religion that Mr. Sampson brings into reconciliation with Science?

It is the religion of the Bible. At least it is in the Bible that Mr. Sampson finds his religion. But it is not the religion of the Bible as we have understood it from our childhood. Mr. Sampson has gone no great distance when he finds himself face to face with the fact of evil. The Bible has gone no great distance when it finds itself face to face with the same fact. Thus far Mr. Sampson and the Bible are at one. And they are at one in recognizing that some explanation must be given of the origin of evil. Mr. Sampson holds that the Bible gives a true account of the origin of evil. But we misread it. For he holds with the Higher Critics that the Old Testament is in sections, and he holds that the sections have been displaced.

There is an historical account of the Creation. It runs to the third verse of the second chapter of Genesis. Then follows in our Bible an *allegorical* account of the Fall. But there is an historical account of the Fall. It is found at present in the sixth chapter of Genesis, the first five verses. The historical account of the Fall ought to follow the historical account of the Creation. Bring them together again, and we will understand the origin of evil.

Accordingly Mr. Sampson reads his Bible in this way—'Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. And on the Seventh Day God finished his work which he had made. And God blessed the Seventh Day, and hallowed it; because that in it he rested from all his work which he had created and made ($2^{1-3}$). And it came to pass when men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born unto them, that the Sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose. And . . .' ($6^{1-5}$).

Well, what have we now? We have six facts, says Mr. Sampson, upon which to construct a true account of the origin of evil—(1) two distinct types or species of the human genus, the 'Sons of God' and 'Men'; (2) unlawful intermarriage between these types; (3) a new line of heredity; (4) the consequent development of wickedness or abnormalism; (5) the introduction and the spread of evil through corruption; (6) the generation of a new and abnormal type of human species, the Nephilim, the original stock from which the human races branched out.

That will do. The reader must go to the book for the rest.

## The Books of the Month.

Mr. J. H. A. Hart, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, has published a transcript of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, according to the Greek Text of Codex 248 (Cambridge Press; 10s. net). He has added a commentary on the text. And he has further brought the student of this tantalizingly interesting book under obligation by writing prolegomena to it. The prolegomena consist of four chapters, of which the topics are: (1) The Prologue of the Greek Translator; (2) The Pharisaic Recension of the Wisdom of Ben Sira; (3) The Quotations of Clement of Alexandria; (4) The Conflict of the Rival Greek Versions. It is all the work of a scholar of extraordinary erudition and patience. It is such work as scholars everywhere associate now with Cambridge more than with any other place in the world. It is just such work as makes a difference for ever after to our knowledge of the book upon which it is expended. We may not be right, but it seems to us that the Apocrypha is more studied at present than it has ever been studied in this country, though it may be less read than it has been before. So there should be many readers of this book; for it is addressed entirely to scholars.

The new volumes of Harper's 'Library of Living

Thought' are *Jesus or Paul?* by Dr. Arnold Meyer, Professor of Theology in the University of Zurich, and *The Transmigration of Souls*, by Dr. Alfred Bertholet, Professor of Theology in the University of Basle (2s. 6d. net each). Both volumes belong to what may be called the science of Religion, that is to say, to the modern movement which insists on recognizing religion as subject of investigation just like every other matter of human thought or experience. The science is yet in its infancy, and many crude things are said and done in its name. And it is the immediate duty of the most evangelical believer in Christ to make himself acquainted with it, that he may rid it of its crudities and turn it into the service of true religion. It depends upon us whether it is to be the greatest foe or the greatest friend of Jesus Christ in the future. These volumes will certainly be read, and read largely. They are scientific, and they are literary.

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We have received from Dr. Agar Beet a copy of the latest edition of his *Shorter Manual of Theology* (Hodder & Stoughton; 2s. 6d. net), and also of his volume on *The Church, the Churches, and the Sacraments* (2s.). It is a pleasure to draw attention to them once again. Dr. Agar Beet did not begin like Mr. Chesterton, with thinking he was a heretic, and then surprise himself by discovering that he was orthodox. By patient study of the Scriptures he began by being orthodox, and then found himself, to his utmost surprise, regarded as a heretic. But only on one subject, the insurmountably difficult subject of the last things. Elsewhere he is orthodox, and yet always himself. So that his short Manual of Theology is correct and reliable. As for the book on the Church, he is orthodox there if we agree with him.

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Dr. George Barton Cutten of Yale, who wrote a useful book recently on the *Psychology of Alcoholism*, has now written a more useful book on *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity* (Hodder & Stoughton; 12s. net). It is just such a book as hundreds upon hundreds of preachers have desired to lay their hands upon. There is not an original idea in it, and the style is careless even to slovenliness. But all the things which are now most frequently talked about amongst us are described in order, with quite sufficient knowledge, with Christian candour, and with such simplicity as never before was seen in the treatment of these difficult matters.

What a prospect lies before the preacher who is beginning his work to-day. The generation that is passing has been occupied with criticism. And criticism, however necessary, could never become a fascination to the average preacher. The coming generation is to be occupied with Religion and Ethics. And these words will not be vague, indefinite terms. For they will stand for living, vital, deeply moving realities, the very deepest things in the thought of God and in the life of man. And the study which will give vitality and enthusiasm to the preaching of Religion and Ethics will be the study of Psychology. Dr. Cutten covers the whole ground. His chapters are on the Religious Faculty, Mysticism, Ecstasy, Glossolalia, Visions, Dreams, Stigmatization, Witchcraft, Demoniacal Possession, Revivals, Conversion, Sex, Imagination, Inspiration, and much more.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES has often spoken about the work which Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, M.A., has been doing in the way of comparing the Gospels with the writings of Buddhism. It is evident that Mr. Edmunds has received considerable encouragement. For he has now produced as fruit of his labour two large volumes under the title of *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia: Innes & Sons; London: Luzac & Co.). They are attractive books, printed with much beauty of type and paper. And whatever is to be said of their theme, which is the indebtedness of the Gospels to Buddhism, every reliance may be placed upon the accuracy of the Buddhist translations. For the whole work has been edited by a most competent Buddhist scholar, Masaharu Anesaki, Professor of Religious Science in the Imperial University of Tokyo.

The volumes are a contribution to the science of Comparative Religion. And they are just such a contribution as may entice to that new study the ordinary and indifferent Englishman who is frightened at the very name of Comparative Religion. It is also very likely that they will be found to be the easiest introduction to a knowledge of Buddhism. More than that, they furnish a commentary on many passages of the Gospels, a commentary of entirely original character.

It is scarcely possible to say that even in a single instance Mr. Edmunds has proved without

a doubt the dependence of the Gospels upon writings, or even upon ideas, which belong exclusively to Buddhism. Yet the book is most attractive. The author has left nothing undone to make it so. His indexes are examples to all index-makers in the world.

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Professor Henry Jones of Glasgow went out to Australia to deliver a course of lectures on Philosophy and Modern Life before the University of Sydney. He delivered them. What title he gave the lectures we do not know. But now he has recast and added to them, for he does not believe that lectures should be printed as they are spoken, and he has published them under the title of *Idealism as a Practical Creed* (Maclehose; 6s. net).

The title and the occasion demand popularity. And so it is not surprising to find that the fifth chapter of the book is much more literary than philosophical, being a discussion of the idealism of Wordsworth and Browning. But Professor Jones would not have us think that he has forgotten his philosophy. The distinction between poetry and philosophy, he says, is easily exaggerated. It is even apt to disappear when they are at their best. In the case of the greatest poets we are driven by a kind of necessity to ask what was their philosophy. And on the other hand, we are driven to feel the poetry of the greatest philosophers. Accordingly, in lines like the following from Wordsworth, Professor Jones finds both faith and philosophy. He finds a faith and a philosophy that will brook no exception to their sway:

> To every natural form, rock, fruits or flower,
> Even the loose stones that cover the high way,
> I gave a moral life. I saw them feel
> Or linked them to some feeling: the great mass
> Lay bedded in a quickening soul, and all
> That I beheld respired with inward meaning.

But Professor Jones admits that we do not all find both faith and philosophy in Wordsworth. And why not? Because we have not been disciplined to find it. There is need of preparation, he says. And he turns upon us, if we do not find philosophy in Wordsworth, and says, the witchery is there, but it is not there for Peter Bell or his ass.

But it is neither Wordsworth nor Browning that Professor Jones is concerned about. It is idealism. It is idealism and optimism that he believes in. He believes that they are the sanest theories of life yet discovered, and it is time that the nations had subjected them to the strain of practice.

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When we discover a believer among men of science we take him by the hand heartily. How much more when we discover a believer among men of philosophy. For is he not much rarer? And is not philosophy the real antagonist of our faith? It is quite true that it was Huxley, a scientist, who invented the term 'agnosticism.' But agnosticism is not Science, it is philosophy. So far as it has had any influence against Christ, it has owed its influence not to facts but to theories, not to the discoveries of nineteenth-century science, but to the philosophical puzzles of all the ages. J. G. Romanes was a notable acquisition. Let us welcome still more heartily R. M. Wenley.

Professor R. M. Wenley, of the University of Michigan, delivered the Baldwin Lectures of 1909, and now Messrs. Macmillan have published them in book form under the title of *Modern Thought and the Crisis in Belief* (6s. 6d. net). It is the apology of a philosopher for his faith in Christ. Professor Wenley approaches his apology by the way of historical investigation. He describes the things which have led up to the present state of belief or unbelief. But let us come to his own position. He himself approaches it with the question with which every man must approach it —What think ye of Christ?

First of all, Professor Wenley believes that the Gospels are sufficiently historical for all practical purposes of faith. And he finds his own faith best expressed and strengthened by the Gospel according to St. John. He dares to say that when we compare the Synoptists with John, 'they seem to be predecessors of Christ, he the veritable follower.' Christ is divine. His Divinity shines through the consecration of His followers. Christ is universal. His universality is found in the concrete faith of His disciples—of those disciples who had not seen even more than of those who had seen. This 'solves the apparently insoluble problem of a God-man walking in Galilee of Judea.'

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Mr. G. K. Chesterton is not the earliest 'original' writer of our time. Dr. A. C. Bradley was a little before him. Dr. Bradley's *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (Macmillan; 10s. net) are alive from beginning to end with first-hand ideas and arresting expression of them, even although their subject is

poetry. His first lecture is on 'Poetry for Poetry's Sake.' And it is so original that it gave rise to a very lively controversy. Yet the originality and its expression are quite as startling in the lecture on the Sublime and even in the lecture on Wordsworth.

There is a note to the lecture on Wordsworth. It is written for the purpose of 'airing a heresy' about *We are Seven*. What is the moral of that familiar ballad? Wordsworth himself gives its moral in the first stanza:

> A simple child,
> That lightly draws its breath,
> And feels its life in every limb,
> What should it know of death?

Professor Bradley does not believe that that is its moral. He does not believe that Wordsworth believed it. That stanza was written last. It was written not by Wordsworth, but by Coleridge. Its first line was:

> A simple child, dear brother Jim.

This Jim was James Tobin; and it was a joke on Coleridge's part, because James Tobin had declared that the poem was ridiculous. Wordsworth would not have 'dear brother Jim,' and left the line unfinished. But he accepted the rest of the stanza and the moral. Professor Bradley says it is not the moral, and that Wordsworth never really thought it was. What is the moral? It is not that the child's vivacity prevented her from believing in death. It is simply that being a child she had not yet lost that sense or consciousness of immortality which is inherent in human nature.

But the most original of all the lectures is the Rejection of Falstaff. By all means go to the book for it.

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Is it possible that to the other benefits which Psychology is about to confer upon us it will add this also, that it will teach us to think? Our Lord often tried to teach the men of His day on earth to think. He seemed to say that the reason why the publicans and harlots entered the Kingdom of God before the Scribes and Pharisees was that the Scribes and Pharisees would not think. 'Why callest thou me good?' He said to one of them—stop and think. And to the whole body of them round Him one day, He said, 'How is it that David calls his son his Lord?'—stop and think.

Dr. I. E. Miller, of the State Normal School, Milwaukee, wants to teach us to think. He hopes we may be led to it, as we seem likely to be led to so much else, by the study of Psychology. He calls his book *The Psychology of Thinking* (Macmillan; 5s. net). It does not follow, of course, that we shall learn to think by knowing what thinking is. But the reading of this book will at least help us to obtain the discipline that is involved in thinking.

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It must be a very difficult thing to write Church history for children. For children, as a rule, are not interested in the history of the Church, and the Church, as a rule, has not been interested in children. Miss Mary E. Shipley seems to have been fairly successful with this difficult task. She has at any rate been successful enough with one volume to find encouragement to write another. The new volume is *An English Church History for Children*, A.D. 1066–1500 (Methuen; 2s. 6d. net). The Bishop of Gibraltar who writes a preface to it says that he knows of children not a few who regard the earlier book as one of their treasures. We should have thought the sentences rather long. But no amount of theory will stand against the evidence of fact like that.

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Under the title of *How God Answers Prayer* (Morgan & Scott; 2s. net), Miss Charlotte Mason has told the story of the origin and development of the House of Rest. Now the question about the House of Rest is not, Where is it? For it is in several places at once. It is in Wellington, Shropshire; in Burlington Place, Eastbourne; in St. John's Wood, London. Nor is the question, For whom are its doors open? For they are open to all workers in the Vineyard who need rest before beginning their labour. The real question is, Who built it? And to answer that question Miss Mason writes her book. Her answer is, 'Except the Lord do build the house, they labour in vain that build it.' From first to last the House of Rest is the answer to prayer.

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If Spinoza is not recovered by the present generation it will not be the fault of Dr. Paul Carus. At the Open Court Publishing House he has just issued an English translation of Spinoza's first philosophical work, the short treatise on *God, Man, and Human Welfare* (6s. net). The trans-

lation has been made from the Dutch by Lydia Gillingham Robinson. The translator has used also Professor Schaarschmidt's German translation; and at the end of the book she has given a useful glossary of terms—English, Dutch, German.

At the same press Dr. Carus has published an essay of his own on *Pragmatism*, originally contributed to the *Monist*.

And here it is worth while noticing that the work of the Open Court Publishing Company may be seen in an illustrated catalogue of its publications, covering a period of twenty-one years, from 1887–1907. The catalogue will be sent on application. It is worth seeing. The address is 378–380 Wabash Avenue, Chicago, or Messrs. Kegan Paul in London.

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If it is found that a book has been published with a bad title, is it lawful for the author to give it a new one? And if it is lawful, is it expedient? The Dean of Norwich edited a volume of Lectures, 'delivered in Norwich Cathedral by eminent Anglican divines,' as the title-page elegantly expresses it, and the volume was published under the title of *Lectures in Ecclesiastical History*. Being so colourless, it is a bad title, and it has probably done the book some disservice. So the Dean of Norwich has altered it, and Mr. Thynne has republished it under the title of *Church Leaders in Primitive Times* (3s. 6d. net).

The Church leaders begin with St. Ignatius and end with St. Augustine, while the eminent Anglican divines begin with the late Dean Farrar and end with the present Bishop of Durham. The lectures are quite above the average of Sunday evening lectures, quite out of sight of them. In the middle of the volume are three which succeed one another—Clement of Alexandria, by Bishop Chase; Origen, by Mr. A. E. Brooke; and Eusebius, by Professor Gwatkin—and for the like of them we might search many volumes of lectures.

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Messrs. Washbourne have published a translation of *Practical Devotion to the Sacred Heart* (3s. 6d. net), a volume written for the use of the Clergy and Faithful, by the Rev. A. Vermeersch, S.J., Professor of Theology. The translation has been made by Madame Cecilia, Religious of St. Andrew's Convent, Streatham.

The same publishers have issued a translation of the first volume of the same author's *Meditations and Instructions on the Blessed Virgin* (3s. 6d. net). The translation in this case has been made by Mr. W. Humphrey Page, K.S.G., Privy Chamberlain to H.H. Pius X. This first volume covers the ground of the Feasts of Mary and the Month of Mary.

# The Pilgrim's Progress.

By the Rev. John Kelman, M.A., D.D., Edinburgh.

## The Enchanted Ground.

The Enchanted Ground is one of the most classical of Bunyan's imaginations. Yet neither the experience nor the metaphor was of his invention. The sweet danger, the fascinating deadly danger, of rest before the time of rest has come, is well known to every pilgrim's heart, as it has been often made the theme of poetic romance such as this. Certainly here there is a reminiscence of much that is to be found in the earlier Romances of Chivalry. At this time Milton, the great Puritan romancer who had hesitated between his great epic and a poem on Arthur, was writing of 'forests and enchantments dreary,' and, in his *Comus*, making us feel the spirit of such enchanted woods. Spenser was in high fame, and his 'wandring wood' into which the knight, against dissuasion, rode, and 'his glistening armour made a little glooming light,' was familiar to England. Each of them revived from ancient sources the time-honoured figure. Tennyson, the reviver of ancient Arthurian romance in our time, has given in his 'Lotos-eaters' that immortal picture of the land 'where it was always afternoon.' In his simpler conception, 'The Pilgrim,' Newman has interpreted in experience a thousand such romances:

> There stray'd awhile, amid the woods of Dart,
> One who could love them, but who durst not love.
> A vow had bound him, ne'er to give his heart
> To streamlet bright, or soft secluded grove.

'Twas a hard, humbling task, onwards to move
His easy-captured eyes from each fair spot,
With unattached and lonely steps to rove
O'er happy meads, which soon its print forgot:—
Yet kept he safe his pledge, prizing his pilgrim lot.

The picture, in the first place, tells of rest—simply of rest after long strain and toilsome journeying. 'In one respect,' says Nathaniel Hawthorne of the *Old Manse*, 'our precincts were like the Enchanted Ground through which the pilgrim travelled on his way to the Celestial City. The guests, each and all, felt a slumbrous influence upon them.'

But there is more than weariness and rest intended here. Nathaniel Hawthorne goes further, in his Blythesdale Romance, which seems to be entirely located in the Enchanted Ground. 'The pleasant scent of the wood, evolved by the hot sun, stole up to my nostrils, as if I had been an idol in its niche. Many trees mingled their fragrance into a thousandfold odour. Possibly there was a sensual influence in the broad light of noon that lay beneath me. It may have been the cause, in part, that I suddenly found myself possessed by a mood of disbelief in moral beauty or heroism, and a conviction of the folly of attempting to benefit the world.' Nothing could more aptly describe the idea of Bunyan than these woods, showing how the luxury of rest may pass on to the deadly slumber of sensual ease. To Bunyan, that wakefullest of men, rest by the way is ever dangerous; and it adds to the beauty of the description of the pilgrim's rest in the chamber of the Palace Beautiful, that we so seldom are permitted to see a pilgrim resting in security. Yet it is not mere feverous strenuousness that accounts for this sense of the danger of sleep. There is enchantment about, as well as natural weariness. The atmosphere is heavy with that which is deadly. In his *Gentleman of France*, Stanley Weyman describes the blue haze of plague creeping up the valley upon the fighting men. 'A panic is not easily shaken off, nor is there any fear so difficult to combat and defeat as the fear of the invisible. . . . Men who, an hour before, had crossed the court under fire with the utmost resolution, and dared instant death without a thought, grew pale, and looking from this side of the valley to that with faltering eyes, seemed to be seeking, like hunted animals, for a place of refuge.'

So there come upon earnest and spiritual lives at times, subtle, unaccountable, deadly exhalations, — miasma atmospheres of evil, — and the strenuous soul yields not to fatigue only but to a strange charm. Madame Bubble personifies the spirit of the Enchanted Ground in the second part of the story. It is that spirit—'earthly, sensual, devilish'—which is the World; and which comes late and unexpected upon the path of pilgrimage. It assumes many and various forms. Some are hypnotized by the mere spectacle of it—the rush and brilliant colour of the material world about them. Others feel it as a recrudescence of sensualities long imagined dead. Others find it in some fascination, such as the fascination of doing unimportant things, or sentimentalizing over vague emotions, or dreaming of long stretches of time and activity which never come to actual performance. There are a thousand ways in which lethargy may creep upon the soul.

Its causes may be found in outward political circumstances. Possibly Bunyan was thinking of some Declaration of Liberty of Conscience, with its mitigation of penalties and its rest from persecution. In such short and deceitful calm moments it was not difficult enough to be a Christian. Men who had been forced into strenuousness by the bitterness of the times, did not know how to guard the prize they had so nobly won, when the fighting was over and there was no longer any danger or opposition. More probably the thought of the writer is entirely of spiritual conditions, and he is thinking of a Christian man whose conscience, or intelligence, or heart has fallen asleep through too much prosperity. When all goes easily, all is apt to become formality and routine. Men talk folly and ignore facts, like Heedless and Too-bold, of Part II., talking in their sleep. One of the commonest forms of this drowsiness is that which R. L. Stevenson has memorably described—the sleep of self-righteousness. 'All have some fault. . . . And when we find a man persevering indeed in his fault, as all of us do, and openly overtaken, as not all of us are, by its consequences . . . to call him bad, with a self-righteous chuckle, is to be talking in one's sleep with Heedless and Too-bold in the Arbour.' A third explanation of the Enchanted Ground is one which Cheever strikingly describes and illustrates as 'an indication of spiritual coldness rather than of spiritual fatigue.' It does not come upon the strenuous, but upon

those who have exerted themselves too little. 'There is an account,' says Cheever, 'in the voyages of some of our early circumnavigators about the globe, of a danger of this kind that came upon them when travelling in a certain frozen region, which I always think of when I come to this place in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Then surgeon of the company, a man of great skill and firmness, warned his companions that they would feel a great inclination to sleep, but that so sure as they gave way to it they would die in it, for no power on earth could wake them. But if I remember right this very surgeon, Dr. Solander, was one of the first to be overcome with this irresistible desire to sleep; and had they not by main force kept him from it he would have lain down in the cold and slept and died.' The spiritual counterpart is obvious. It is (to quote Stevenson again, on whom the Enchanted Ground had made a deep impression) 'the enchanted ground of dead-alive respectability.'

The effect of the Enchanted Ground upon the two men of the allegory is worth noting. Hopeful's more delicate and high-strung nature is more easily fatigued, like the page in *Marmion*, and he is for sleeping. Also, to his gay and light-hearted disposition, the enchantments of the place appeal more powerfully. The witchery of earth—that 'Grim Fire' which Fiona Macleod so wonderfully knows and tells of—means little for the rough strength of the unimaginative. But the finer the nature, and the more sensitive the nerve, the more powerful is its spell. Happy is that Hopeful who has at such places the rougher and less sensitive Christian by him, to put his foot through the irridescent gossamer of tingling sensations that is luring the poetic and fine nature to the earth. Christian seems never to have felt the spell at all. Such robust and strong-nerved men are not sensitive to the subtler forms of temptation. He is all for brisk living, and is not liable to those sweeping tides of natural magic and emotion which overpower more delicate spirits. He is wide-awake and able to handle Hopeful with a rough common sense which is the only wholesome thing for the sentimentalist. The very doggerel verses which he sings have a kind of march in them, that sets them stepping out as to the roll of drums. And Bunyan characteristically adds a sidenote, 'The Dreamer's Note,' which shows us how intentionally he has been setting two temperaments in contrast. It is another instance of that sure and direct instinct which makes him so masterly in his character-creations. Each of the pilgrims is here, as elsewhere, himself—acting the inevitable part.

The remedy which Christian proposes to apply is to awaken intellectual and spiritual interest which will banish the soft and effeminate mood of drowsiness. Sentimentalities are to be combated by facts. And this is the region in which Christian is most at home. So he begins his cross-questioning—a conversation managed after the manner of a catechism. If there is a brusqueness in it, and a direct attack upon his neighbour's confidences, it is to be remembered that not only is that Christian's habit, but that habit is here sharpened by the necessity for keeping off the enchantment and 'stinging Hopeful's spirit broad awake.' A rival interest is the one thing needed to counteract the spell. And the one thing sure to be of sufficient interest to do this for any man, is to get him to think upon his own experience. If a man cannot be interested in himself and what has happened to him, he is in a bad case indeed. So, in St. Paul's splendid words, 'Experience worketh Hope.' Hopeful's remembered experience makes Hopeful himself again.

## The Conversation.

Bunyan's sidenote is 'They begin at the beginning of their conversion.' No one knew better than he that though conversion has a beginning, yet it is a lifelong process of turning away from evil towards good, from self and the world to God. So Christian plunges at once into the past, 'How came you to think at first of so doing as you do now?' And so we find ourselves suddenly in a mass of old memories, sins and sentiments, delights and fears, reckless living checked by wayside terrors, and the whole world of confused thoughts and feelings which go to make up the inner life of such a delicately sensitive spirit—sensitive at once to conscience and to desire.

Of all the catalogue of sins which Hopeful shakes sleep from his eyes by enumerating, there are three that Bunyan must have written with special feeling. *Swearing* was ever a besetting trouble of his conscience. The strength of language in the Epistles attributed to St. Peter in the New Testament is almost an argument for their authenticity. So John Bunyan now and then lets himself go in serious writing, and the lock of the

castle gate goes 'damnable hard,' as we have seen. It was by no means, as the old story represents it, 'a bare hook,' by which John Bunyan was tempted when he was tempted to swear profanely. So exuberant a vitality as his and Hopeful's had a craving for strong expressions, and the temptation, for such a nature, is a very real one. Yet it gave him infinite pain and shame. He recounts doleful instances of God's judgments on swearers, and he tells us that he 'could not bear to hear a good man swear.' Probably he felt a certain contemptibleness about such indulgence, apart from his horror of its audacity. After all, it is a poor bait that its momentary gratification offers. Todd, with happier sententiousness than is usual in his Students' Manual, says of it, 'If you wish to fit yourself for the dark world, it will be time enough to learn its language after you have prepared for it by more decent sins.' A great deal of profanity is neither more nor less than bad taste. An empty mind, a limited vocabulary, and a vulgar delight in strength of language are all that lie behind the most appalling words—'He knew not what to say, and so he swore.'

*Lying* was another vice that greatly troubled John Bunyan. It troubled Hopeful, as it does all quick imaginations. All writers of Romance, and all lovers of Romance, are apt to confuse their impressions of the world with the actual facts, which are often so very much less interesting. It was, according to his own account, a special temptation of John Bunyan's boyhood. Froude's remark is noteworthy that 'When a child's imagination is exceptionally active, the temptations to untruth are correspondingly powerful. The inventive faculty has its dangers, and Bunyan was eminently gifted that way.'

*Sabbath-breaking* was another point of acute remorse with Bunyan, and the famous game of cat, in the midst of which the voice suddenly darted from heaven into his soul, was played on the Sabbath, after a sermon upon Sabbath-breaking.

These points are sufficient, not to arouse Hopeful only, but to arouse all lovers of Bunyan to an interest in what might otherwise threaten to prove but a dull discourse. Hopeful and John Bunyan have evidently experiences in common, and we may look, in the conversation that follows, for much autobiography.

# In the Study.

## The Unnatural Children.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF ISAIAH I. 3.

'THE ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.'

The first chapter of Isaiah has been called by Ewald the great arraignment. It contains four leading ideas. They are the ideas, says Skinner, which run through the whole of Isaiah's teaching, and through the teaching of all the pre-Exilic prophets. These ideas are: (1) the breach between Jehovah and Israel; (2) the inefficiency of mere ritual; (3) the call to national repentance; (4) the certainty of a sweeping judgment.

Ewald's title suggests a court of justice; and it has often been pointed out that God is both Judge and Plaintiff, Israel the defendant, heaven and earth the jury, while the prophet is both principal witness and prosecuting attorney. But all this is apt to withdraw the attention from the real pathos of the scene. No doubt there is a judge, and judgment is pronounced. But the Judge is a Father. The paraphernalia of the court-room pass into insignificance when there is heard the exceeding bitter cry, 'I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.' The third verse is an illustration. It shows the ignorance of the children in contrast to the knowledge of the domestic animals.

**1. The knowledge of the domestic animals—'the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.'**

1. It is knowledge of their owner. They know and acknowledge him. He on his part not only owns them, he takes care of them. He rears them, tames them, houses them, and heals them. In return they serve him.

True to the life, no sooner had the drove got within the walls than it began to disperse. Every ox knew perfectly well his owner, and the way to his house, nor did it get

bewildered for a moment in the mazes of the narrow and crooked alleys. As for the ass, he walked straight to the door, and up to 'his master's crib,' without turning to bid good-night to his companions of the field. I followed some into their habitation, and saw each take his appropriate manger, and begin his evening meal of dry tibn.[1]

2. Their service brings them into fellowship—such fellowship as is possible between man and the lower animals. There is some sense of mutual dependence. There is affection and sometimes self-sacrifice. The prophet speaks of the domestic animals of his own people. We should see his point more clearly if we thought of the horse and the dog.

It is not an uncommon thing in the Argentine pampas—I have on two occasions witnessed it myself—for a riding horse to come home to die. I am speaking of horses that live out in the open and have to be hunted to the corral or enclosure, or roughly captured with a lasso as they run, when they are required. On going out one summer evening—I was only a boy at the time—I saw one of the horses of the establishment standing unsaddled and unbridled leaning his head over the gate. Going to the spot I stroked his nose, and turning to an old native who happened to be standing near asked him what could be the meaning of such a thing. 'I think he is going to die,' he answered; 'horses often come to the house to die.' And next morning the poor beast was found lying dead not twenty yards from the gate.

I now believe that the sensations of sickness and approaching death in the riding horse of the pampas resemble or simulate the pains, so often experienced, of hunger, thirst, and fatigue, combined together with the oppressive sensations caused by the ponderous native saddle, with its huge surcingle of raw hide, drawn up so tightly as to hinder free respiration. The suffering animal remembers how at the last, relief invariably came when the twelve or fifteen hours' torture was over and when the great iron bridle and ponderous gear were removed and he had freedom and food and drink and rest. At the gate or at the door of his master's house the sudden relief had always come to him, and there does he go in his sickness to find it again.[2]

**2. The ignorance of the children.**—'Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.'

God has been as a Father to Israel. Now, a father has the right to obedience, service, and especially affection. But Israel had come short. Of the two great commandments of the Law they failed especially in the second. So has it been with the Jews always. The first commandment is 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' and there was at least much outward appearance of devotion to God. But the second commandment is, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' The failure was here. 'Of what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me . . . Relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.' The scribe who came to Jesus had no doubt of his duty to God. But, willing to justify himself, he asked, 'Who is my neighbour?'

1. Their ignorance consisted in not knowing what God had done for them—'Israel doth not know.' What had He done? (1) He calls heaven and earth to witness. For He had created them and preserved them, and been their bountiful benefactor. They were not ignorant of the wonders of their world. The psalmists were accustomed to consider the heavens (Ps $8^3$). And they found that the heavens declared the glory of God (Ps $19^1$). (2) But God had chosen Israel to be His peculiar people. He had been as a Father to them and had done great things for them, as Samuel reminded them that day upon which He consented to give them a king. It was even a commonplace among the heathen. 'Then said they among the nations, the Lord hath done great things for them.' And they admitted it when they considered—'The Lord hath done great things for us' (Ps $126^{2.3}$). (3) Above all, God had shown them the consideration involved in training them to become a blessing to all the nations of the earth. 'Thou shalt consider in thine heart,' said Moses, 'that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee' (Dt $8^5$). It was this, above all, that they were ignorant of. They mistook the chastening of a father for the wounds of an enemy.

2. Their ignorance was due to want of consideration—'My people doth not consider.' (1) He would have them stop and think. When the rich young ruler came running to Jesus—'Master, what shall I do?'—He stopped him. 'Why callest thou me good?' Stop and think. When the Pharisees spoke glibly about the Messiah being David's son, He recalled the 110th Psalm, where David calls the Messiah his Lord. 'How can he be both son and Lord?' He said. Stop and think. (2) It is want of consideration that makes men miss Christ. For the most part they simply pass Him by, they do not consider Him. 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?' (La $1^{12}$). (3) It is want of consideration that makes men lose life itself. They do not know what life is. They do not know that they have lost it. (4) But consideration of God brings considerateness for

[1] Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 387.
[2] W. H. Hudson, *The Naturalist in La Plata*.

man. The two great commandments must always be kept in their right order: first, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' next, 'thy neighbour as thyself.' It was because Israel rebelled against God that they neglected the poor and the fatherless. It is to those who have tasted and seen that the Lord is gracious that St. Paul writes, 'Let your considerateness be known unto all men' (Phil $4^5$).

It was Israel's lack of perception that was at the root of her sins. Ibsen, in the study of the tragedy of a lost soul in *Peer Gynt*, teaches that God meant something when He made each one of us, and that it is our duty to find out what He did mean. The devil's staunchest ally is lack of perception.

When at the end of his career Peer Gynt, who is the type of a compromising self-seeker, meets the button-moulder, who tells him it is his fate to be cast into the melting-pot, this dialogue ensues. (*Peer Gynt*, Act v. 9).

*Peer.* One question only: What is it, at bottom, this 'being oneself'?

*Button-Moulder.* A singular question, most odd in the mouth of a man who just now——

*Peer.* Come, a straightforward answer.

*Button-Moulder.* To be oneself is: to slay oneself. But on you that answer is doubtless lost, and therefore we'll say: to stand forth everywhere with Master's intention displayed like a signboard.

*Peer.* But suppose a man never has come to know what Master meant with him?

*Button-Moulder.* He must divine it.

*Peer.* But how often are divinings beside the mark—then one is carried *ad undas* in middle career.

*Button-Moulder.* That is certain, Peer Gynt; in default of divining, the cloven-hoofed gentleman finds his best hook.

## Hunting for Souls.

The following note has been contributed by Professor J. G. Frazer to the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*:[1] In a recent essay I argued that the ancient Hebrews were acquainted with the conception of the external soul, that is, with the notion that the soul of a living person may be temporarily or even permanently lodged outside of his body without immediately causing his death.[2] The argument might be strengthened by the following passage of Ezk.: 'And thou, son of man, set thy face against the daughters of thy people, which prophesy out of their own heart; and prophesy thou against them, and say, Thus saith the Lord God: Woe to the women that sew fillets upon all joints of the arm, and make long veils for the head of persons of every stature to hunt souls! Will ye hunt the souls of my people, and save souls alive for yourselves? And ye profane me among my people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people that hearken unto lies. Wherefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I am against your fillets, wherewith ye there hunt the souls, and I will tear them from your arms; and I will let the souls which ye hunt go free like birds. Your long veils also will I tear, and deliver my people out of your hand, and they shall be no more in your hand to be hunted; and ye shall know that I am the Lord.'[3]

The nefarious practices of these women, which the prophet denounces, clearly consisted in attempts to catch stray souls in fillets and cloths, and so to kill some people by keeping their souls in captivity and to save the lives of others, probably of sick people, by capturing their vagabond souls and restoring them to their bodies. Similar practices have been and still are adopted for the same purposes by sorcerers and witches in many parts of the world. For example, Fijian chiefs used to whisk away the souls of criminals in scarves and nail them to canoes, whereupon the poor wretches, thus deprived of their souls, used to pine and die.[4] The sorcerers of Danger Island caught the souls of sick people in snares, which they set up near the houses of the sufferers and watched till a soul came fluttering into the trap and was entangled in its meshes, after which the death of the patient was sooner or later inevitable.[5] In West Africa 'witches are continually setting traps to catch the soul that wanders from the body when a man is sleeping; and when they have caught this soul, they tie it up over the canoe fire, and its owner sickens as the soul shrivels. This is merely a regular line of business, and not an affair of individual hate or revenge. The witch does not care whose dream-soul gets into the trap, and will restore it on payment. Also witch doctors, men of unblemished professional reputation, will keep

[1] See also EXPOSITORY TIMES, xv. 75.

[2] *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor in honour of his 75th Birthday* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 143 sqq.

[3] Ezk $13^{17\text{-}21}$. In v.[20] I omit the first לְפַרְחוֹת as a doublet of the second, and for אֶת־נְפָשׁוֹת (an unheard-of plural of נֶפֶשׁ) I read אֹתָן חֲפָשִׁים with Cornill and other critics.

[4] Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, 2nd ed. i. 250.

[5] W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 171.

asylums for lost souls, *i.e.* souls who have been out wandering and found on their return to their body that their place has been filled up by a Sisa, a low class soul I will speak of later. These doctors keep souls and administer them to patients who are short of the article.'[1] Among the Baoules of the Ivory Coast it happened once that a chief's soul was extracted by the magic of an enemy, who contrived to shut it up in a box. To recover it, two men held a garment of the sick man, while a witch performed certain enchantments. After a time she declared that the soul was now in the garment, which was accordingly rolled up and hastily wrapped about the invalid for the purpose of restoring his soul to him.[2] Malay wizards catch the souls of women whom they love in the folds of their turbans, and then go about with the dear souls in their girdle by day, and sleep with them under their pillow by night.[3]

Examples of such practices could be indefinitely multiplied.[4] They quite suffice to explain the similar proceedings of the Hebrew witches denounced by Ezekiel. These women would seem to have caught vagrant souls in veils or kerchiefs which they threw over the heads of their victims, and to have detained them in fillets or bands which they sewed on the joints of their own arms.

## The Driving of the Spirit.

Two verses ($1^{12.13}$) contain St. Mark's account of the temptation of Jesus. He does not describe the three separate scenes or incidents which are given both in Mt. and in Lk. But he has some features of his own. They are expressed in the words 'immediately,' 'driven,' 'wild beasts.' Altogether His description of the Temptation contains five features—(1) the Driving of the Spirit, (2) the Wilderness, (3) Satan, (4) the Wild Beasts, (5) the Ministering Angels.

'And immediately the spirit driveth him.'

**1. Immediately**, or R.V. *straightway* (εὐθύς), is one of St. Mark's great words. He uses it 41 times, while St. Matthew uses it 19 times, and St. Luke only 7 times. Matthew here uses 'then,' Luke simply 'and.' Each Evangelist, however, has some word of connexion.

Immediately after what? After the baptism. Now at the baptism two things had occurred—the Spirit as a dove had descended upon Jesus, and a voice had come from heaven, 'Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.' These experiences were inseparable, but they may be examined separately. The voice recognized Jesus as the Son of God in the sense in which the Messiah is spoken about as God's Son in the Old Testament. That is to say, there is complete understanding between the Father and the Son, the fellowship of love. And that fellowship is not merely the emotion of love. The understanding between Father and Son is directed to the work which Jesus as Messiah is to do. Then follows the endowment of the Holy Spirit. It is new and unparalleled, just because the fellowship is new and unparalleled. And it is an endowment for the accomplishment of the work which the Father has given Him to do. The first energy of the Spirit, however, is not seen in the accomplishment of some Messianic act. If Jesus is conscious of being the Son of God, He is also conscious of being a son of man. And like all the sons of men He must be tested. He must be tested as a man. He must face a man's temptations and stand or fall. Before He can go forth as the Messiah, that is to say, as the Saviour of the world, it must be made evident to Himself and to all the world that He Himself does not need to be saved. 'And straightway the Spirit driveth him into the wilderness to be tempted.'

**2. The Spirit.**—The Authorized Version, using a small *s* at spirit, suggests that it was some evil spirit that drove him into the wilderness. And it has been deliberately maintained that Satan himself was the driving power. Others have suggested some man or men under the influence of an evil spirit, one of His disciples, perhaps, as Peter or Judas, or even some member of His own family. But without doubt the Spirit is the Holy Spirit of God, with which He had just been uniquely endowed. The temptation is the first and necessary step in the fulfilment of the purpose for which Jesus had come into the world.

It is not true to say that the devil arranged the temptation. Temptation here is in the Divine plan and purpose. Jesus

[1] Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 461 sq.

[2] Delafosse, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1895, xi. p. 558.

[3] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 576 sq.

[4] *The Golden Bough*, i. 260 sqq., especially 277 sqq.

went into the wilderness under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to find the devil. My own conviction is that if the devil could have escaped that day, he would have done so. It is a very popular fallacy that the enemy drove Christ into a corner and tempted Him. But the whole Divine story reveals that the facts were quite otherwise. God's perfect Man, led by the Spirit, or as Mark in his own characteristic and forceful way expresses it, driven by the Spirit, passes down into the wilderness, and compels the adversary to stand out clear from all secondary causes, and to enter into direct combat. This is not the devil's method. He ever puts something between himself and the man he would tempt. He hides his own personality wherever possible. To our first parents he did not suggest that they should serve him, but that they should please themselves. Jesus dragged him from behind everything, and put him in front, that for once, not through the subtlety of a second cause, but directly, he might do his worst against a pure soul.[1]

The temptation of Jesus was part of God's deliberate plan and purpose. So is the temptation of every man. Yet 'no man can say when he is tempted, I am tempted by God.' Nor does the fact that God ordains the temptation relieve the instrument of his responsibility. After the crucifixion of Christ, Peter charged the Jews with having taken Him and by wicked hands having crucified and slain Him. Yet in the same sentence he said that He had been delivered to death by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.

And this distinction between the agent and the ordainer of temptation is not one of words. For not only does the withdrawal of anything, save positive sin, from the sphere of God's will, affect the integrity of His moral government of the race, and relax the hold which God has on the progress of human affairs, but the teaching of Scripture is only to be reconciled with itself by bearing in mind that God may ordain a moral discipline for the soul, of which it is impossible He should be the instrument and immediate cause. We are told, for example, by St. James, 'Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, and he himself tempteth no man,' and yet we are equally told, 'It came to pass after these things that God did tempt Abraham'; and if it be said that this only means that God did try Abraham, the difficulty is removed but a step further back, for trial is always temptation, just as temptation is always trial. The true solution of the apparent contradiction seems to be suggested by the typical temptation of Christ, that whilst God Himself never does offer, and never can offer, personal seduction or inducement to sin to the soul—the supposition itself is utterly blasphemous—yet God may permit, and may will, that the soul should pass through temptation as the only means of that purifying and strengthening discipline to which we referred in the first chapter, as the chief object and result of all moral trial of every kind. And hence it is that the same temptation may be said, from one point of view, to come from God, and from another, to come from the devil. Thus, to take perhaps the most striking illustration of this truth to be found in Scripture, the numbering of the people by David is said, in the Book of Samuel, to have been the result of God 'moving' David 'against' Israel; whilst in the parallel history of the Book of Chronicles we read, 'And Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel.'[2]

But we have to be careful that we do not seek temptation, under the impression that it is God's purpose for us, or that it is good for our growth in grace. We may not know what is God's purpose for us. Let us rather pray, 'Lead us not into temptation'; and remember that Christ did not enter into temptation of His own will, but was driven into it by the Spirit.

All three Synoptists emphasize the fact that the temptation of Christ was the result of Divine compulsion and not self-sought. The Spirit 'led' or 'drove' Him into the wilderness. He who taught us to pray, 'Lead us not into temptation,' did not court temptation Himself. So may we expect God to help to 'deliver us from evil' and to emerge from the conflict victorious, if our temptations come to us, but not if we go to them.

Once, while William of Orange was laying siege to a town on the Continent, an officer ventured to go with a message to the spot where he was directing the operation of his gunners. When the message was delivered, and the answer to it received, he still lingered. 'Sir,' said the Prince, 'do you know that every moment you stand here is at the risk of your life?' 'I run no more risk,' replied the officer, 'than your Highness.' 'Yes,' said the Prince, 'but my duty brings me here, and yours does not.' In a few minutes a cannon-ball struck the officer dead. The Prince was untouched.[3]

3. **Driven.** — R.V., 'The Spirit driveth him forth.'—Yet it was not some outside force. He had received the Spirit which now drove Him into the wilderness. It was a pressure from within, although it is not to be watered down into a mere desire of His own soul to be alone. It was that pressure of the Spirit of God, though in larger, fuller measure, which drove the prophets to do their unwelcome duty and sent them to carry their *burden*. When Jesus sat down to speak in the synagogue of Nazareth, He applied the prophet's words to Himself, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. . . . He hath sent me.'

Sometimes it will be the case that your temptations will arise from among the best blessings of your life. Sometimes a great endowment of gifts, followed with a great baptism of sanctifying and consecrating graces, will point you out as the man prepared of God for some great office in the Church. And this providence and that so besets you behind and before,

[1] G. Campbell Morgan, *The Crises of the Christ*, p. 133.

[2] G. S. Barrett, *The Temptation of Christ*, p. 57.

[3] C. Stanford, *The Lord's Prayer*.

and God and man so lay their hands upon you, that you may truly be said to be *driven* to take such and such a step. But no sooner have you taken that step than you are thereby plunged into a sea of more terrible temptations than ever before, till your very promotion threatens to be your perdition.[1]

Jesus was not driven forth in spite of His own will. H. J. C. Knight notices that Christ had to take account of four wills—the Father's will, His own, the will of man, and the will of the devil.[2] The will of the devil He deliberately thwarted, and that on all occasions. The will of man He respected, drawing it by the bands of a man, which are the bands of love, but forcing it never. The will of the Father He made His own, bringing His own will into harmony with it.

But He had a will of His own—'Father, if it be possible . . . nevertheless not my will, but thine be done.' He was driven forth by the Spirit, because that was the will of the Father. But in the wilderness, as in Gethsemane, He made the Father's will His own.

Why was He driven forth to be tempted?

1. Because He was a man. Temptation is as inevitable to man as death. 'Terrible to all men is death,' says Carlyle; 'from of old named king of terrors.' But to some men at least the real king of terrors is not death, but temptation. Jesus was 'in all things made like unto his brethren' (He $2^{17}$).

2. He was tempted that we might know Him to be man, that we might recognize Him unmistakably as of ourselves, and take Him for an example. It is in temptation that we need His example most of all. And if He had not been a man in His temptation He would have been no example.

I believe it can be shown that these experiences so follow the lines of the generically human, of what is true for all men, and point the way to the solution of so many problems affecting human life universally, as to compel the conviction that this is, at least, one design behind the record of His career, namely, that it should exhibit once for all the central, archetypal human life in its victory over all incompleteness, and over all evil. This conviction is specially forced upon any one who ponders much on the story known as the Temptation of Jesus. Standing where it does in the record of His career, a *résumé* of the main elements in His soul-travail as He stood on the threshold of His life's work, it reflects not His temptations only, but ours: setting forth, under the veil of parable, the universal human threshold fight, the multiform yet essentially threefold moral conflict which men everywhere must endure who would at the outset of their career place themselves in the path to true success.[3]

3. He was tempted in order that we might feel assured of His sympathy. 'For we have not an high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin' (He $4^{15}$).

The raw apprentice, who is trying his best, and finds a great deal in his work that is dull and difficult, is cheered at once if his foreman tells him, 'I have gone through it all, my lad, in my time—it's the only way of getting a good training. Go on, and things will be easier soon.' The youth in his teens, bewildered and surprised by the new and mysterious impulses that are surging up within him, confusing his conscience, engulfing his will, might be saved from years of sorrow by a word of sympathy from one older than himself. Why do not fathers speak frankly and calmly to their lads at that critical age, and assure them of their knowledge and their perfect sympathy? What a moral leverage it would confer, what a new power for victory![4]

Could Jesus, then, have been so tempted as to fall? The answer must be yes. For otherwise the temptation was not the temptation of a man; nor was it in any sense a real temptation. And if we deny the reality of His temptation, we do injustice to the perfection of His sympathy.

How, then, did He overcome? By the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. To every form of temptation with which Satan assailed Him, He replied by 'It is written.' He knew the promises of God, and He believed them. May we not know and believe them also? We have an additional guarantee, even Christ Himself. 'For how many soever be the promises of God, in him is the yea' (2 Co $1^{20}$). The only difference between us seems to be that, being full of the Holy Spirit, He was able to believe the promises utterly, and to use them with unerring effect.

[1] A. White, *The Walk, Conversation, and Character of Jesus Christ our Lord*, p. 111.

[2] *The Temptation of our Lord*, p. 45.

[3] G. A. Johnston Ross, *The Universality of Jesus*, p. 85.

[4] E. L. Hicks, *Addresses on the Temptation*, p. 12.

# The Lucan Parables.

By the Rev. R. M. Lithgow, Lisbon.

All the findings of our series of studies on the sequence and synthetic doctrine of Christ's parables have been based on the self-evident fact of Matthew giving in his Gospel the historical and logical order of those he records. But in addition to this, we have assumed that the parables recorded by Luke have been otherwise treated, and so are legitimately available for such an arrangement as serves to reveal the parallel they are capable of forming with the Matthean sequence.

It is desirable, however, in order to the establishment of our case in regard to the sequence and synthesis of Christ's parables, that we give some distinct consideration to this matter of the Lucan parables and their scriptural arrangement. Indeed, in order to vindicate our assumption, it will be necessary to show (1) that Luke's order of these parables is not that of their delivery, and (2) that there is nothing against, if not indeed something to encourage, that arrangement of them, which affords a striking parallel to the sequence of those recorded in Matthew's Gospel.

If, as is now generally conceded, we may regard our present Mark as the earliest of the three Synoptic Gospels, and as a main source of what is related in the other two, we have here a clue to guide us, in comparing the use made of one element in their material, respectively by Matthew and by Luke. But we may also regard it as the scaffolding, rough sketch, or guiding outline of the work which they took in hand. And as a matter of fact, it is from their adherence to, or deviation from, the narrative given in Mark's Gospel, that we are best able to appreciate the respective courses pursued in their Gospels by these two later Evangelists.

And here at the outset we note that while Matthew embodies in his Gospel about one hundred and fifty verses more of Mark's narrative than does Luke, this latter follows more closely the order of events as there recorded. Nor is this surprising, as the Jewish apostle had his own personal experience to aid him in this matter, while the Gentile evangelist, lacking this, would be the more dependent upon an earlier writer, dealing with his facts, if received from Peter, practically at first hand. And, indeed, we might say that, apart from events the course of which is naturally determined, Luke seems wholly dependent upon Mark for such adherence to historical order as his Gospel affords. There is then on the very surface of his narrative a presumption against the strict adherence to factual sequence of the third evangelist, in his treatment of fresh matter.

But now when leaving this general consideration, we turn to see how Luke deals with incidents recorded by him in common with Matthew, in regard to which Mark's guidance is lacking, we find that Matthew has more probability on his side as regards their historical setting. Thus Christ's sermon at Nazareth offers such a case. Luke introduces this at the very outset of Christ's public ministry, while Matthew records this visit to the village of His upbringing as taking place after the delivery of Christ's first series of parables. All the probabilities are in favour of the latter of these two versions of this incident. Indeed, it is generally recognized that Luke's setting of the Nazareth sermon, as a frontispiece to his narrative of Christ's ministry, has its motive in artistic considerations.

As illustrative of the probabilities of the case where Matthew breaks away from the narrative of Mark, we may take the raising of Jairus' daughter, in his account of which Luke follows Mark. Matthew relates this as an after incident of the day upon which this apostle gave in his own house, according to Luke, a great feast in connexion with his acceptance of Christ's call. Now Matthew's full account of Christ's varied activities on that day strongly suggests that its events had that clear place in his mind, which the memorable character of the day for him might very well give them. Against this Luke's 'on one of these days' gives us no impression that his association of this event with the day of the voyage to Gadara, given at an earlier point in Matthew, is more worthy of acceptance.

It is a leading feature of the third Gospel, that the links which bind its successive items together are of a thoughtful and suggestive, rather than, like Matthew's, of an historical or logical, nature. Thus the paragraphs here as they follow one another,

often seem like comments on what has gone before, or as illustrative of that just previously recorded. Indeed, the chapters of this Gospel often look like sermons, with the various incidents related, or subjects dealt with, as so many heads of the discourse. It is undoubtedly the special talent of the literary artist which has most contributed to this result. But this faculty is not one which conduces so readily, as the more prosaic endowments of Matthew, to a close adherence to historic order.

But the great outstanding feature of this third Gospel is to be found in those nine chapters (10–18) of didactic discourse, largely in parabolic form, which intervene between a close following of Mark's narrative up to the departure from Galilee, and the resumption of this with the incident of the children brought to Jesus to be blest. In as far as the subject-matter or language of this part of Luke's Gospel is in common with anything to be found in the other Gospels, this is very scrappy and piecemeal, and drawn indiscriminately alike from earlier and later portions of these records. Indeed, in the main, this quarter of the Gospel firmament presents to our gaze something like a Milky Way, densely crowded with clustering gems, radiant with evangelic truth and grace, but marshalled withal in somewhat bewildering fashion. Nothing is more obvious here than the lack of all attempt at anything like historic sequence.

Now it is here that almost all the parables recorded by Luke are to be found, only two of the great Lucan parables being met with elsewhere in this Gospel. It is then apparent that these parables of Luke's Gospel are as much distinguished from those of Matthew's narration, in their lack of historical presentation, as they are in respect of their generally gracious character and evangelic tone. We may then safely aver that there is no reason to regard Luke's order of recording the parables which he has preserved for us, as that of their statement by Jesus.

In view of this our conclusion, and the considerations which have led us to it, we cannot expect much guidance from Luke's narrative in our efforts to discover some hints as to the real sequence of their delivery. We may indeed well regard the factual sequence of the Matthean parables, and the light this throws on the development and synthesis of the parabolic teaching, as the most helpful guidance we can have in the matter, and so be content if we find encouragement in Luke's presentation of the parables he records, to confirm in any measure that arrangement of them which this demands.

The two specially Lucan parables, outside of the nine chapters in which all the others are to be found, are the first and the last, those of the Two Debtors, and of the Pounds, which latter, but for Luke's report, in common with Matthew, of the Parable of the Husbandmen, would be the last, as the Two Debtors is the first in his Gospel. The former of these two parables we have found good reason to regard as one dealing with the conditions of grace, and as such a fit parallel to that of the Unforgiving Debtor of Matthew's Gospel. This latter in the Matthean record is given as Christ's last parable in Galilee, coming thus somewhat after the Sower group of parables. Luke, on the other hand, sets the Two Debtors before the Parable of the Sower, which he also relates. Now, although regarding this parable as more likely to have been delivered at a later point than that which Luke gives it, we can see that in it which might affect this evangelist in giving it the foremost place it occupies in his Gospel. For, apart from the consideration that for this gracious gospeller it has special attraction, as setting forth the whole scope of grace, and so no less suitable a frontispiece to his record of the parables than is the Nazareth discourse to his narrative of Christ's life and work, it has its own distinct echo of that view of man's natural condition which we find in the Parable of the Sower. There, in the varied soils, we saw a moral differentiation of those outside Christ's kingdom, and here we are taught that while all men by nature are debtors to God, there are notable differences in their individual indebtedness. This parable then has an aspect which relates it very closely to the first parable alike of Mark and Matthew.

But we discover the most fitting parallel to that initial Good and Bad group of Matthean parables, setting forth Christ's teachings on the great distinction, in the Lost and Found parables of Luke. These we find quite in the heart of the nine chapters of this evangelist's special but desultorily arranged matter. The only clue afforded us here as to the time of their delivery is to be found in the introductory reference to the charge against Jesus which is mentioned as prompting their utterance, 'This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them.'

This would seem to connect the delivery of these parables with the feast in Matthew's house, which is the occasion given in his Gospel for this remark. And in that case their delivery would be at a time very appropriate to their rudimentary teaching.

The Parable of the Midnight Borrower is the first recorded of Luke's three parables on prayer, appearing as it does in the eleventh chapter of his Gospel. It occurs there immediately after the account of Christ teaching His disciples the Lord's Prayer, in answer to their request for guidance in this matter. As the Lord's Prayer in Matthew's Gospel forms part of the Sermon on the Mount, we have this to encourage us in relegating the delivery of Christ's first parable on prayer to the days of His Galilean ministry, quite a suitable time and place for it as a parallel to the Matthean parables on growth.

The other two parables on prayer are found at the very end of the nine distinctively Lucan chapters, and immediately before that incident of the children being brought to Jesus, with which Luke again joins Mark and Matthew in their narratives of Christ's ministry. These parables are thus placed prior to those later teachings of Christ in this and other forms, associated with the experiences in Jerusalem which preceded His passion. Prayer as an essential element in the development of the spiritual life, alike in early and late stages, may well have had its inculcations in parabolic form, both in Galilee, and throughout the itinerary portion of our Lord's ministry, which began with His departure from it.

The parables of the Two Debtors and of the Good Samaritan, which, as treating of grace, we have paralleled with Matthew's finding group, although reported separately in the seventh and tenth chapters of Luke's Gospel, are both immediately preceded by references to incidents recorded in Matthew's eleventh chapter. The narrative of the Magdalene's appearance in Simon's house, with which the former parable is bound up, follows here Christ's allegory of the Market-children, which in Matthew's report of it, as in Luke's too, is wound up by a comparison of the Baptist's austerity with the geniality of Christ. Luke's artistic taste here leads him to illustrate and show the real character of this distinctive feature of our Lord, by setting before us the scene at Simon's feast, with the parable it gave occasion for. A paragraph, further on in Matthew's eleventh chapter, reports Christ's exclamation, 'I thank Thee, Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes,' and this it is which immediately precedes the Parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke's tenth chapter. We may then regard the season of these Galilean utterances, as the most likely one for the delivery of the above two parables. And this well fits in with their logical position.

The other parable of this group, that of Dives and Lazarus, is found some chapters later on in Luke. Its immediately succeeding context, relating to occasions of stumbling, occurs in Matthew shortly before his mention of Christ's departure from Galilee, while his own last reported parable of the group we are dealing with, the Unforgiving Debtor, appears in his Gospel at the same point. It is distinctly interesting to notice that besides being both alike in their separation from the other parables of the group they belong to, these parables are also alike in having a notably judicial aspect, Dives and the Unforgiving Debtor being both pictured as incurring doom. Here again in this case we find a distinct fitness of their teachings for the time they seemingly belong to.

The Barren Fig-tree has its place in Luke's Gospel between two incidents, recorded like this parable only by the third Evangelist. These present to us our Lord's rebuke of sentiments excited by some recent calamities, and His cure of a bent woman in the synagogue. This special Lucan matter follows the contrast drawn by Christ between man's weather wisdom and his lack of spiritual foresight or concern, while it is followed by the parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven. These indications of its place in the Saviour's ministry would oblige us to regard it as spoken in Galilee, previous to the transfiguration, and so prior to those Matthean parables to which with others it offers a parallel. But against this there may be set the fact that, immediately after the paragraphs we have referred to, Luke speaks of Christ going on his way through cities and villages teaching, and journeying on to Jerusalem. It is just to this period of itinerary teaching that logical considerations would lead us to refer it, and with all the literary facts before us, we think that these considerations may well turn the scale in favour of the more suitable place and time for its delivery.

We are encouraged to regard this as the true view of the case by the like circumstances of the Farm Servant, another parable of the same group. Although found in a later chapter of Luke, its setting also connects it immediately with words of Jesus reported by Matthew as spoken in Galilee. But here again, on the other hand, we have a distinct statement of Christ being on the way to Jerusalem, in the verse which immediately succeeds this parable, and have little doubt that this is the correct guide to its true and suitable place in the Gospel narrative.

The Parable of the Pounds is, as has been mentioned, one of two introduced by Luke into those portions of his Gospel in which he clearly follows the course of the Marcan narrative. It is related here as spoken in Jericho in connexion with Christ's visit to Zaccheus. This incident, which Luke alone reports, immediately succeeds his account of Christ's granting restoration of sight to Bartimæus, recorded by Matthew as taking place after our Lord had left Jericho for Jerusalem. As it is just after His entry into the Holy City, that Matthew represents Christ delivering those parables on the divine claims, whose parallel we find in the three we have now been considering, we judge this Parable of the Pounds to be quite in its right place here.

In regard to the Parable of the Rich Fool, which, as depicting the doom of neglected duty, has clearly its logical place alongside our Lord's last parables, all we can say of its position in Luke is, that it appears among the most variously connected matter to be found in all this Gospel. For if we have here (in chap. 12) many echoes of the Sermon on the Mount, we have also those of the most solemn teachings of the passion week, in Christ's injunctions to vigilance and His parabolic contrast between the faithful and the unfaithful servants.

The Lucan Parable of the Great Supper has so much in common with that of the Wedding Feast of Matthew's record, that one may be pardoned for finding in that alone, enough to warrant our view of the two as parallel. At the same time that notable presentation of the divine grace which it affords, may well have led Luke to give it the setting of Christ's popular days in Galilee which he has done. But here again we have not only that mention of the journey to Jerusalem before it, in these nine chaotic chapters, but also that of Christ's words of lament over Jerusalem at sight of the doomed city, to encourage our assignation of it to a later and more appropriate period.

The Parable of the Sagacious Steward immediately follows in Luke's Gospel the 'lost and found' triad, with its suggestiveness of the Galilean ministry and its surroundings. It is immediately followed by that of Dives and Lazarus, the few intervening verses being made up of some sentences from the Sermon on the Mount. While this Parable, by which it is followed, brings us in its sequence into the atmosphere of Christ's closing addresses, the immediate setting of the Sagacious Steward has clearly its nearer connexion here with His earlier teaching. But the arrangement in this case is one characteristic generally of the third Evangelist, who ever seeks to temper Christ's severe teachings by His gracious ones. Thus the Parable of the Rich Fool is succeeded by our Lord's comforting counsel against temporal anxiety, the solemn truths appended to that of the Great Supper are followed by the Lost and Found parables, and the grave lessons of the Sagacious Steward, Dives and Lazarus, and Christ's predictive warnings, precede the gracious parables of the Importunate Widow, and Penitent Publican.

We may then, while recognizing that the very nature of our present task renders definite results impossible, consider that such guiding hints as their settings afford, give us some fair encouragement to regard the Lucan parables as alike logically and historically furnishing us with a parallel to the Matthean sequence. And we may add that it is those parables in Luke, the logical position of which is most obvious, that give us least indication as to their real place in the story of Christ's evangelic and saving ministry.

# Contributions and Comments.

## The Serpent in Genesis.

On reading over my Commentary upon the third chapter of Genesis, I see that I have given no justification of my statement that the serpent in Genesis is a symbol of the Babylonian god Ea. So I must supply the omission by a letter.

Ea, the culture-god of Eridu, was the god of the deep. Here was his home, and from hence he rose to instruct the Babylonians in the arts and sciences, and reveal to them the *tertu* or 'law.' The 'deep' corresponded to the ocean of Homer, and encircled the earth, and from it sprang the sacred tree of Ea at Eridu, called the *gis-kin*, or 'tree of revealed knowledge.' In *W.A.I.* ii. 51. 45–47 this deep is stated to be 'the Serpent.'

The serpent originally had legs. Babylonian cosmology taught that the present creation had been preceded by an earlier one, a sort of first and imperfect attempt of nature, in which the law and order of the existing world were replaced by chaos and anarchy. The offspring of Tiamat, the dragon of chaos, were all of them monsters of composite shape. These monsters became the beasts of burden which carried the triumphant gods of light, and so the emblems of the cities over which the gods presided. The dragon of Babylon is represented on the enamelled tiles of Nebuchadrezzar as a serpent with the horn of a unicorn and four legs, the two hinder of which are provided with eagles' talons. The middle part of the serpent has been ingeniously assimilated to the body of a quadruped, and the tail is erected like that of a beast. At Nippur only the head and tail retain their serpentine character. Since Babylon was dependent on Eridu, from which its presiding god was derived, we may see in its dragon a picture of the serpent of Eridu.

Hence in Gn $3^{14}$ it is assumed that the serpent, which appears there in connexion with the tree of knowledge, had once walked upon legs. Besides being god 'of the deep' and 'of fishermen,' Ea is also stated to be the god 'who is on the left side of the garden,' 'who overshadows the garden' (like the 'overshadowing' *gis-kin* or 'tree of knowledge'), and who is god 'of the horn of the garden'—an expression which is explained by the old Babylonian map published in The Expository Times, November 1906, p. 69, where the rivers of Paradise are represented as running into the land in the shape of a horn, to the east of Eridu. In my description of the map I have called the horn—as it would seem, erroneously—a bird's beak.

In *C.T.* xxv. 47, 48, where the list of Ea's titles is given, he is further said to be the god 'of the gardener,' literally 'keeper of the garden' (*i.e.* the Biblical Adam), as well as god 'of the cultivated ground' (*ikkari*; cf. Gn $4^{2}$). He is also god of 'the potters,' 'smiths,' 'musicians,' 'diviners,' 'stone engravers,' 'goldsmiths,' etc.—in fact, of all the practisers of the crafts which mankind owed to his teaching. Cf. Gn $4^{21.\ 22}$.

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## Mene, Tekel, Upharsim.

The recent discovery of the palace at Babylon has suggested to me an idea connected with Belshazzar's feast, of which we have an account in the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel. The feast clearly took place in the palace; and it is evident that when the king saw the vision, he was under the influence of wine. Either of two things may have helped to cause the vision. One is, that the words *Mene, Tekel, Upharsim* may have been there, before the king's eyes, permanently inscribed on the wall, in cuneiform characters. The standards of weights and measures were probably kept at the palace, and there would be fixed spots in the palace hall for testing them, or possibly for weighing the royal revenue, which may have been paid in kind as well as in coin. Near the spots where this was done the words recorded may have been inscribed; *Mene* marking the place where goods were counted; *Tekel*, that where they were weighed; and *Upharsim*, that where they were classified as to quality, and separated.

The other supposition is that the inscriptions may not have been in the Banquet Hall, but in some other part of the palace, where the king had often seen them, and that they came up vividly to his mind. Or a serving-man may have opened a door

through which they became visible from the royal seat. The vision of the hand was of course due to Belshazzar's guilty conscience, as he knew that he was committing sacrilege in drinking out of the holy vessels from Jerusalem; but there seems no reason why the words he saw may not have had an objective existence. MARGARET D. GIBSON.

*Cambridge.*

*P.S.*—I am told that such a thing is to be seen in the cathedral at Freiburg, in the Black Forest, where a loaf depicted on the wall marks the spot where the town bread was weighed.

## The Name of God in Genesis.

THE notes in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for May 1909, p. 378, on 'The Name of God in Genesis' induce me to offer you for publication the results of my investigations in this subject. I studied in the Old Testament Seminar, during last winter session, Gn $1^1$–Ex $3^{12}$. For Ex $3^1$–$4^{17}$ and $6^{2ff.}$ are duplicates, a fact which Mr. Cox seems to have overlooked. The following are my results.

יהוה *alone* occurs 148 times in the Massoretic Text of Gn $4^1$–Ex $3^7$ inclusive. In 118 places the other texts have either אֱלֹהִים or יהוה אֱלֹהִים, so that there is evidence for the use of יהוה only in 30 passages.

אֱלֹהִים *alone* occurs 179 times in Gn $1^1$–Ex $3^{12}$ in the MT. Only in 59 passages have the other texts יהוה (in 47 יהוה אלהים); but those texts which have the name אלהים instead of יהוה are less important.

*Both names:* יהוה אלהים occur 20 times in MT in Gn $2^4$–$3^{23}$; but there is only one passage ($3^1$) in which all the texts have both names. In $19^1$ there is very good evidence for the use of אלהים (*θεός*) alone; in 11 passages the evidence for יהוה alone (or *κύριος*, etc.) is very slight and inconclusive.

When we consider that the tendency to use יהוה for or along with אלהים was incomparably greater than the contrary, those few passages which support יהוה as against אלהים are of little account. The conclusion is therefore justified, that the name יהוה did not originally occur in Gn $1^1$–Ex $3^{12}$. It is consequently quite unscientific to determine the analysis of a source by the names of God.

NIVARD JOHANN SCHLÖGL.

*Vienna.*

## Genesis iv. 26.

THE Hebrew reads אָז הוּחַל לִקְרֹא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה, and is usually translated 'Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord.' The Septuagint reads *οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ*, 'This (man) hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God.' Now this translation, in spite of its absurdity, has kept its place for two thousand years and there is no question of a various reading in the Septuagint. As Dillmann pointed out, the Septuagint probably had the simple יָחַל instead of אז or זה. But the remarkable thing is that it points out by its very absurdity the true rendering of our present Massoretic Text. For the men who did the Pentateuch part of the Septuagint were much better Hebraists than Greek scholars.

With the key to the passage given by them, we observe that the verb הוּחַל may be Hophal of יחל, the Piel and Hiphil of which mean to *hope*.

The next point is that the Septuagint translators have not translated idiomatically. For in translating a Hebrew phrase such as that, the main Hebrew verb, in Greek as in English, must be made subordinate, and taken as an infinitive or by an adverb or adverbial phrase. When this is done, we get one of the finest and most suggestive texts in Scripture, instead of the obscure 'began to call'—'Then men called *hopefully* upon the name of Jehovah'; that is to say, there was something hopeful about the birth of this man Enos. This is the true Hebrew idiom. See A. B. Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax*, § 82.

The Greek translators had a difficulty always in dealing with cases of the subordination of one verb to another, thus in Ex $8^{24}$, הַרְחֵק לֹא תַרְחִיקוּ לָלֶכֶת ('ye shall not go *far away*,' see Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax*, p. 114). The Septuagint has *οὐ μακρὰν ἀποτενεῖτε πορευθῆναι*, literally, 'ye shall not stretch far to go,' which is just as far from Greek as from English idiom.

J. IVERACH MUNRO.

*Canisbay, Wick.*

## The Centurion at the Cross.

AT the conclusion of the illuminating discussion of the faith of the centurion in Galilee, you speak of the saying of the centurion who stood by the cross,—questioning whether even he meant that 'Jesus was Emperor.'

Certainly he did not. For he did not say '*the* Son of God,' but '*a* Son of God,'—as the margin of the Revised Version correctly renders. This man, familiar with Greek and Roman mythology, ranked Jesus as a heavenly hero, such as Hercules or Theseus, divinely commissioned and gifted for the helping of men.

And the crucifixion, so discordant with the current Jewish conception of the Messiah, was not out of harmony with the classic idea of the Hero. For, as J. B. Mozley says, one element in that idea was that 'the hero came into awkward contact with his fellow-men, was suspected, feared, disliked, wronged. He did not mix well with the world because He did not belong to it. He was a sufferer for deeds of goodness.'

It was, I venture to think, this conception of the mythologic demigod, with his heavenly origin, his noble helpfulness, and his tragic destiny, that rose in the centurion's mind as he watched Jesus on the cross. And so he said, 'Truly this was a righteous man, a heavenly hero, a Son of God.'

CAMERON MANN.

*Bishop's House,*
*Fargo, North Dakota.*

## John iii. 16 and its Surroundings.

THE Gospel for Monday in Whitsun Week calls my attention to some important minutiæ.

In my Greek Testament Jn $3^{16}$ begins with a capital letter after a little space; but I forgot to state on the margin that Weiss has a small initial. The same small initial was in Tischendorf, but v. Gebhardt changed it into a capital. This use of οὕτως or Οὕτως ascribes the following verses to Jesus or to the Evangelist respectively.

I turn to the A.V. and R.V. The latest edition of the A.V. published by the B.F.B.S., printed by Eyre & Spottiswoode (Ionic 16mo, 1907), puts a paragraph (¶) at v.$^{14}$ and at v.$^{16}$; the Cambridge Paragraph Bible (by F. H. Scrivener) has no break either at v.$^{14}$ or at v.$^{16}$; the R.V. only at v.$^{16}$. The Two Version Edition (Oxford, 1899) calls attention to the difference between A.V. and R.V. at v.$^{14}$; the Interlinear Bible (Cambridge, 1906) does not.

Scrivener's *New Testament in Greek*, according to the text followed in the A.V., together with the variations adopted in the R.V. (latest edition, Cambridge, 1908), begins a new section at v.$^{16}$, while in his own Greek edition he went on till v.$^{21}$ without a break, and omitted to state in the margin that Westcott-Hort and R.V. have one at v.$^{16}$.

One of the many reprints of Lloyd's *Greek Testament*, that of 1836, puts the speeches into quotation marks; it extends the marks from v.$^{11\text{-}21}$.

The Codex Vaticanus goes on in the same line without any interpunction.

ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝΟΥΤΩΣΓΑΡ.

The Codex Alexandrinus has breaks at v.$^{14}$ and $^{18}$, not at $^{16}$.

Wordsworth-White have a capital at v.$^{16}$, indicating by it that a new section begins here.

Stephen (1546) has not even a full stop, but only a colon, after v.$^{15}$; while the *Analytical Greek Testament* (Bagster, 1907) begins a new section with $^{18}$ (neither at $^{14}$, nor at $^{16}$).

Similar cases of importance attached to a single letter occur at Mt $1^{22}$ $26^{56}$. If spelt with a capital, Τοῦτο introduces a remark of the Evangelist; with a small letter, τοῦτο continues the speech of the Angel and Jesus. At $26^{56}$ the codices AC begin new paragraphs, BD not; at $1^{22}$ only D has a new paragraph.

It is only recently that in collations we have learnt to attend to such apparent minutiæ.

EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

## The Aramaic Equivalent of 'Blessed.'

IN Votaw's fine article on the Sermon on the Mount, which opens the Extra Volume of the *D.B.*, is a little omission to which I beg to call attention.

Speaking on the *Beatitudes*, Votaw says, p. 14, n. 1: 'אַשְׁרֵי is in O.T. usage nearly confined to the Psalms, where it appears nineteen times (elsewhere seven times).' More correctly it would be to say 'in nineteen Psalms twenty-six times, elsewhere in *eight* books' (Dt., 1 K., Is., Prov., Job, Eccl., Dan., 2 Ch.); see the Concordances. Then Votaw goes on to speak of בָּרוּךְ and the corresponding Greek renderings μακάριος and εὐλογητός, concluding:

'It is a fair inference from these data *that Jesus used* אַשְׁרֵי *rather than* בָּרוּךְ, and the Greek translators of His words did well to follow the LXX in rendering this by μακάριος. *The point is of some*

*importance* for determining the exact meaning of Jesus when He uses this term in His Beatitudes. In the 'Blessings and Cursings' of Dt 27. 28 the terms are בָּרוּךְ and אָרוּר, rendered in the LXX by εὐλογημένος and ἐπικατάρατος. The Greek word for "woe" in the Woe passages of the Gospels is οὐαί.'

I quite agree, but why does Votaw omit here all reference to Aramaic, after he has written earlier in this very article: 'Jesus habitually taught in *Aramaic*, not in Greek'? The regular Aramaic equivalent for Hebrew אשרי is טוב in singular or plural (dual), with suffix, genitive or dative. The following forms occur in the Targum: טב, טובך, טוביה, טובהון; טובי, טובו(ה)י, טוביכון, טוביהון.

The same forms are used in the Syriac Versions, especially in the Palestinian Syriac. See also Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, § 56. Ps 37[8.9]: 'O taste and see that the Lord is *good*; *blessed* is the man,' etc., runs in Aramaic: ארום טַב יהוה טוּבוי לגבר. Not אשרי, but טוביהו, or, according to Luke, טוביכון will have been the first word that opened this Sermon.

EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

## The Salt of the Earth and the Light of the World.

THE juxtaposition of these two figures (Salt and Light) appears to us a little surprising; but we find it also in Pliny, who says that salt has something of the nature of fire, and records the observation, that to the whole body nothing is better than salt and sun (*Hist. Nat.* xxxi. 9, 45: Salis natura est per se ignea, et inimica ignibus . . . maxime usurpanda observatione, quae totis corporibus *nihil esse utilius sale et sole* dicit. The latter saying is a nice commentary on Mt 5[13-16].

EB. NESTLE.

*Maulbronn.*

## 'Life and Times of Master John Hus.'

I AM very much obliged to you for your kind review of my *Life and Times of Master John Hus.*

May I be allowed to submit a slight correction. My book is not a translation, but was written in English.

I have never written in any language except in English and my own Czech [Bohemian] language.

COUNT LÜTZOW.

*London.*

## Professor Briggs on Psalm i.—A Suggestion.

IN the 'International Critical Commentary' on the *Psalms*, Professor Briggs divides Ps 1 into two strophes of six tetrameter lines each, rejecting v.[3] (which he regards as a mosaic of three earlier passages), because he cannot adapt it exactly to the metrical scheme of what precedes and what follows. The result of this rejection of v.[3], however, cannot be regarded as wholly satisfactory, for it leaves the opening words of what is then the second strophe too abrupt and disconnected.

This second strophe opens thus:

Not so the wicked!
But rather are they as the chaff which the wind drives away.

This plainly requires in the preceding lines some *simile* whereby the condition of the righteous man was *illustrated*. It must be with regard to this *simile*, that the words are used, 'Not so the wicked! But rather are they *as the chaff*,' etc. These words cannot refer simply in a general way to the description of the righteous man given in the first strophe.

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the figure of v.[3] formed a part of the original poem, and the task of the commentator must be to divide the verse in some way so that it may be brought into line with the metrical arrangement of the rest of the poem. Even if this cannot be done, the verse should be retained and the suggestion made that through some fault of copyist or reader the metrical arrangement has been disturbed. A too great desire for exactness and symmetry may lead to as faulty results as a total disregard of any metrical system whatever.

It would seem, however, that a fair show can be made for v.[3].

Probably והיה is what remains of the half line with which the strophe should have opened and originally read והוא היה. The remainder of the verse naturally falls into four lines, the third of which alone is irregular. In this (ועלהו לא יבול) one tone is wanting, and to complete it one is tempted

to suggest that after ועלהו a verb has dropped out, (perhaps יעלה, Qal.). The clause לא יבול will then be a circumstantial clause.

The strophe will then be regular so far as it goes: but one line is still wanting. This, alas, we cannot now supply, though we may feel certain that it originally existed.

In any case, it seems more reasonable to admit that we have in this psalm a poem of three strophes, the first and third of which are practically complete (one word has to be supplied in each of lines four and six of the third strophe), than to cast out wholly v.[3] because we cannot now make it fit in exactly with the metrical arrangement of the other verses.

V.[3] as has been said, is certainly required by the opening expressions of v.[4].

A word may be added on the question whether v.[3] is a mosaic of three earlier passages or not.

In judging of the 'originality' of any part of a psalm, the fact must be constantly kept in mind that if Hebrew poetry has any kinship with other Semitic poetry (Arabic poetry, for example), the use of the same figures of speech in different poetical pieces, in more or less identical terms, does not necessarily imply 'quotation.' The word 'quotation' is here used generally for conscious use on the part of a writer of words and figures known to have been used by another writer. The theory of 'quotations' must be charily employed when the lines under consideration are merely figurative and contain no striking ethical teaching. Arabic poetry to a considerable extent consists in the use of stereotyped figures of speech, and the originality of the poet is often shown only in some slight variation of the form (the wording) of the metaphors or figures. These are the common property of all; the setting is the mark of originality. Judging from the repeated use in the Psalms of the same figures with but slight variations, we are inclined to say that Hebrew poetry must have similarly employed very largely stereotyped forms. It is only because so little of Hebrew literature has come down to us that this fact is not more patent and more generally recognized.

*Zeitoun, Egypt.* W. R. W. GARDNER.

## The Sun Standing Still.

MR. YOUNG will find his views on this subject, as given in the March number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, confirmed in an able essay entitled *A Misunderstood Miracle*, by the Rev. A. Smythe Palmer, B.A. (Swan Sonnenschein).

The late Professor G. F. Wright, in his *Scientific Confirmations of O.T. History* (pp. 64, 65), shows that he has found the clue to the same solution of the difficulty. The marginal reading 'Be silent,' taken along with the fact that the 'Book of Jasher' was a poetical work and of an uninspired character, should clear away the principal difficulties that have clung for so long around this remarkable event in Old Testament history.

*Geelong, Australia.* ROBERT KELLY.

## Entre Nous.

**F. G. Kenyon.**

The King has been pleased to appoint Mr. Frederic George Kenyon to be principal Librarian of the British Museum, in succession to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, who has retired. In making this announcement the *Times* adds: 'Mr. Frederic George Kenyon is the son of the late Mr. Robert Kenyon, Q.C., D.C.L., Vinerian Professor of Law at the University of Oxford. His maternal grandfather was the late Mr. Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum at a time when there was only one department of antiquities. Mr. Kenyon was born in London on January 15th, 1863, and was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, and became a Fellow of Magdalen College in 1888. In the latter year he became assistant in the British Museum. He is a D.Litt. of Durham, and a Ph.D. of Halle.'

Mr. Kenyon contributed an article on WRITING to the fourth volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and an article on the PAPYRI to the Extra Volume. He also contributed four articles to the single-volume *Dictionary of the Bible*, two of them articles of the highest importance and of great originality, the article on the ENGLISH VERSIONS and the article on the TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

**Conybeare and Scott.**

There is nothing better in the *Hibbert Journal* for July than two short reviews in the end of it. The one is a review of Dr. Conybeare's *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, by Mr. R. R. Marett of Oxford; the other is a review of Dr. Scott's *The Pauline Epistles*, by Principal Jones-Davies of Manchester.

Mr. Marett is not a theologian. At least he says he is not. But he is one of the most capable and learned writers on Religion; he is probably the best authority in our day on the relation of Magic to Religion. He does not find Dr. Conybeare satisfactory.

He is not distressed about Dr. Conybeare's departure from the paths of orthodoxy. 'But,' he says, 'when he condemns the Eucharist, and incidentally humanity's immemorial attempt to effect communion with the divine, as a failure to apprehend the laws of cause and effect, he either is guilty of a most unscientific dogmatism or is drawing on sources of information denied to the rest of the race.'

Principal Jones-Davies has read Dr. Scott's book as carefully as Mr. Marett has read Dr. Conybeare's, and he is very much better pleased with it. He begins: 'The attitude of Dr. Scott is frank and fearless, but, unlike critics such as Dr. van Manen, he is no iconoclast. His work is a sane and moderate attempt to solve the problem of these epistles by the application of critical methods.' And he ends, 'We look forward with high hopes to further work from the pen of a writer who has already made a valuable contribution to an important and perennially fascinating study.'

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**Some Quotation Volumes.**

The making of quotations cannot be called a lost art, because, so far as we know, it has never attained to a place among the arts or sciences yet. Of all the books that are manufactured there is scarcely ever a book that is more utterly dull, flat, and unprofitable than a volume of quotations. And yet the right use of a quotation, when it is also a right quotation, is one of the most delicious surprises of literature.

Nevertheless let us look at some volumes of quotations. They are of much variety. Messrs. Harrap & Co.'s *Sesame Booklets* will do to begin with. There are seven of them — Wayside Thoughts from Tennyson, Wayside Thoughts from Longfellow, A Calendar of Thoughts from Browning, Great Thoughts from the Ancients, Great Thoughts from Emerson, Word-Pictures from Ruskin, and the Golden Link of Friendship. They are dainty and delightful to handle and their titles exactly express their contents.

The book which F. M. Hornby has compiled and called *Great Minds at One* is in the form of a birthday book. But it has this originality that under each date two or three quotations are given from different authors, the same in theme and in sentiment. The publisher is Mr. Fisher Unwin, and the American edition may be obtained from the Wessels Company of Brooklyn and New York.

The Reilly and Britton Company of Chicago have produced what the trade would call a fancy book, every page having a flower printed all over it in light green below the letterpress. Its title is also fanciful — *When Good Fellows get together.* Its quotations, however, are the genuine discoveries of a genuine lover of literature, though some of them are discovered in Burns and some in Herrick.

Messrs. Sonnenschein have a long series of books of quotations, to which they have just added a *Dictionary of Quotations in Italian*, by Thomas Benfield Harbottle and Colonel Philip Hugh Dalbiac. It is more a work of science than of art, for it contains an enormous number of short quotations, mostly in proverbial form, and they are printed in the smallest type and crowded together in the smallest space. There is an index of authors and two excellent indexes of subjects, one Italian, the other English.

Now notice three deliberate dictionaries of quotation — not books of elegant extracts, but volumes of serious usefulness for the press or the pulpit. The first and best is *The International Encyclopedia of Prose and Poetical Quotations*, edited by Mr. William S. Walsh, and published by the John C. Winston Company of Philadelphia. Mr. Walsh claims to have gathered his quotations from the literature of the whole world, but he has considerately translated into English those which he found in foreign languages. It is an encyclopædia of words as well as ideas, the first step towards a universal concordance. Under SMELL, for example, we have Falstaff's 'The rankest compound of villainous smell that ever offended

nostril'; Trinculo's 'He hath a very ancient and fishlike smell'; a quotation from Coleridge's *Cologne*; and then two quotations about smelling a rat, one from Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, the other from Butler's *Hudibras*.

Messrs. F. B. Dickerson's book is called *A Dictionary of Thoughts*, and the sub-title is 'A Cyclopedia of Laconic Quotations from the best Authors of the World, both ancient and modern, alphabetically arranged by subjects.' The editor is the Rev. Tryon Edwards, D.D. It was a serious mistake of Dr. Edwards not to give the name of the book from which the quotation was taken. He has had the courage occasionally to quote himself, and he must have known the titles of his own books. He does not forget his sub-title 'laconic.' Under WIFE he quotes Sir Philip Sidney—'My dear, my better half.' Which signifies, no doubt, that Sir Philip Sidney was the originator of that gallant phrase. Here is one of the quotations he makes from himself. It comes under the title of WILLS. 'If rich men would remember that shrouds have no pockets, they would, while living, share their wealth with their children, and give for the good of others, and so know the highest pleasure wealth can give.'

By far the most imposing of these quotation books is Funk & Wagnall's *Cyclopedia of Practical Quotations*, edited by J. K. Hoyt. Like the rest of the dictionaries it is arranged according to subject, and there are no omissions here of book or page or paragraph. After the title the editor adds that it 'contains the names, dates, nativity, and nationality of the authors quoted.' One of its wonders is what is called a Concordant Index, containing the first line of each of the quotations, arranged in alphabetical order. In that concordance the eight authors most frequently quoted are indicated by signs. These are the eight in their order—Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Byron, Tennyson, Lowell, Pope, Longfellow.

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**Above the Cloud.**

Cleaving the cloud
  Low-hung and dark,
Fearlessly mounts
  The joyous lark.

Soar, O my Soul,
  On wings! Thou, too,
Piercing the cloud
  Shalt find the blue.

**The Great Text Commentary.**

The best illustration this month has been found by the Rev. W. K. H. Macdonald, Glenton.

Illustrations for the Great Text for October must be received by the 1st of September. The text is Rev $3^{20}$.

The Great Text for November is Rev $7^{9.\ 10}$—'After these things I saw, and behold, a great multitude, which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands; and they cry with a great voice, saying, Salvation unto our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb.' A copy of Law's *The Tests of Life* or of Scott's *The Pauline Epistles* will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for December is Rev $7^{14}$—'These are they which come out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.' A copy of Jordan's *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought*, or Dykes's *Christian Minister*, or Wilson's *How God has Spoken*, will be sent for the best illustration.

The Great Text for January is Rev $14^{13}$—'And I heard a voice from heaven saying, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works follow with them.' A copy of Geden's *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, or of Scott's *Pauline Epistles*, or of Wilson's *How God has Spoken*, will be given for the best illustration.

The Great Text for February is Rev $20^{12}$—'And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne; and books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of the things which were written in the books, according to their works.' A copy of Law's *Tests of Life* or Newton Clarke's *Doctrine of God* will be given for the best illustration.

Those who send illustrations should at the same time name the books they wish sent them if successful.

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